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THE  
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*NEW SERIES:*

FOR

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FEBRUARY,	MAY,
MARCH,	JUNE.

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THE  
**BRITISH CRITIC,**

FOR JANUARY, 1816.

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**ART. I.** *An Inquiry into the Integrity of the Greek Vulgate or Received Text of the New Testament; in which the Greek Manuscripts are newly classed, the Integrity of the Authorised Text vindicated, and the various Readings traced to their Origin. By the Rev. Frederick Nolan; a Presbyter of the United Church.* 8vo. 576 pp. 16s. Rivingtons. 1815.

IT has been objected, and with a sufficient degree of justice, both to the writers and to the readers of the present day, that they are ever disinclined to enter into the labour of investigation themselves, but are contented to rely upon the industry and to trust to the fidelity of their predecessors: *οἱ ἄνθρωποι μᾶλλον τρέπονται*. It is therefore with peculiar pleasure that we introduce to the learned world a volume, which is of itself sufficient to relieve the age in which we live from so severe a charge, and to prove that there is one man at least among us, who, in the ardour of investigation and in the depth of original research, will yield to no Theologian of ancient days.

Mr. Nolan's reputation as a Theologian, is already established by his work on the **OPERATIONS OF THE HOLY GHOST**, published at the close of the year 1813. After such an exertion of talent, most men would have allowed themselves some little relaxation, or had they engaged without respite in further literary pursuits, would have selected an object on which it would not be necessary to bestow uncommon exertion. In both these respects our author's devotedness to his professional studies, led him to a different course; for the foundation of the work now before us was laid in our own pages in February, 1814, and our introductory observation fully expresses our sense of the arduousness of the undertaking. As to the success which has attended his labours in the present instance, we are on many considerations restrained from obtruding upon our learned readers any premature conclusions of our own, but without incurring the imputation of partiality,

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lity, we shall be permitted, we trust, to assume thus much in our author's behalf that there can be but one opinion as to the industry, the accuracy and the ingenuity displayed in so extraordinary a manner throughout the volume—an opinion which we confidently promise ourselves will not only be privately entertained, but publicly demonstrated. But without further preface, we shall lay before our readers an historical sketch of the investigations previously made into the state of the Received Text of Scripture, as no unsuitable introduction to what has been done by Mr. Nolan.

The early efforts of every art, necessarily superficial, admit of an easy description. The first essay, in sacred criticism commenced under the patronage of that distinguished prelate Cardinal Ximenes, who undertook at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Complutensian Polyglott. Fifteen years were employed in compiling this great work, forty-two persons, eminent for their learning, having been maintained at a considerable expence in preparing it for publication. In executing this task, there was little room for the exercise of conjectural or emendatory criticism. The editors undertook the work expressly with the design of following the most antient manuscripts, with a religious exactness; having been supplied by Leo X. with seven of the most valuable copies in the Vatican library; and they accomplished the work agreeably to its intention. A manuscript, in the Bodleian library, which Dr. Mill found in Archbishop Laud's collection, harmonises with the Complutensian text in so extraordinary a degree, as to justify the supposition, that they have been respectively taken from the same exemplar. The fidelity of this edition to the original from whence it was copied gives it the authority of a manuscript, and so highly has it been estimated; for the purity of its text, that many critics have given it the preference to the received text of our printed editions. The most striking peculiarity of this edition, is the celebrated verse containing the heavenly witnesses, 1 John v. 7. which has been the subject of so much learned discussion; but the opinion of every unbiassed person now rests in the conviction, that it retains this verse merely as a translation from the Latin Vulgate.

The publication of this great and celebrated work was anticipated by the third edition of Erasmus, who undertook to settle the text, on the testimony of the Greek and Latin Vulgate, and who consequently produced that edition from which the received text deviates in no reading of the least importance. The manuscript which formed the exemplar of this text is still extant, having been discovered by Griesbach in the British Museum; and from a collation of that accurate critic it appears, that Erasmus, who entrusted the revision of the press to Œcolampadius, adhered very closely

closely to his model, as he has adopted some of its orthographical inaccuracies. This edition is chiefly valuable, on account of the principle on which it is formed, and in consequence of its forming the basis of the Received Text. It contains the text of the heavenly witnesses, which had been omitted in both Erasmus's former editions, but which was inserted in this on the authority of the Montfort MS. which at present exists in the library of Dublin University: Erasmus having pledged himself to restate this passage in the sacred text, if a single manuscript were produced, in which it was extant.

Thus far the editors of the New Testament, in revising the sacred text, followed no settled plan of emendatory criticism. Having chosen from among the manuscripts with which they were provided, one copy, which appeared to them of the highest authority, they committed it to print with little alteration. The sphere of critical enquiry was however enlarged under Robert Stephens, by the publication of an edition, containing a collation of fifteen MSS. and the Complutensian edition, which were annexed as marginal notes to the text of Erasmus, reprinted by Stephens with a very few corrections adopted from the edition of Complutum. The MSS. which were used in forming this collation are likewise extant, having been discovered by Father Le Long in the Royal library at Paris: but it appears, on a comparison of the written and printed authorities, that the various readings have been collected with little accuracy. In this edition, likewise the text of the heavenly witnesses is inserted; and an error in placing a note of reference to the margin has given rise to an opinion that this long-contested verse stands in Stephens's text, supported by manuscript authority. This notion however, if it now prevails, rests solely with those who would substitute their wishes for fact; the typographical error in Stephens's text having been demonstrated by the present Margaret Professor to the satisfaction of every unprejudiced reader.

In the preceding attempts, however valuable in their day, we merely discover the first rudiments of that art which has been advanced to so high a degree of perfection by modern critics. We pass over the various readings of Laurentius Valla, and the Marquis Velez, as scarcely deserving of notice, in the vast mass of valuable materials which have been collected by their indefatigable successors. Until the publication of Bishop Walton's Polyglott, nothing of moment was effected, in investigating the state of the text, or publishing collations of various readings. The learned author of that work, which reflects credit on the nation in which it was produced, was furnished by Primate Usher, with the various readings of sixteen MSS. This collation of texts, with Sections IV—XVI. (inclusive) of the Prologomena, constitute

• *Nolan on the Integrity of the Greek Vulgate.*

constitute the foundation of that highly-laboured system of sacred criticism which has been raised by modern industry. In this collection of readings, which is inserted in the sixth volume of the Polyglott, we observe almost all the varieties which have been discovered in the sacred text by a long and accurate investigation of MSS. while the fore-cited sections of the Prolegomena furnish a variety of the most learned and curious information, relative to the state and history of the text and versions of Scripture.

The labours of Bishop Walton having been principally confined to the consideration of the Old Testament; little was effected towards investigating the state of the remaining part of the Canon, until Father Simon published his Critical History of the Text and Versions of the New Testament. In this useful work, the outline of which was sketched and filled up on the plan suggested in Walton's Prolegomena, sacred criticism assumed that determinate form, which it has since preserved, under the hands of its numerous cultivators. The best information is here collected which could be procured, at so early a period, upon a subject obscure and intricate. The history and chronology of the different books of the sacred canon are investigated with great diligence; the state of the principal MSS. particularly of the Codices Græco-Latini, is very carefully examined; and many judicious observations are added, on some contested passages, and the principal various readings. In describing the Versions and Comments, we discover the same ability and diligence; the Oriental and Western translations are very fully and accurately described, and a degree of information displayed on the former, to which little has been added by the labours of subsequent critics. It is indeed no small commendation of Father Simon's critical talents, that after all the acumen and industry which have been employed on the subject in which he engaged, the scholar may still turn to his work with entertainment and advantage.

Hitherto, as Professor Michaelis has observed, sacred criticism remained in its infancy. By the extraordinary exertions of an individual it now arrived at its manhood. At the beginning of the last century, the elaborate edition of Dr. Mill appeared, which had been suggested by the small but curious edition of Bishop Fell, which had been published with an annexed list of various readings, made from a collation of additional manuscripts. On this learned work, which is a lasting monument of human industry, thirty years were bestowed by the laborious author; and most ample information collected on every branch of that department of criticism which is distinguished as sacred. Of the three parts into which the Prolegomena are divided, the first contains an enquiry into the composition of the Canon; in which the origi-

gia

gin and chronology of the sacred books, the times and occasions of their publication are fully and ably examined. The second is devoted to the consideration of the history of the Text; in which all the notices respecting it, that are found in the early ecclesiastical writers, are carefully collected, and the quotations of the ancient fathers compared with the received text, their various readings noted with incredible pains, and conjectures formed respecting the copies which they used in writing. In the third part, the plan and object of the author's own work are described; the views which he purposed to himself in forming his edition are detailed at length, and particular descriptions added of the MSS. which he used in compiling his edition. The sacred text is subjoined, which is printed after the third edition of Robert Stephens, and the various readings are annexed in notes, which the author has collected, with unexampled labour, from manuscripts, fathers, and versions. In praise of this work, it will be sufficient to mention the high character stamped upon it by the sanction of the University of Oxford—a seat of learning not less distinguished by the cultivation of profane than by the devotion to sacred literature, which there prevails; of which, the elaborate works of Mill, Holmes, and Kennicott, the Syriac, Coptic, and Sahidic Versions, published under her auspices, are splendid and lasting monuments. Notwithstanding all that has been effected by the labours of subsequent editors, she still manifests her partiality to the edition of Dr. Mill, by issuing it from her press; as a work, which is at least free from the objections, if it wants the improvements of later editions, while it possesses an ample store of the most valuable matter on all the useful parts of sacred criticism.

The mine, thus opened, and freed from the obstructions which opposed the exertions of the first enquirers, soon tempted the ambition of subsequent adventurers; as promising a reward which might be now attained with less labour of investigation. All that could be effected by time or industry, has been consequently achieved. The MSS. of every library, from Madrid to Moscow, have been searched and collated, and editions consequently formed with further improvements. Scarcely a Version or particle of a Version exists, which has not been examined. The labors of Bengel and Semler, of Wetstein at Paris, of Alter at Vienna, of Matthæi at Moscow, of Birch at Rome, Madrid and Copenhagen, have left nothing unexplored respecting the state of the Greek text. A variety of the most curious and useful information has been collected on the subject of the Oriental Versions, by Adler, Münster, and Michaelis, Woide, Forde and White, and numberless other critics, whose names we omit, as less known to the generality of readers. And an examination



mination of the Western Versions, which have been not less carefully investigated, by Sabatier, Bianchini and others, has left little for future industry to effect, in ascertaining the varieties of the sacred text, as dispersed in the copies of different translations.

It would lead us from our immediate purpose, and far exceed the limits which we have prescribed ourselves, to enter into a particular examination of the labors of those different critics. But it would be an act of injustice to merit of the highest order, to pass over the names Griesbach and Michaelis, without some note of marked approbation. The great works on which the reputation of those distinguished critics is founded, are of a very different kind, but exhibit equal ability in the execution. Both entered on the task in which they engaged with minds full fraught with their subject. Those vast stores which had been accumulated by antecedent industry they made their own; brought to the common stock which they thus appropriated a fund of original matter; and in framing the systems, in which they combined it, displayed a skill which equalled and even surpassed their materials.

On the plan of Dr. Griesbach's Greek Testament, it is unnecessary to enlarge in this place; as so much is advanced upon it in the course of the following observations; however opinions may be divided on the stability of his system, the ingenuity of it cannot be denied, and but one sentiment can be held on the accuracy of its execution. Nor can it be necessary to enter minutely into the subject of Michaelis's "Introduction to the New Testament," as the translation of Dr. Marsh has placed that valuable work within the reach of readers of very moderate attainments. The outline pursued in this work bears a considerable resemblance to that followed by Dr. Mill and Father Simon. Of the three parts into which it is divided, the first treats of the style and authenticity of the Sacred Text; the second, of the different versions which have been made from it; and the third, contains introductions to the several canonical books, investigating their origin, and clearing up many difficulties which embarrass their subject. In discussing all these points, the author exhibits the most profound erudition, joined with great critical sagacity. In the translation of Dr. Marsh, this justly celebrated work assumes the character and merit of an original. The style is not only improved, but the subject enriched with a vast accession of matter, collected from the wide range of antient and modern literature. In the course of his observations, the learned translator supplies the omissions and corrects the oversights of the original work; and rather keeps pace with his author, whom he frequently outstrips, than tamely follows his footsteps.

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Besides the care which has been thus bestowed on the sacred text at large, the controverted verse, 1 John v. 7, has been the subject of particular investigation; on which we shall offer a few observations, previously to bringing this brief sketch of the progress of sacred criticism to a conclusion.

Erasmus, in preparing his first and second editions of the Greek Testament for publication, omitted this verse on the authority of the MSS. which furnished his exemplar; but having been accused by Lea and Stunica, as a falsifier of the inspired text, he inserted it in his third edition, on the joint authority of the Monfort MS. and Latin Vulgate. After this time the question of its authenticity lay dormant, until further progress was made in sacred criticism. In the middle of the seventeenth century, the question was again investigated by Selden: the point was then decided with that vast erudition, which distinguishes all the works of its author; though he declared himself in favour of its authenticity, he contributed not a little to diminish its authority, by the force of his objections. Under Father Simon, who next debated the question, the objections stated by Selden gained a considerable accession of strength; from his inquiry it appeared that the disputed verse was not supported by manuscript authority. The next formidable opponent which this text found, was the incomparable Sir Isaac Newton, who arranged and strengthened the arguments of F. Simon; Dr. Bentley followed on the same side, and gave to a question, which was already borne down by a preponderance of authority, the weight of his great name. At the beginning of the last century, the point was debated at considerable length by M. Martin, pastor of the French church at Utrecht, and Mr. Emlyn, a dissenting minister in London, but by their labours no accession of light was cast on the subject. In the course of this protracted discussion, the credit of this verse continued to lose ground; notwithstanding the support of Dr. Mill and M. Bengel, who declared themselves on the side of those who maintained its authenticity. Towards the close of the last century, the controversy was again revived by Mr. Travis, in an equally imbecile and intemperate attack upon Mr. Gibbon, who had arraigned the authority of the disputed passage. But his temerity received its due castigation from Mr. Porson and Dr. Marsh.; before whom Mr. Archdeacon Travis retired, leaving the field in the possession of his opponents. Such was the state in which the controversy remained, when the subject was revived, as above stated, not long since in our own pages.

Little did we suppose that we were then presenting our readers with the outline of an elaborate work, which we should so soon be called upon to appreciate. Such, however,

however, is the case; and, as we do not affect to be uninterested in an undertaking in which we feel our own credit not a little engaged, we shall endeavour to preserve our reputation for critical impartiality by that sort of survey of Mr. Nolan's labours, which shall rather facilitate the decision of others than express any opinion of our own. We proceed therefore to present our learned readers with an analytical view of the important subject of the "Inquiry," which the author has divided into six Sections.

Section I. opens with a brief account of the different editions of the New Testament, and of the manner in which the various readings have accumulated by the diligence of modern collators. The various expedients are then specified, which have been suggested for determining the genuine from the spurious readings. Having thus mentioned Dr. Bentley's scheme, Mr. Nolan proceeds to describe the scheme of Dr. Griesbach.

"His project for classing the Greek manuscripts, in order to form a more correct text, is not only formed on more comprehensive views, but rested on a higher basis. Instead of the authority of St. Jerome, who flourished in the fifth century, he builds upon that of Origen who flourished in the third. Instead of the existence of two species of text, one of which corresponds with the Vulgate, and the other with the generality of Greek manuscripts, he contemplates the existence of three, which he terms the Alexandrine, the Western, and the Byzantine, from the different regions in which he supposes them to have prevailed. According to this division, he has formed his classification of manuscripts, which he consequently distributes into three kinds. A choice among their respective texts he determines by the authority of Origen; whose testimony seems entitled to this respect, from the attention, which he, above all the antients, bestowed upon biblical criticism. Finding a striking coincidence to exist between his scripture quotations and the celebrated manuscript brought from Alexandria, which was the scene of Origen's literary labours, he thence determines the manuscripts, which belong to that class which he distinguishes as the Alexandrine. The manuscripts, which differ from this class, and coincide, in their characteristic peculiarities, with those which have been directly imported to us from Constantinople, he distinguishes as the Byzantine. His third class, which contains the Western text, consists of a set of manuscripts, which have been principally found in Europe, and which possess many coincidences with the Latin translation, where they differ from the peculiar readings of both the preceding classes."—  
P. 4.

It has been an opinion as early as the times of Bishop Walton, that the purest text of the scripture canon had been preserved at Alexandria; the libraries of that city having been celebrated

brated from an early period, for their correct and splendid copies. From the identity of any MS. in its peculiar readings, with the scripture quotations of Origen, who presided in the catechetical school of Alexandria, a strong presumption arises that it contains the Alexandrine edition; the supposition being natural, that Origen drew his quotations from the copies generally prevalent in his native country. This notion, the truth of which is necessary to the validity of Dr. Griesbach's conclusions, is combated on several grounds by Mr. Nolan. He shews from the inconstancy of Origen's quotations, that no certain conclusion can be deduced from his testimony; he infers from the history of Origen, who principally wrote and published in Palestine, that the text, quoted by that antient father, was rather the Palestine than the Alexandrine: and he proves, from the express testimony of St. Jerome, that the text of Origen was really adopted in Palestine, while that of Hesychius was adopted at Alexandria.

Having thus opened the question, and set it upon the broader ground assumed by those critics, who confirm the readings of the Alexandrine text, by the coincidence of the antient Versions, of the Oriental and Western Churches; Mr. N. combats this method, proposed for investigating the genuine text, in two modes. He first shews that a coincidence between the Western and Oriental Churches, does not necessarily prove the antiquity of the text which they mutually support; as the Versions of the former Church were corrected, after the texts of the latter, by Jerome and Cassiodorus, who may have thus created the coincidence, which is taken as a proof of the genuine reading. In the next place, he infers, from the prevalence of a text published by Eusebius of Cæsarea, and from the comparatively late period at which the Oriental Versions were formed, that their general coincidence may be traced to the influence of Eusebius's edition. This position he establishes, by a proof deduced from the general prevalence of Eusebius's sections and canons in the Greek MSS. and Antient Versions, and by a presumption derived from the agreements of those texts and versions with each other in omitting several passages contained in the Vulgar Greek, which were at variance with Eusebius's peculiar opinions. In the course of this discussion, the author assigns adequate reasons for the omission of the following remarkable passages, Mark xvi. 9—20. John viii. 1—11. and for the peculiar readings of the following celebrated texts, Acts xx. 28. 1 Tim. iii. 16. 1 John v. 7. And having thus established the general influence of Eusebius's text, he generally concludes against the stability of the critical principles on which the German critics have undertaken the correction of the Greek Vulgate.

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The material obstacles being thus removed to the establishment of his plan, Mr. N. proceeds in Sect. II. to investigate the different Classes of Text which exist in the Greek Manuscripts. Having briefly considered the scripture quotations of the Fathers, and shewn that they afford no adequate criterion for reducing the text into classes; he proceeds to the consideration of the antient translations, and after an examination of the Oriental Versions, more particularly of the Sahidic, he comes to the conclusion, that no Version but the Latin can be taken as a safe guide in ascertaining the genuine text of Scripture. This point being premised, the author lays the foundation of his scheme of classification, in the following observations.

“ In proceeding to estimate the testimony which the Latin translation bears to the state of the Greek text, it is necessary to premise, that this translation exhibits three varieties:—As corrected by St. Jerome at the desire of Pope Damasus, and preserved in the Vulgate; as corrected by Eusebius of Verceli, at the desire of Pope Julius, and preserved in the Codex Vercellensis; and as existing previously to the corrections of both, and preserved as I conceive, in the Codex Brixianus. The first of these three editions of the Italick translation is too well known to need any description; both the last are contained in beautiful manuscripts, preserved at Verceli, and at Brescia, in Italy. The curious and expensive manner in which at least the latter of these manuscripts is executed, as written on purple vellum in silver characters, would of itself contain no inconclusive proof of its great antiquity; such having been the form in which the most esteemed works were executed in the times of Eusebius, Chrysostome, and Jerome. The former is ascribed, by immemorial tradition, to Eusebius Vercellensis, the friend of Pope Julius and St. Athanasius, and, as supposed to have been written with his own hand, is deposited among the relics, which are preserved with a degree of superstitious reverence, in the author’s church at Verceli in Piedmont. By these three editions of the translation, we might naturally expect to acquire some insight into the varieties of the original. And this expectation is fully justified on experiment. The latter, not less than the former, is capable of being distributed into three kinds; each of which possesses an extraordinary coincidence with one of a correspondent kind, in the translation. In a word, the Greek manuscripts are capable of being divided into three principal classes, one of which agrees with the Italick translation contained in the Brescia manuscript; another with that contained in the Verceli manuscript; and a third with that contained in the Vulgate.” P. 58.

Specimens of the coincidence of the three classes, in the Greek and Latin, are annexed in separate columns. And the testimony of the Eastern and Western Churches to the *existence* of those classes being thus produced, the author proceeds to ascertain

certain the *antiquity* of the classes; which he effects by the Latin translation.

“As the existence of a translation necessarily implies the priority of the original from which it was formed; this testimony may be directly referred to the close of the fourth century. The Vulgate must be clearly referred to that period, as it was then formed by St. Jerome; in its bare existence of course the correspondent antiquity of the Greek text with which it agrees, is directly established. This version is, however, obviously less antient than that of the Vercelli or Brescia manuscript; as they are of the old Italick translation, while it properly constitutes the new. In the existence of the antient version, the antiquity of the original texts with which it corresponds is consequently established. The three classes of text, which correspond with the Vulgate and Old Italick Version, must be consequently referred to a period not less remote than the close of the fourth century.” P. 70.

Having thus carried up his system of Classification as high as the fourth century, our author then justifies it by the testimony of St. Jerome; for this learned father, who lived at that period, asserts the existence of three classes of text in the same age, which respectively prevailed in Egypt, Palestine, and Constantinople. The identity of these classes with the different classes of text which still exist in the Greek original and Latin translation, our author then proceeds to establish. And this he effects by means of the manuscripts which have been written, the versions which have been published, and the collations which have been made, in the different countries to which St. Jerome refers his classes: founding every part of his proofs on the testimony of Adler, Birch, Woide, Münster, and other critics who have analysed the text and versions of the New Testament. Having thus ascertained the fact, that the Egyptian, Palestine, and Byzantine texts still exist in three Manuscripts, which he takes as exemplars of his different classes; Mr. N. after removing some objections, proceeds to prove, that this method of Classification is adequate, and but nominally different from that suggested by Dr. Griesbach. The Alexandrine text, he asserts, is properly the Palestine, and the Western text the Egyptian; the former having been transported from Palestine to Alexandria by Euthalius, and the latter from Egypt to Italy by Eusebius Vercellensis.

We here take occasion to observe, that a further proof arises of the certainty of the conclusions formed in the first section; relative to the instability of Dr. Griesbach's system, which is built on an assumption, that the Alexandrine and Western texts are antient and separate editions. For admitting the importation of the Egyptian text into the West by Eusebius Vercellensis,

lensis, the evidence of these witnesses cannot be received as separate testimony, nor antedated to the fourth century, when the Bishop of Verceli returned from exile in the Thebais. In fact, as nothing is more improbable, than that Greek MSS. should have continued in the West, from the apostolical age to this period, while it is certain the Western Church was unacquainted with the language in which they were written ; nothing is more probable than that they should have been thus imported into the West, and have been preserved in the monasteries in which they have been discovered from that time to the present : the monastic mode of life having been introduced into Italy at this period by Eusebius Vercellensis. In this consideration, if well founded, the whole of Dr. Griesbach's system appears to us to lapse to the foundation ; the great object of his criticism having been to form an alliance between the few MSS. of the Alexandrine and Western texts, in order to outweigh the testimony of the numerous MSS. of the Byzantine edition ; as he conceived the joint testimony of the former texts, in being antient and separate witnesses, paramount to that of the last named text, as a comparatively modern edition.

Having distributed the Greek MSS. into classes, Mr. N. proceeds in Section III. to choose a particular text from these different classes. Commencing with some general remarks in favour of the Byzantine text, deducible from the place in which it is found, as the region in which the sacred writings were deposited ; he argues in favour of the same edition, from the testimony of the Greek Church ; as having adopted it as its authorised text ; and from the testimony of the Latin Church, as having followed it in its primitive Version.

“ The Brescia manuscript, which contains this testimony, possesses a text, which, as composed of the old Italick version, must be antedated to the year 393, when the new version was made by St. Jerome. It thus constitutes a standing proof, that the Byzantine text, with which it agrees, has preserved its integrity for upwards of 1400 years ; during which period it was exposed to the greatest hazard of being corrupted. This proof, it may be presumed, affords no trifling earnest, that it has not been corrupted during the comparatively inconsiderable period of two hundred and ninety years, which intervene between this time and the publication of the inspired writings. For while 290 years bear no proportion to 1400, the chances of such a corruption must diminish in proportion as we ascend to the time of the apostles. The first copyists must necessarily have observed a degree of carefulness in making their transcripts proportionable to their reverence for the originals, which they took as their models : from the autographs of the apostles, or their immediate transcripts, there could

could be no inducement to depart, even in a letter. It is, however, not merely probable, that the originals were preserved for this inconsiderable period; but that they were preserved with a degree of religious veneration. And if they were preserved in any place, it must have been in the region contiguous to Constantinople, where they were originally deposited. To this region, of course, we must naturally look for the genuine text of Scripture." P. 114.

Having drawn some general conclusions from the comparative testimony of the Greek and Latin Churches, Mr. N. enters into a minute and laborious investigation of the separate testimony of those Churches, to the different classes of text existing in the Greek MSS. Insisting on the evidence of the former, he makes it appear, that the uncorrupted tenor of tradition supports the Byzantine text, and that the Egyptian and Palestine texts are destitute of such authority. In his investigation of the testimony of the Latin Church, his proof is more laborious and intricate. As his system is founded on the supposition that the three classes of text in the Greek and Latin, which prevailed in the age of St. Jerome, are still extant; he proceeds to point out how the different classes of the translation were formed after the different texts of the original. Thus decomposing the different classes of the translation, he reduces the Latin Version to its elementary principles; and having thus ascertained the *primitive* Latin Version, he proves, from its coincidence with the Byzantine text, that this text, which is identical with the Greek Vulgate, must have existed in the primitive ages, in which the Latin translation was formed. Of this part of our author's work we would willingly give a specimen, but it will not admit of abridgment.

The Byzantine text being thus shewn to have the support of the concurrent tradition of the Eastern and Western Churches, Mr. N. proceeds in Section IV. to establish the general and doctrinal integrity of the text as contained in the vulgar edition. He first makes it appear, from the practice of the Jewish Church, as followed by the Apostles, that a general intercourse was maintained by the different branches of the Catholic Church; and assuming from thence the moral certainty of the general dispersion of the sacred writings, he proves the impossibility of their having been generally corrupted. The Greek, Latin, and Syriac Churches are then taken as examples; and the books of the Sacred Canon proved to have been in use, under the immediate successors of the Apostles. From a view of the differences which arose between particular Churches, and between the catholics and heretics, the supposition is reduced to an impossibility, that the canonical Scriptures could have been falsified, at this apostolical period. A particular inquiry is then instituted into the state of the text, at the time of the controversy  
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relative to Easter; and proofs of its integrity are deduced from the works of contemporary writers who flourished at that period. The testimony of those writers is then traditionally traced in ascent and descent; the intervention of two persons connecting it with the age of the Apostles on the one side, and with the age of St. Athanasius on the other. The tradition being thus deduced as low as the fourth century, when the Alexandrine MS. was written, under St. Athanasius, and the Latin Vulgate corrected by St. Jerome; from the conspiring testimony of those ancient vouchers, confirmed by that of the great body of manuscripts, the general integrity of the sacred text follows as the author's necessary conclusion.

We subjoin a specimen of the mode in which the tradition is connected in the earlier part of the time from the times of Origen and Alexander, to the age of the apostles.

“Origen was the disciple of Clement, and Clement the disciple of Pantænus; and all of them were the intimates of Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem: but Pantænus is expressly said to have been a disciple of those who were the immediate auditors of the Apostles. Alexander represents Narcissus, who was likewise bishop of Jerusalem, as having been an hundred and sixteen years old, when he acted as his suffragan in that see, at Jerusalem; he of course must have enjoyed the same opportunities of conversing with the immediate disciples of the apostles, which were possessed by Pantænus. Tertullian is referred to a period near that of the apostles, by St. Jerome, who drew his information from one who was informed by an acquaintance of St. Cyprian, his disciple. St. Irenæus mentions his having been acquainted with St. Polycarp, who was placed in the see of Smyrna by St. John the Evangelist; and gives an affecting description of the accounts which he heard that venerable old man deliver of the apostle, and of the impression which, while he was yet a boy, they had made upon his recollection. With these facilities of arriving at the opinions of the apostolical age, on a subject of such paramount importance as that of the sacred canon, it remains to be observed, that the apostolical tradition, as preserved by the succession of bishops throughout the Catholick Church, was at this period an object of curious investigation.” P. 216.

From this minute examination of the general integrity of the text, Mr. N. proceeds to the examination of the integrity of particular parts of the Canon of the New Testament. The authenticity of the Apocalypse and Epistle to the Hebrews is succinctly but adequately discussed; and the authority of those books, as the genuine works of St. John and St. Paul, is established by evidence as well internal as external. The same care is bestowed in investigating the authenticity of John viii. 1—11, Mark xvii. 9—20, and a like conclusion formed in favour of their authenticity,

ticity. From considering the authenticity of those particular passages, the author proceeds to investigate the authenticity of three celebrated texts, Acts xx. 28. 1 Tim. iii. 16. 1 John. v. 7. With a view to establish their authenticity, the history of the controversies in which the inspired authors were engaged, is investigated, the internal evidence of the disputed passages estimated, and the external testimony of the writers who have quoted them in their works, is produced at large. In the course of this discussion, the evidence in favor of 1 John v. 7. is strengthened by many additional considerations, besides those which have already appeared in our pages. The subject of the text, and the language in which it is expressed, are proved to have been familiar to the Jews from the earliest period; the disputed verse is shewn to have been before the Apostle, and to be necessary to his argument and to the grammatical structure of his context: and seven reasons are subjoined, proving the expediency of adopting this verse on the external testimony of the African Church, by which it was formally recognised, in the year 484, in the Council of Carthage.

In Section V. the author proceeds to examine the integrity of the sacred text in merely verbal points, or such as are of minor importance. A particular inquiry is instituted into the principles of Dr. Griesbach's criticism, and the inadequacy of his mode of emendation shewn, in a specific induction of authorities and examples. A new method is then proposed for vindicating contested readings of the Greek Vulgate, on the coincident testimony of the Italic and Syriac, and, where their evidence fails, on that of the later Oriental and Western Versions. The integrity of the old Italic and Syriac translations is then vindicated from the suspicion of corruption from the Byzantine Greek; and these points being premised, the system of traditionary evidence by which the authority of this text is vindicated, is thus described by its author.

“ The bond of connexion by which every part of the system, which rises upon this foundation, is held together, is the connected testimony of tradition. Whether we consider the original Greek, or the two versions, which are the witnesses of its integrity, the evidence of these vouchers is held together by this connecting principle, for the immense period of fourteen centuries. From the very concessions of our adversaries, it appears, that the vulgar text of the Greek, the Latin, and the Syriack Church, has existed for the whole of that time. As the tradition extended far above this period, it is implied in the very nature of this species of evidence, that it could not have sustained any considerable change during the earlier part of that term; unless from the operation of some powerful cause, and for a very limited time. It is wholly inconceivable, that any age would accept a text, transmitted by their  
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immediate predecessors, having weaker evidence of its integrity, than their predecessors had, in adopting it from those who preceded them. This reasoning is applicable to the present age, and may be applied to every age which has preceded, until we ascend from our own times to those in which the tradition commenced. The testimony of tradition is thus adequate to its own vindication; and admitting its integrity to be thus unimpeachable, we must thence necessarily infer the integrity of the text which it supports." P. 348.

From the premises thus laid down, the author proceeds to make the necessary inferences. The principles on which he defends the integrity of the Greek Vulgate, are reduced to three rules, which are applied to the vindication of a variety of passages, which have been rejected by Dr. Griesbach in his *Corrected Edition*: The testimony of Origen is again considered, and those objections solved which arise from his deviations from the vulgar edition. These difficulties being removed, the above principles are applied to the vindication of all those passages, which are of any importance, that have been cancelled by Dr. Griesbach in the received text. Of the two tables into which they are distributed, the first contains the text of the Vulgar Greek, confirmed by the old Italic, and supported by the testimony of some primitive father who preceded the last revisal of the text by Eusebius; the second contains all those passages of the Gospels of any note, which Dr. Griesbach has rejected, supported by the testimony of the primitive Italic and Syriac Versions. The same proofs are extended to vindicate the passages which have been cancelled, by the same critic, in the epistolary part of the New Testament. The author then enters into a detailed proof, that the Syriac and Latin Vulgate have not been corrupted from the Vulgar Greek, and infers from thence the antiquity of the text which is supported by the testimony of those antient witnesses. In conclusion of this section, the Received Text, of our printed editions, is shown to have been formed by Erasmus on adequate critical principles; as it is founded on the concurring testimony of the Greek and Latin Vulgate, which Erasmus incorporated in his edition.

Having thus closed the defence of the Byzantine text, the author devotes his attention in Section VI. to proving the corruption of the Egyptian and Palestine editions. This undertaking he commences by asserting the influence of Origen's writings upon the last-mentioned texts; deducing from the testimony of that antient father, a proof of the general purity of the text of the New Testament, previously to the age in which he flourished.

In prosecution of this object, the plan of Hesychius, who  
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published the Egyptian text, is described in the first instance. The principles of Origen's criticism are confronted on the one side with the internal evidence of Hesychius's text on the other; and by a comparison, it is made evident, that the corrections of this reviser have arisen in "an ambition, to give that perfection to the text of the New Testament, which Origen, following similar principles, had given to the text of the Old." The works used by Hesychius in this undertaking are specified; and the hypothesis of our author confirmed, by examples setting forth the principal alterations which the inspired text underwent in his edition.

From the consideration of the Egyptian text, Mr. N. turns to that of the Palestine edition. After an inquiry into the tenets of the Marcionites and Valentinians, and of the sophisticated texts by which they supported their religious systems; the gradual corruption of the sacred text throughout the East, is proved, and ascribed to the influence of the controversies which were conducted against those heretics. The progress of this system of corruption, which affected the sacred text, is traced, from the works of those heretics, to the writings of Origen; and from the writings of Origen, to the texts of particular manuscripts. The religious veneration in which that antient father was held in the school of Cæsarea, is then displayed; the scholia, which he inserted in the margins of particular manuscripts, and which were increased by Eusebius, are described; and the testimony of a marginal gloss in the Codex Marchalianus is cited, which states that the transcriber had corrected the text by the comment of Origen. Having produced these proofs of the corruption of the Palestine text, and confirmed them by a great variety of examples, the author rejects the testimony of this text, with that of the Egyptian edition. Having thus completed the main object of his work, he now directs his attention to the consideration of objections. A particular reply is consequently subjoined to the arguments advanced in favour of the corrected reading of Act. xx. 28. 1 Tim. iii. 16. 1 John v. 7; and an answer being added to some general objections, the author draws his work to a conclusion.

We have thus given a synopsis of the author's INQUIRY, without interposing our opinion on the conclusiveness of his reasoning, that our readers may form their judgment of its merit as a whole. We will now offer a few remarks on the claims of Mr. Nolan's system as opposed to that of Dr. Griesbach's, intending, as a conclusion to the whole, to allow ourselves, we hope, not an unbecoming liberty, in saying a few words of our author's merits, qualifying, however, our commendation, with a frank statement of the objections to which his system appears to us to be exposed, on one or two delicate points.

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The great strength of Dr. Griesbach's system lies evidently in the coincidence of the Alexandrine and Western texts taken as antient and separate witnesses, and in the weight of authority by which this coincidence is supported, in the quotations of the early ecclesiastical writers. It is no more than a reasonable presumption, that if two remote and antient Churches, like the Western and Alexandrine, agree in readings, which differ from the text of a comparatively modern Church, like the Byzantine; the former Churches must retain the genuine readings, while in the lapse of time the copies of the latter Church have been corrupted. But we cannot see how this presumption will stand, against the objections of Mr. Nolan. If the conclusion be unavoidable, that the former texts are neither antient nor separate; that the Latins, as unacquainted with Greek, had no use for Greek MSS. before the fourth century; that at that period the communication between the Alexandrine and Western Churches was direct; that Eusebius Vercellensis then corrected the Western version by the Egyptian text; and that Cassiodorus, at a subsequent period, further corrected the Latin copies by the Greek manuscripts: the proof deduced from the testimony of these witnesses directly falls to the ground. All that Dr. Griesbach can claim, is the merit of having recovered a text, which is unquestionably antient; and, in one sense, more antient than the vulgar text, and this Mr. Nolan does not deny. But how far this text is identical with the original edition published by the inspired writers, is still a point to be proved.

The great strength of Mr. Nolan's system on the other hand, lies in the concurring testimony of the Italic and Syriac versions taken as antient and separate witnesses to the integrity of the Byzantine edition; and in the evidence of the primitive fathers, who in all important points support the Byzantine text against the Egyptian and Palestine. Here the presumption of Dr. Griesbach, relative to the adequacy of the testimony of antient and separate witnesses, fully applies in support of Mr. Nolan's system. If the Latin and Syriac versions, to which our author appeals, could not have been corrupted at a late period; as, the Latins during the time when the Italic version was in use, from the want of a knowledge of Greek, were unequal to the task of correcting their versions; and, as the religious differences which have distracted the Syriac Church from the earliest period reduce the notion of the systematic corruption of their received text to an absurdity: the conclusion must follow that they are separate witnesses: they are not only more antient than any to which they can be opposed, but must be in all appearances referred to the third century. When the text of the Byzantine Greek is supported by those witnesses, we can see no mode of accounting for the agreement, than by supposing that they preserve a com-

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non resemblance to the original from whence they descended. But that this original text could not have differed much from the primitive edition may be likewise inferred from the antiquity of these witnesses. The Italic and Syriac versions were made, at least in part, before the sacred text had undergone the revision of Eusebius; they were made before it had undergone any material corruption, if respect be due to the *declarations* of Origen, on whose *quotations* Dr. Griesbach's theory is founded.

A further point in which these systems admit of comparison lies in the offensive operations, independent of the defensive, by which their respective authors have maintained their hypothesis. Dr. Griesbach, in sustaining the authority of the Alexandrine text, asserts the corruption of the Byzantine; and Mr. Nolan, in sustaining the authority of the Byzantine text, asserts the corruption of the Egyptian and Palestine. And here there appears little room for hesitation in deciding between their respective pretensions. Dr. Griesbach, after pledging himself to give a history of the corruption of the vulgar text, confessed his inability to accomplish what he had undertaken; though he referred the corruption of that text to a period when it could not have escaped observation, had it really taken place. This concession Mr. Nolan interprets into a proof of the purity of the Byzantine text; as the mode of its corruption would be easily pointed out, if it had more than an imaginary existence. On the other hand, he undertakes to point out the manner in which the Egyptian and Palestine texts have been formed, by a corruption of the Vulgar or Byzantine edition; on which subject we need not enlarge here, as we have already laid it before the reader.

But as general observations are little intelligible, until they are made perspicuous in examples, we shall select an instance which has been chosen by Mr. N. to illustrate the comparative stability of his system. One of the first and most remarkable passages, in which the Byzantine and Palestine texts differ, is the following, which we subjoin as read in the vulgar edition.

MATT. XX. 22, 23.

Οὐκ οἴδατε τί αἰτεῖσθε. δύνασθε πιεῖν τὸ ποτήριον, ὃ ἔγωγ μέλλω  
πίνειν, καὶ τὸ βασίλειον ὃ ἔγωγ βασιλεύσω, βασιλοῦσθαι; Λέγουσιν  
αὐτῷ· δύναμεθα. Καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς· τὸ μὲν ποτήριον με πίσετε, καὶ  
τὸ βασίλειον ὃ ἔγωγ βασιλεύσω, βασιλοῦσθε. τὸ δὲ καθεῖσθαι—Vulg.

The following clause of this passage is rejected by Dr. Griesbach, on the authority of the Alexandrian and Western editions; but is supported by Mr. Nolan, page 381, on the annexed authorities of the primitive Italic and Syriac;

ἡ τὸ βάπτισμα ὃ ἐγὼ βαπτίζομαι,  
 βαπτισθῆναι . . . . καὶ τὸ βάπ-  
 τισμα ὃ ἐγὼ βαπτίζομαι, βαπτισ-  
 θῆσιν. *Vulg.*

aut baptismata baptizari quo ego  
 . . . . et baptismata quo ego bap-  
 tizor baptizamini. *Ital. l.*

ⲁⲓ ⲕⲁⲓ ⲁⲓ ⲕⲁⲓ ⲁⲓ ⲕⲁⲓ  
 ⲁⲓ ⲕⲁⲓ ⲁⲓ ⲕⲁⲓ ⲁⲓ ⲕⲁⲓ  
 ⲁⲓ ⲕⲁⲓ ⲁⲓ ⲕⲁⲓ ⲁⲓ ⲕⲁⲓ

aut baptismate quo ego bapti-  
 zor baptizabimini . . . . baptis-  
 mate quo ego baptizor bapti-  
 zabimini. *Syr.*

In support of the corrected reading Dr. Griesbach, not. in h. l., refers to Origen, Comm. in Matt. vol. iii. p. 717. In support of the vulgar reading Mr. Nolan refers, p. 498. n., to the higher testimony of St. Irenæus, adv. Hær. lib. I. cap. xxi. §. 2. p. 94. The latter father having declared, that the Marcionites cited the disputed passage, to support their notion of a *second baptism*, in order to wash away the pollution contracted after the first; Mr. N. thence infers, that the testimony of St. Irenæus and the Marcionites supports the Byzantine reading, and clearly points out the source of the error in the Egyptian and Palestine edition: the disputed passage *having been removed*, as favoring the error of the Marcionites. On this supposition the varieties in the passage are adequately accounted for; but on that of Dr. Griesbach, it is wholly inexplicable that the orthodox should have inserted a passage in their copies which favored the errors of the heretics, at the early period in which it must have made its way into the text, as it is found in the primitive Italic and Syriac Versions.

The following account which is given by Mr. N. of the method in which the Egyptian and Palestine texts have been corrupted in the foregoing passage, will further exemplify his theory, and shew the stability of the principles on which it is rested.

“Origen, in expounding the passage before us, was thoroughly aware of the use to which it had been applied by the hereticks; he consequently obviates the conclusion which might be deduced from it, by expounding it so as to shut out the notion of a *second baptism*. In one of the two places where he has referred to it, he supplies the present *πῖνον*, for the future *μήλλω πῖνον*, contrary to the text of St. Matthew; Orig. Exhort. ad Martyr. Tom. I. p. 291. b. ἡμεῖς γὰρ μαίζοντες ἀρέργοιο τιμῆς οἱ δόλοισι ἐκ δεξιῶν ἡ ἐξ ἐναντιῶν καθεσθῆναι τῷ Ἰησοῦ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ, φησὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁ Κύριος, ‘δύνασθε πῖναι τὸ ποτήριον ὃ ἐγὼ πῖνον; ποτήριον λέγω τὸ μαρτύριον’ St. Matthew however reads δύνασθαι πῖναι τὸ ποτήριον ὃ ἐγὼ μήλλω πῖνον. In the other, he corrects himself, fully acknowledging the vulgar reading to be genuine, while he qualifies it by referring to St. Mark, who had written πῖνον for μήλλω πῖνον; Id. Comm. in Mat. Tom. III. p. 717. ε. ἀποκριθεὶς [ὁ Ἰησοῦς] εἶπε μετὰ τούτου ‘δύνασθαι πῖναι τὸ ποτήριον, ὃ ἐγὼ μήλλω πῖναι; ἢ ὡς ὁ Μάρκος ἀνέγραψεν, ‘δύνασθαι τὸ ποτήριον πῖναι ὃ ἐγὼ πῖνον’ ἢ τὸ βάπτισμα, ὃ ἐγὼ βαπτίζομαι, βαπτισθῆναι.’ The difference between

between St. Matthew and St. Mark consequently lay, not in the one having omitted, and the other retained, τὸ βασίλειον ἢ ἐνὶ βασιλείᾳ βασιλοῦσθαι; but in the one having read ἐνὶ πνεύματι, the other ἐνὶ μέλλοι πνεύματι. But this distinction having been overlooked by the reviser of the Egyptian text, the former notion was adopted, and the passage accordingly cancelled, apparently with Origen's sanction, who was thus completely misrepresented."—"Having been suppressed in the Egyptian text on Origen's authority misunderstood, it was consequently omitted, on the strength of the same authority in the Palestine edition. After the example of the former text, it was omitted of course in the Sahidick and revised Italic versions; and after that of the latter, in the Latin Vulgate, Coptick, Ethiopick, and Persick. And as St. Epiphanius and Jerome followed the Palestine text, and St. Hilary, Ambrose, and Juvenius, used the revised Italic translation, it is of course omitted in their writings." P. 498.

Admitting the above observations to be just, we have here as plain a proof of the instability of the principles on which Dr. Griesbach's theory rests; as of the stability of those on which Mr. Nolan's system is founded. For we here clearly see, from the testimony of St. Irenæus, and the state of the Marcionite controversy, that the concurrence of the primitive Italic and Syriac is adequate evidence of the purity of the Byzantine edition. We here likewise observe, the possibility of the Egyptian and Palestine texts having been corrupted, through the influence which the Marcionite heresies have had on the writings of Origen. From hence also we must collect, that the concurrence of the Western and Alexandrine texts, though supported by the train of Fathers and Versions cited by Griesbach, contains no certain proof of the purity of the text; as their concurrence may be merely an agreement in error, and consequently that his system has no real stability.

But a further point in which these systems differ, and which proves the necessity of acquiescing in Mr. Nolan's scheme, is the effect which Dr. Griesbach's system has in shaking the foundation on which the sacred canon is rested. He not only builds his hypothesis, *independent* of the traditionary testimony of the Church; but his principles lead to consequences which, when taken as true, demonstrate the *faithlessness* of her testimony, from the earliest ages. It is obvious, that if his corrected edition contain the genuine text, the three classes of text out of which it is formed, must be corrupted; as his text and these classes differ very considerably from each other, and where the one is correct, the others of course must be corrupted. Now granting this corruption to exist, it must have existed from the primitive ages, to which he refers his principal classes; and this

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in fact is asserted by Dr. Griesbach, who declares that the Western and Alexandrine texts emanated in the earliest ages from editions, which have been interpolated in every part of them. If we must admit this assumption, we must conclude with Mr. N. that it is a vain undertaking to attempt the recovery of the original text, which has been thus corrupted from time immemorial. It is needless to repeat, that from these objections Mr. Nolan's system is apparently free; as it is rested on the ecclesiastical tradition, on which it has been our object to shew, it is adequately supported.

We have thus entered into the views of Mr. Nolan, perhaps, scarcely at the length which they deserve, and with the impression fresh upon our minds of what he has accomplished, we cannot refrain from again taking credit to ourselves for having been instrumental, however subordinately, in bringing forward the discussion, nor from expressing with more confidence than at the outset of our Review, the no little pride which we feel that out of our own pages has arisen so goodly a structure. In passing this commendation, we would not be understood as wishing to suppress, what will not escape the notice of those who study the *INQUIRY* with the attention which it deserves, that it bears marks of the almost incredible expedition, with which its materials have been collected and arranged, and that its author would have produced a much more perfect work had he allowed himself longer time in preparing it for the press.

In mitigation, however, of the censures which may be passed upon him for premature publication, it is but justice to state, that the Socinians were triumphing in what they were pleased to call the improved Text of Scripture which, by the aid of criticism, was now produced. They were casting scorn upon our received translation, as containing many passages now "exploded." The text of the heavenly witnesses they were branding as "a forgery, which critics of all parties were ashamed to hold to any longer," and with respect to which "the only thing left to men of learning and candour, was to procure its erasure from the text of Scripture, as a passage which no man of information would hereafter quote, and no man of integrity read in his Bible without disapprobation." Nay, they were going beyond this, and setting it forth as "a presumption in favour of Unitarianism being the truth of the Gospel, that the course of Biblical learning, since the revival of letters, had tended to lessen the objections to it on Scripture grounds; insomuch that while Unitarians had by criticism lost no text on which they built an argument; Trinitarians had lost the texts on which they build chiefly," and they were sarcastically "lamenting the situation of such Christian scholars as are tied up by a narrow Ecclesiastical

Ecclesiastical Establishment, from doing justice to the Scriptures, and bound by the fetters of subscription and the oath of canonical obedience, are obliged to deliver that to the people as inspired truth, which they *know* to be a careless alteration, a superstitious perversion, or a wicked corruption of the Sacred Records\*." In this state of things, and being moreover informed that a new Edition of Griesbach's New Testament is in preparation, with additional defalcations, from the author's last corrections, it appears to us fairly questionable, whether promptitude in vindicating the received text from the injury which it had sustained by a specious attempt to rectify it from error, was not to be preferred before perfect execution. Mr. Nolan's *INQUIRY*, with all its imperfections upon its head, has accomplished this great object—it has given an effectual check to Socinian insolence—it has opened a question of great importance to Christianity which had too hastily been deemed decided to the great disparagement of the tradition of the Church, and it has so opened it as to afford the most solid grounds for anticipating the compleat establishment of the Church's fidelity as "a witness and keeper of Holy Writ."

For these reasons, we consider the incompleteness which might have been removed by a less hasty publication, a venial defect. But our commendation must be qualified with further exceptions against some positions which Mr. Nolan has advanced, as appears to us without sufficient warranty of historical testimony. As far as our information on the subject extends, they are all original, and though upon the supposition that they were substantiated, all the difficulties arising from three classes of the Text of the New Testament distinguished by characteristic varieties would be done away, and the authenticity of the Received Text set at rest for ever, yet the two charges against Eusebius, which form so important a part of Mr. Nolan's hypothesis, must not be admitted even in the qualified state in which he has left them, upon mere circumstantial evidence, without the further confirmation of positive testimony, or at least a greater accumulation of indirect support than is at present produced. Although unable therefore to explain or to account for the disappearance of certain important passages from the text of the New Testament, subsequently to the critical labours of Eusebius, of which there are traces before his time, yet we cannot subscribe to what we can at present only designate our author's conjectural solution, as it has a tendency (as far as appears to us without sufficient grounds), to fix a charge of Arianism upon that eminent Father, and also involves in it an impeachment of his integrity, notwithstanding all that our

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\* Aspland's Plea, pp. 30, 33, 35, notes.

author has so ingeniously advanced to ward off the imputations. Neither can we admit the solidity of his remarks upon the text of the Heavenly Witnesses, made with the view of accounting for the fact of its not having been appealed to by the orthodox; that the Sabellians, "by adhering to the very letter of the text, derived from it a stronger testimony in their favour than could easily have been fabricated." What he says upon this subject in the text and notes from p. 538—543, we cannot but strongly recommend to his reconsideration.

But these are comparatively small imperfections not affecting the general result of the "INQUIRY," by which, making his way good, in many nice points, with an ingenuity, ability, and judgment very highly to be applauded, Mr. Nolan has shewn that, in the RECEIVED TEXT, the Universal Church of Christ has, from the first age to the present time, been in possession of the genuine and authentic volume of the New Testament: and that the *corrected*, that is *corrupted*, Editions, have prevailed only partially, and for a time.

We trust that this Volume will command the attention of every scholar throughout the kingdom; and that it will find its way into the foreign Universities, and be thoroughly scrutinized by the learned in them. To the Biblical inquirer, it will present not only a new and wide field of most curious and happy research, but a mine of the most valuable information: to the classical inquirer it will be a most interesting work, as it involves so many points, both with respect to manuscripts and editions, which to him must be highly important. Of a volume which displays so much labour in investigation, so much originality in deduction, and so much sound principle in design, we can in common justice say no less, than that whatever be the issue of the controversy which it has, we think very seasonably revived, it reflects honour on the age and nation in which it was produced.

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ART. II. *De la Littérature du midi de l'Europe.* Par J. C. L. Simonde de Sismondi, de l'Académie et de la Société des Arts de Genève, Correspondant de l'Académie royale des Sciences de Prusse, Membre honoraire de l'Université de Wilna, des Académies Italienne, des Georgofili, de Cagliari, de Pistoia, &c. 4 vols. 8vo. Paris. Treuttel and Würtz. 1813.

THE author of the present volumes is already well known in the republic of letters. His production on the Italian Republics very deservedly has acquired him a reputation which we are sorry to own, the *Littérature du midi de l'Europe* is very far from sanctioning. This work, which ought to have been the labour

labour of years, both on account of the multiplicity and extent of its complicated subjects, betrays a hurry and a nonchalance, which could hardly be expected from such a man as our author. Extremely declamatory in his style M. Sismondi falls very short when a proper line is to be drawn between the literature of the different nations, and when the characteristic features of the ages, and the genius of the several writers is to be properly distinguished and expressed. On many occasions he talks of the first rate authors, and even speaks of, and classes their different productions, without having read them, and in general throughout the four volumes which now lie open before us, he displays a species of gène and tameness, as if the very subject of his labour had no means to excite his enthusiasm, and sometimes even no allurements to awaken his interest. With feelings like these, it would have been wonderful indeed if M. Sismondi had been able to produce in his readers the interest he wants; and though occasionally we have found in the perusal of this work a burst of eloquence, which is certainly striking, very often in going through the details of the different subjects which he has imparted to his reader we have felt an apathy correspondent to that of his pen.

The fact is, that M. Sismondi is extremely deficient in point of reading on the subject he has been willing to treat. Consequently not being able to judge for himself he has followed blindly the writers whom he has chosen for his guides, and has adopted all their sentiments, all their prejudices, and all their faults in analysing the different productions, of which he has been pleased to speak in his literature. For the same reason he very often, if not always, gives to his reader, not the reflexions he has made himself, for on many occasions he has not had an opportunity of making any at all, but he gives those which he knows to have been made by others: and for the very same reason in the whole course of his work we have not met with many original thoughts which deserve to be mentioned with praise, though occasionally we have found some of an opposite nature.

It is true that the history of modern literature may be considered as a subject completely exhausted amongst the nations of Europe. They all possess in their own language classical works which will last with their very tongue; and to a writer, who undertakes to treat of them, very little more is left than to copy what has been written by Tiraboschi, Maffei, Muratori, Andres, Riccoboni, Ginguené, Arteaga, Walker, Warton, Les freres de St. Maure, Fontenelle, La Harpe, Schlegel, St. Palaye, without leaving out of the catalogue the Arabians, Alassakeri, and Moamad Aha Abdalla, the most ancient of them all. But in copying from all these historians a writer must avoid the faults which have been charged against all and each of them.

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He must speak of foreigners without prejudice, and of the writers of his own country without partiality; he must divest himself of all species of *esprit du corps*, in point of religion, or of politics. He must read and criticise what he reads without any undue regard to the nation, to the laws and religion of the writer whose works he peruses; and he must always direct his attention and his criticism to the main object of his research, the progressive developement of the human mind. When obliged to compare the manners and prejudices of past ages with the manners and opinions of our own, he ought to weigh well the merits of our manners and our opinions before he ventures to debase the one at the expence of the other. Though the philosophy of the vulgar, as a celebrated critic calls the prejudices of a nation, should always be respected, a philosopher, (for a philosopher must be he who undertakes to follow the progress of human knowledge,) will know how to expose the prejudices of our ancestors without paying too great a deference to those of his age or of his nation.

It is thus alone that an author may hope to perform the great desideratum which still remains to be accomplished in regard to the history of the human mind, in which perhaps the only production which stands superior to all other productions of the same description is that of the Abbé Giovanni Andres, *Dell' origine progressi e stato attuale d' ogni letteratura*, in seven quarto volumes. 1782.

In all these respects M. Sismondi has certainly failed. He has read very little, and has thought still less. He has raised in his mind a standard of perfection according to German rules and German prejudices, and according to this fantastic standard he weighs the merit of all the productions whether in poetry or prose, of which he has thought proper to speak in the work before us. Rather unfortunate in the choice of some of his guides, he has been still more so in leaving them often unconsulted just when they mostly deserved to be closely followed; and then instead of giving to his reader the result of his reading and of his thoughts, he has been pleased to favour the public with some unconnected, abstruse, and ill-timed theories.

It is true, that without a certain degree of enthusiasm, no man can pretend to success. The greatest masters of all ages, whose works form our admiration and delight, were all very partial to the subject of their studies, and some of them were so much so as to become unjust to others. Consequently wishing to enhance the value of their favorite pursuits, they drank deep, and laboured hard, and thus in endeavouring to persuade their reader to think as they did, they imparted to him a portion of that fire by which they themselves were animated. Indeed to

no other cause can we assign the success of the History of the Italian Republics, and the want of interest in la Littérature. M. Sismondi felt an interest in the former, and very little in this latter; and after all we should not have the least hesitation to advise our author to lay aside, if not altogether, at least for a while, all thoughts of writing about the literature of modern Europe, for which he seems very little calculated, and to give his attention to history, for which he certainly is highly qualified. The annals of the different nations will point out to him several periods, which, like the Italian Republics, require the hand of a master, though, we own it with sorrow, the same reason perhaps which has till now prevented others from developing their events, may be found at this moment to act with the greatest force even against M. Sismondi, we mean the subjection of the press all over the Continent.

By these general reflexions we do not intend to deprive M. Sismondi of the credit which is still due to him, of having collected under one point of view, with some few exceptions, the best criticisms and the greatest quantity of matter which laid scattered in many volumes and in many languages; of having joined together the links of the extensive chain, which apparently separate the productions of the different nations, but which in reality trace the progress of mankind towards civilization and learning; of having pointed out to his readers some of the best sources of information on the developement of the human mind, and all this in a clear and animated style, full of pathos and simplicity. On this account even the faults which M. Sismondi has committed, may be useful to his reader. They will excite his curiosity, and urge him to consult the classical productions which we have on this branch of modern literature; and for this reason we proceed to state the reflexions we have made in perusing the four volumes, *de la Littérature du midi de l'Europe*.

M. Sismondi has divided the whole literature of modern Europe in two classes. The first comprehends the literature of all nations who speak the Roman language, by which he means a language which has been formed by the corruption of the Latin, such as the French, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese, and the second embraces the literature of those nations who speak the Teutonic and the Slavonian languages; that is, German, English, Poles and Russians. Of these latter he intends to give an account to the public at a future period. The present work, therefore, contains the history of the literature of the former nations, whom he has properly called, *du midi de l'Europe*.

For the present we shall not press upon our readers any criticism

ticism on the distinction which our author has made of the Troubadours and Trouveres, or on the origin of the fabliaux, the romances of chivalry, and the first dramatic representations. Our reflexions will find a better place when we come to analyse that part of the work in which he treats of all these subjects. But we think it necessary to remark here, that the authors whom M. Sismondi has consulted upon the general plan of the literature of all nations are; *Andres dell' origine progressi e stato attuale d'ogni Letteratura*. 5 vols. 4to. We beg pardon of M. Sismondi, it is in a vol. 4to. and *Friedrich Boutherweck, geschichte der Schönen Wissenschaften*, 8 vols. 8vo. This last gentleman has till now only published the History of the Literature of Italy, Spain, Portugal, France and England. He appears to have been the favorite author with M. Sismondi, and we are sorry for it. Boutherweck is certainly an author of great merit, but he is often visionary, and occasionally he judges the writers of other nations according to the prejudices of his own. Andres, on the contrary, is exempt from this fault, and would have been by far a better and a more sure guide. But M. Sismondi does not think so, and here are his reasons.

“ Il esquisse l'histoire de toutes les sciences humaines dans toutes les langues, et dans tout l'univers ; et avec une vaste érudition, il développe d'une manière philosophique la marche générale de l'esprit humain ; mais *comme il ne donne jamais d'exemple, &c. &c.* il ne met jamais son lecteur à portée de juger par lui-même.” P. 12, in the note.

So here lies the truth of the matter. *He does never give any example* ; he takes for granted that his reader is acquainted at least with the classical productions of the different languages ; and a man who has read very few of these productions cannot be satisfied with Andres's judgment, however philosophical they may be. To this man Boutherweck is by far a more serviceable writer ; he gives examples, he quotes long passages, and by this merit alone all his faults and all his prejudices are overlooked by the facility which he gives of speaking of books which have never been read.

Besides these two general works M. Sismondi has consulted for the different branches of his research, *Millot Histoire Littéraire des Troubadours*—for the Provençal literature, *Tiraboschi*, and *Ginguené* for the Italian—*Velasquez* and *Barbosa* for the Spanish and Portuguese ; and *Schlegel* for the drama of all these nations.

We are sorry that M. Sismondi has chosen such a guide as Millot upon one of the most important branches of modern literature, the history of the Troubadours. Millot at the best

is but a dangerous guide even to those who are well acquainted with the subject; and to M. Sismondi he is more than dangerous. It is true that Millot gives examples, and quotes whole poems, but unfortunately he quotes them as exemplifications to theories which have existed only in his imagination. We should have imagined that the Abbé Massieu, Fontenelle, and la Harpe would have been more sure and preferable guides. And, indeed, even without speaking of the history of French poetry, and of the French theatre, of the beautiful fragment of the Florieu, and the celebrated Lycée, the very Lives of the Provençal Poets by Nostradamus, notwithstanding the just and severe criticism which has been passed on them, are in our opinion, more to be depended on than the Literary History of the Troubadours by the Abbé Millot. It appears, however, that neither Fontenelle, Massieu, nor la Harpe are much known to our author. Their names and their works have been completely left out at the beginning of the third chapter, where he enumerates all the writers who have treated of the Provençal literature. And though Crescimbeni should be regarded as the second in rank next to M. La Curne de Sainte Palaye, yet by a partiality which cannot easily be accounted for, even this secretary of the Arcadia has been deemed inferior to the Abbé Millot, and l'Histoire Littéraire des Troubadours has been preferred to la Storia della Poesia Italiana.

As an introduction to the literature of modern Europe, M. Sismondi very properly has thought it necessary to give an idea of the immense progress which the Arabs made in all branches of knowledge; he justifies our gratitude by the obligation we owe to them. In every sense of the word the Saracens have been our masters, their superiority in scientific knowledge influenced both the literature and sciences of other nations, they were learned and civilized when all the rest of Europe was barbarous and ignorant; and the literature of the Arabs for a long time has constituted the genius of our own. But too attentive to develop the progress of the Arabians, M. Sismondi has forgotten to explain how they themselves became enlightened, and for what reason they began to lay aside the happy ignorance of their forefathers, so much enforced by the intolerant tenets of their prophet, and the precepts of their Koran. In a former number we found the same omission in another classical work on the Literary History of the middle Ages, and we endeavoured to supply the omission. To the reflexions we then made\* we now refer our readers.

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\* British Critic, new Series, September, 1815. Art. Berington's Literary History of the middle Ages.



In speaking of the Arabian literature M. Sismondi borrows the beautiful sentiment of the Italian poet.

“ Che fa un solco nell' ombra, e si dilègua,” &c.

And in enlarging upon some reflexions of the same tendency made by Andres on the same subject \*, he thus concludes the whole.

“ Tel fut l'éclat dont brillèrent les lettres et les sciences, du neuvième au quatorzième siècle de notre ère, dans les vastes contrées qui se soumirent à l'islamisme. Les plus tristes réflexions s'attachent à cette longue énumération de noms inconnus pour nous, et qui cependant furent illustres; d'ouvrages ensevelis en manuscrit dans quelques bibliothèques poudreuses, et qui cependant influèrent puissamment pendant un temps sur la culture de l'esprit humain. Que reste-t-il de tant de gloire? Cinq ou six hommes seulement sont à portée de visiter les trésors de manuscrits arabes, renfermés à la bibliothèque de l'Escurial; quelques centaines d'hommes encore, disséminés dans toute l'Europe, se sont mis en état, par un travail opiniâtre, de fouiller dans les mines de l'Orient; mais ceux-là n'obtiennent que péniblement quelques manuscrits rares et obscurs, et ils ne peuvent s'élever assez haut pour juger toute la littérature, dont ils n'atteignent jamais qu'une partie. Cependant les vastes régions où dominait et où domine encore l'islamisme, sont mortes pour toutes les sciences. Ces riches campagnes de Fez et de Maroc, illustrées il y a cinq siècles par tant d'académies, tant d'universités, tant de bibliothèques, ne sont plus que des déserts de sable brûlant que des tyrans disputent à des tigres; tout le riant et fertile rivage de la Mauritanie, où le commerce, les arts et l'agriculture s'étaient élevés à la plus haute prospérité, sont aujourd'hui des retraites de corsaires, qui répandent la terreur sur les mers, et qui se délassent de leurs travaux dans de honteuses débauches, jusqu'à ce que la peste vienne chaque année marquer parmi eux des victimes, et venger l'humanité offensée. L'Egypte est peu à peu engloutie par les sables qu'elle fertilisait autrefois; la Syrie, la Palestine sont désolées par des Bédouins errans moins redoutables encore que le pacha qui les opprime. Bagdad, autrefois le séjour du luxe, de la puissance et du savoir, est ruiné; les universités si célèbres de Cufa et de Bassora sont fermées; celles de Samarcande et de Balkh sont également détruites. Dans cette immense étendue de pays, deux ou trois fois plus grande que notre Europe, on ne trouve plus qu'ignorance, qu'esclavage, que terreur et que mort. Peu d'hommes sont en état de lire quelques-uns des écrits de leurs illustres ancêtres; peu d'hommes pourraient les comprendre; aucun n'est à portée de se les procurer. Cette immense richesse littéraire des

\* Andres dell' Origine, Progressi d' ogni Letteratura. Parma. 1782. 7 vols. 4to. tomo 1. cap. 1. p. 19, 20.

Arabes que nous n'avons fait qu'entre-voir, n'existe plus dans aucun des pays où les Arabes et les Musulmans dominent. Ce n'est plus là qu'il faut chercher ni la renommée de leurs grands hommes, ni leurs écrits. Ce qui s'en est sauvé est tout entier entre les mains de leurs ennemis, dans les couvens des moines, et les bibliothèques des rois de l'Europe. Et cependant ces vastes contrées n'ont point été conquises; ce n'est point l'étranger qui les a dépouillées de leurs richesses, qui a anéanti leur population, qui a détruit leurs lois, leurs mœurs, et leur esprit national. Le poison était au-dedans d'elles, il s'est développé par lui-même, et il a tout anéanti.

“ Qui sait si, dans quelques siècles, cette même Europe, où le règne des lettres et des sciences est aujourd'hui transporté, qui brille d'un si grand éclat, qui juge si bien les temps passés, qui compare si bien le règne successif des littératures et des mœurs antiques, ne sera pas déserte et sauvage comme les collines de la Mauritanie, les sables de l'Egypte, et les vallées de l'Anatolie? Qui sait si, dans un pays entièrement neuf, peut-être dans les hautes contrées d'où découle l'Orénoque et le fleuve des Amazones, peut-être dans cette enceinte jusqu'à ce jour impénétrable des montagnes de la Nouvelle-Hollande, il ne se formera pas des peuples avec d'autres mœurs, d'autres langues, d'autres pensées, d'autres religions, des peuples qui renouvelleront encore une fois la race humaine, qui étudieront comme nous les temps passés, et qui, voyant avec étonnement que nous avons existé, que nous avons su ce qu'ils sauront, que nous avons cru comme eux à la gloire et à la gloire, plaindront nos impuissans efforts, et rappelleront les noms des Newton, des Racine, des Tasse, comme exemples de cette vaine lutte de l'homme pour atteindre une immortalité de renommée que la destinée lui refuse.” Tom. I. P. 74.

After this short but comprehensive view of the Saracenic learning, our author has given us a very minute detail of the literature of the Provençals; and, in the whole we may apply to him the axiom of la Rochefoucauld, *il est gauche à force d'esprit*. Two reasons may be assigned for this gaucherie. One which, though it may be more properly considered as belonging to the Abbé Millot, does nevertheless affect M. Sismondi, inasmuch as it betrays his want of taste not only for choosing such a writer for his guide, but also for choosing out of him the details which he has thought prudent to impart to his readers. The second reason, which is exclusively our author's own, is his having laboured to develop, and to force upon the literature of all modern Europe a theory, with the foundations of which he is entirely unacquainted.

It is true, that the Arabs were the masters of the Troubadours; it is also true, that the Arabic language is as perfect as both the Latin and Greek in regard to the certainty of marking the quantity of the syllables, but it is not quite so clear whether the

the verse of the Troubadours of all other nations of modern Europe be precisely what our author has imagined. The Latins and the Greeks might in the several species of their poetry attend to the quantity of the syllables, and form the different feet which constitute their verses. Upon the authority of Sir William Jones we may say the same of the Arabians; but the modern nations of Europe have been obliged on account of the imperfection of their languages to depart from this rule which had been adopted by the ancients. In our verse we all attend to accent more than to quantity; and our rules are very plain and very short. Our heroic verse is always perfect and harmonious whether the accent falls on the even or on the odd syllables, provided the tenth be always accepted, and we very much doubt, whether in modern Europe one poet out of fifty ever thinks of an iambick or a trochee in the composition of his verses, and much more whether the Troubadours ever knew any thing of the matter.

The truth is, the whole theory which M. Sismondi has thought proper to lay down on the formation of modern verses, sounds very much like the rules of the Scholiasts. For many centuries they have disgraced our schools, they puzzled the mind of the student for no earthly purpose, they retarded the propagation of truth, and are now the best specific for lulling a man to sleep. Seriously; what does M. Sismondi mean in his long note of five pages to the 110th page of his first volume? Does he not see that in scanning modern verses in the manner he proposes, he makes them consist, sometimes of five feet, sometimes of five feet and a cesura, and sometimes even of six feet? We will not insult our readers by applying M. Sismondi's rules to the formation of our English verses. The absurdity of his theory is too evident, in our language, to require confutation. We shall therefore illustrate our assertion by the instance he gives in Italian poetry, of four verses taken out of Ariosto.

"Les mêmes règles," says he, "s'appliquent, sans exception, à toutes les autres langues modernes, [that is, of scanning the heroic verse by iambics and trochees,] et les vers Italiens, par exemple, doivent être scandés, d'après le principe inventé par les Provençaux, ainsi :

"Misé'r' ch'ī māl' ō prān'—dō si 'cōn fr'dā  
Ch' ognōr' stār dē'b—biā il māl'ēf'ciō occūl'tō,  
Chē qū'andō ogn' āl't'ro tacc'—ciā intōr'nō grīdā  
L' ariā e' lā tēr rā stēs'—sā in ch' 'ē sēpūl'tō." Ariosto.

Tom. I. P. 111. note.

In this specimen, independent of the elisions which are ad libitum, we have the first verse of five feet, the second of

of six, and the third and the fourth of five feet and a caesura.

But if close reasoning be not the most shining side of M. Sismondi, he certainly excels in declamation. We have already given a specimen of this sort of style at the close of the literature of the Arabians, and the following on the Troubadours, is no less striking and pleasing.

“ En prenant congé de la langue et de la littérature des troubadours, abstenons-nous de les juger trop sévèrement, d’après le peu d’impression, le peu de traces brillantes qu’ils ont laissée dans notre mémoire; n’oublions point que le siècle dans lequel ils ont vécu était celui d’une ignorance et d’une barbarie universelles. Nous n’avons pu, en les analysant, nous abstenir de les comparer sans cesse aux Français de Louis XIV, aux Italiens de Léon X, aux Anglais de la reine Anne, aux Allemands de nos jours; mais cette comparaison était toujours injuste. Autant les troubadours sont inférieurs aux rois de nos littératures modernes, autant ils sont supérieurs à tous ceux qui, de leur temps, chantaient des vers en France, en Italie, en Angleterre et en Allemagne. Une fatalité cruelle semble avoir poursuivi leur langue; elle a détruit les meilleurs souverains qui la parlaient; elle a dispersé la noblesse qui devait s’en faire gloire; elle a ruiné le peuple, et l’a livré à des haines et des persécutions féroces. Le provençal, abandonné dans son pays natal par les hommes les plus capables de le cultiver, justement à l’époque où il commençait d’acquiescer à côté de ses poètes, des historiens, des critiques, des prosateurs distingués; repoussé dans un pays nouvellement conquis sur les Arabes, pressé entre l’orgueilleux Castillan et la mer, vint périr dans le royaume de Valence, à l’époque où les habitants de ces provinces, autrefois si libres et si fiers, perdirent leur liberté. La poésie qui brilla seule jadis dans la barbarie universelle, qui réunissait toutes les âmes honnêtes par le culte des sentimens élevés, fut pendant longtemps le lien commun de tous ces peuples divers, a perdu à nos yeux ce qui faisait autrefois son charme et sa puissance, depuis que nous sommes déçus des espérances qu’elle avait fait naître. Ses chants variés, qui semblaient contenir le germe de tant de nobles ouvrages, et que cette attente faisait accueillir avec tant d’avidité, paraissent plus froids et plus tristes depuis qu’on sait qu’ils n’ont rien produit. Ainsi, l’aurore boréale brille sans résultat dans les longues nuits du Nord; au milieu des ténèbres les plus épaisses, le ciel paraît tout à coup enflammé; des rayons ardents, des gerbes de mille couleurs, s’étendent du pôle presque jusqu’au milieu du ciel; la nature sourit à cette magnificence inattendue; mais la lumière boréale, comme la poésie des troubadours, n’a point de chaleur, et ne répand point de vie.”

Tom. I. P. 250.

In talking of the literature of Provence, our author, we fear, has not been very happy in accounting for the origin of Chivalry,

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and we fear M. Sismondi will find very few men who will agree with him.

"The institution of chivalry," says Dr. Robertson, "naturally arose from the state of society at that period. The feudal state was a state of perpetual war, rapine, and anarchy; during which, the weak and unarmed were exposed to perpetual insults or injuries. The power of the Sovereign was too limited to prevent these wrongs; and the administration of justice too feeble to redress them. Against violence and oppression there was scarcely any protection, besides that which the valour and generosity of private persons afforded. The same spirit of enterprise which had prompted so many gentlemen to take arms in defence of the oppressed pilgrims in Palestine, incited others to declare themselves the patrons and avengers of injured innocence at home. When the final reduction of the holy land under the dominion of infidels put an end to these foreign expeditions; the latter was the only employment left for the activity and courage of adventurers. The objects of this institution were to check the insolence of overgrown oppressors, to succour the distressed, to rescue the helpless from captivity, to protect or to avenge women, orphans, and ecclesiastics, who could not bear arms in their own defence. All these were considered as acts of the highest prowess and merit. Valour, gallantry, and religion, were blended together in this institution; humanity, courtesy, justice, and honour, were its characteristic qualities; the enthusiastic zeal produced by religion served to give it singular energy, and to carry it even to a romantic excess. Men were trained to knighthood by long previous discipline. They were admitted into the order by solemnities no less devout than pompous. It was a distinction superior to Royalty, and monarchs themselves were fond to receive it from the hands of private gentlemen. In the mean time, the courts of the feudal sovereigns became magnificent and polite; and as the military institution still subsisted, it naturally softened into fictitious images and courtly exercises of war, in jousts and tournaments, where the honour of the ladies supplied the place of zeal for the holy sepulchre; and thus a wild and fantastic species of love, engrafted on spiritual enthusiasm, mixed itself with the other characters of the knights' errant.

"However, many effects were produced by this institution. War was carried on with less ferocity, when humanity, not less than courage, came to be deemed the ornament of knighthood. More gentle and polished manners were introduced; violence and oppression decreased, when it was reckoned meritorious to check or punish them; a scrupulous adherence to truth, and a religious attention to fulfil every engagement, became the distinguishing characteristic of a gentleman."

M. Sismondi, however, does not allow chivalry to have actually existed. He considers this institution as an invention perfectly

perfectly poetical; he pretends that it has existed no where; and asserts, that the period of its existence has not and cannot be determined. In short, he looks upon chivalry in the same way as Metastasio did on the Arabian phoenix:

“ Che vi sia ciascun lo dice,  
Dove sia nessun lo sà.”

“ Plus on étudie l'histoire, et plus on voit que la chevalerie est une invention presque absolument poétique: on n'arrive jamais par des documens authentiques au pays où elle régnait; toujours elle est représentée à distance et pour les lieux et pour le temps; et tandis que les historiens contemporains nous donnent une idée nette, détaillée, complète des vices des cours et des grands, de la férocité ou de la corruption de la noblesse, et de l'asservissement du peuple, on est tout étonné de voir, après un laps de temps, des poètes animer ces mêmes siècles par des fictions toutes resplendissantes de vertus, de grâces et de loyauté. Les romanciers du douzième siècle plaçaient la chevalerie du temps de Charlemagne; François 1<sup>er</sup> la plaçait de leur temps; nous croyons encore la voir fleurir dans Du Guesclin et dans Bayard, auprès du roi Charles V et de François 1<sup>er</sup>. Mais quand nous étudions l'une ou l'autre époque, encore que nous trouvions dans toutes quelques héros, nous sommes bientôt forcés de convenir qu'il faut renvoyer la chevalerie à trois ou quatre siècles avant toute espèce de réalité.”  
Tom. I. p. 90.

This is surely to carry the love of system to its highest pitch. Indeed, we have often observed, that M. Sismondi is very fond of dealing in paradox; and what he says on chivalry is but a new instance of the power of his imagination. We are sorry that we have not room to enter into the real merit of the case; and our narrow limits oblige us simply to give the result of our observation.

The institution of chivalry is by no means a poetical invention, nor is it difficult to ascertain the period of its existence. Having risen amongst the Arabians, chivalry from Spain was imported into Provence by the Troubadours; it acquired new strength by the crusades, and reached its highest pitch after the total submission of the holy land to the power of the infidels. The establishment of the tribunal of love, the chronicle of the Archbishop of Tyre, many historical episodes preserved by Tasso, and indeed the whole history of the crusades, too much prove the reality and the origin of such an institution. From this last, Madame Cottin has taken the beautiful subject of her best novel, and the character of Maleck Adel, the brother of Saladin, is but the copy and the original of the characters of many Christian knights, who long before and long after this Saracen hero, have existed in Europe.

M. Sismondi, however, has been driven into the necessity of denying the existence of chivalry by the totality of the system he has adopted. Wishing to establish his favourite opinion, that romantic epic was invented by the Normans, he has made an imaginary distinction between the Troubadours, and the Trouvères; and though he may coquette with the writers of all nations, it is on the latter he looks as the idols of his soul. For this reason he has heaped paralogisms upon paralogisms, paradoxes upon paradoxes; for this reason he has denied the existence of every thing that could weaken his position; for this reason he has considered a political division of France to have produced a distinction in its language. He is on the old plan of the northern and southern French, to which he gives the appellation of *langue Provençale* and *Roman Wallon*; the former he gives to the Troubadours, the second to the Trouvères; and in so doing, without being aware of it, he destroys his own position and confirms quite the opposite theory, which is, in reality, the only true one\*, notwithstanding all his efforts to the contrary.

“ Lorsque les Francs firent la conquête de la Gaule, il est probable que la langue celtique n'était plus en usage que dans quelques cantons de la Bretagne, où elle s'est conservée jusqu'à nos jours. Cette langue-mère, qui paraît avoir été commune à la France, à l'Espagne et aux îles Britanniques, a tellement disparu, qu'on ne peut aujourd'hui connaître son caractère propre, et que, quoiqu'on la regarde comme la mère commune du bas breton, du gaélique des Écossais, du basque, et des dialectes des pays de Galles et de Cornouailles, on ne peut point saisir l'analogie qui doit exister entre ces langues, ni faire voir leur dérivation. Dans toutes les provinces des Gaules, le latin avait pris la place du celtique, et il était devenu pour la masse du peuple une langue complètement maternelle. Les massacres qui avaient accompagné les guerres de Jules-César, l'esclavage des vaincus, et l'ambition de ceux des Gaulois qu'on avait admis au rang de citoyens romains, concoururent à changer les mœurs, l'esprit et le langage de toutes les provinces situées entre les Alpes, les Pyrénées et le Rhin; on en vit sortir de bons écrivains latins, des maîtres distingués de

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\* As in our number of September last, in analyzing the merits of the Literary History of the middle Ages, by the Rev. S. Berington, we entered into some long details concerning the origin of the French language, we take for granted, that our readers will take the trouble to consult the article. For this reason, without now laying down any theory, we shall confine ourselves to the mere analyzing of M. Sismondi's opinion, who has carried his system to a greater extent.

rhétorique et de grammaire ; le peuple y prit goût aux spectacles latins, et de magnifiques théâtres ornèrent toutes les grandes villes ; quatre cent cinquante ans de soumission aux Romains, unirent enfin intimement les Gaulois aux habitans de l'Italie.

“ Les Francs, qui parlaient la langue théotisque ou allemande, apportèrent un nouvel idiôme dans les Gaules. Leur mélange parmi le peuple corrompit bientôt le latin ; l'ignorance et la barbarie le corrompirent davantage encore, et les Gaulois, qui se disaient toujours Romains, en croyant parler la langue romaine, abandonnaient toutes les finesses de la syntaxe, pour se rapprocher de la simplicité et de la rudesse des Barbares. Ceux qui écrivaient s'efforçaient encore de reproduire l'ancien langage latin, mais en parlant, tout le monde cédait à l'usage, et retranchait successivement des mots les lettres et les terminaisons qu'on regardait comme oiseuses. De même aujourd'hui, nous avons exclu de la prononciation française un quart des lettres qui figurent encore dans la langue écrite. Au bout de quelque temps, on en vint à distinguer par des noms le langage des sujets romains d'avec celui des écrivains latins, et on reconnut une langue *romane* et une langue *latine* ; mais la première, qui mit plusieurs siècles à se former, n'eut point de nom tant que les conquérans conservèrent entre eux l'usage de la langue théotisque. Au commencement de la seconde race, l'Allemand était encore la langue de Charlemagne et de sa cour ; ce héros parlait, disent les historiens du temps, le langage de ses pères, *patrium sermonem*, et c'est une erreur étrange que celle de plusieurs écrivains français, qui prennent la langue *francisque* pour du vieux français. Mais tandis qu'on parlait le tudesque, qu'on l'employait pour les chants guerriers et historiques, on écrivait en latin, et le roman, encore tout-à-fait barbare, était le patois du peuple.

“ C'est cependant sous le règne de Charlemagne que la distance entre ces patois et le latin, contraignit l'Eglise à faire prêcher dans la langue populaire. Un concile tenu à Tours en 813, ordonna aux évêques de traduire leurs homélies dans les deux langues du peuple, le roman rustique et le théotisque. Ce décret fut renouvelé par le concile d'Arles en 851. Les sujets de Charlemagne étaient alors de deux races très-différentes, les Germains, qui habitaient le long et au-delà du Rhin, et les Waelchs, qui se nommaient romains, et qui, dans tout le Midi, étaient sous la domination des Francs. Le nom de Waelchs, ou Wallons, qui leur était donné par les Allemands, était le même que celui de Galli et Galatai, qui leur était donné par les Latins et les Grecs, et celui de Keltai, Celtes, qu'au dire de César ils se donnaient eux-mêmes\*. La langue qu'ils parlaient fut appelée d'après eux, roman wallon, ou

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\* \* Tous ces noms ne diffèrent en quelque sorte que par la prononciation ; mais les Bas-Bretons, restes des Celtes, conservent dans leur langue un nom bien célèbre, d'autre origine, qui peut-être était pour eux un titre d'honneur ; ils se nomment *Cimbri*.”



roman rustique; elle était à peu près la même dans toute la France; seulement comme on allait au midi, on sentait qu'elle se rapprochait du latin, tandis que plus au nord l'allemand y dominait. Dans le partage fait en 842 entre les enfans de Louis-le-Débonnaire, pour la première fois on fit usage dans un acte public du langage du peuple, parce que le peuple devait y intervenir en prêtant serment avec son roi. Le serment de Charles-le-Chauve et celui de ses sujets, sont les deux plus anciens monumens de la langue romane qu'on ait conservés; ils sont aussi rapprochés du provençal que de ce qu'on a nommé depuis roman wallon.

" Mais le couronnement du roi d'Arles, Boson, en 879, partagea la France romane en deux nations, qui demeurèrent quatre siècles rivales et indépendantes. Ces provinces semblaient destinées à être toujours habitées par des races différentes. César avait remarqué que de son temps les Aquitains différaient des Celtes par la langue, les mœurs et les lois. Dans le pays des premiers on vit s'établir les Visigoths et les Bourguignons; dans le pays des seconds, les Francs; et la division des deux monarchies établie à la fin de la dynastie carlovingienne, ne fit peut-être que confirmer une division plus ancienne entre les peuples. Leur langage, quoique formé des mêmes élémens, s'éloigna toujours plus; les peuples du Midi se nommèrent Romans-provençaux, et ceux du Nord unirent au nom de Romans qu'ils prenaient, celui de Waelches, ou Wallons, que leur donnaient leurs voisins. On nomma encore le provençal langue d'Oc, et le Wallon langue d'Oïl ou d'Oui, selon le mot par lequel l'affirmation était exprimée dans l'un et dans l'autre dialecte; de la même manière on appelait alors l'Italien langue de *si*, et l'allemand langue de *ya*." Tom. I. P. 254.

From this extract, it is perfectly clear, that M. Sismondi pretends the language of the oath taken by the subjects of Charles the Bold, that is, the vernacular tongue of Gaul, in the year 879, to have become two different languages, because thirty years after, Boson divided France into two nations; and that from one arose the *langue d'Oc*, or Provençal language, and from the other, the *langue d'Oui*, or old French, which he calls Roman Wallon.

We beg the reader to pay particular attention to these two positions; while we shall listen again to M. Sismondi.

" Une province de France, la Normandie, reçut dans son sein, au dixième siècle, un nouveau peuple du Nord, qui, sous la conduite de Rollo, ou Raoul-le-Danois, s'incorpora avec ses anciens habitans. Ce mélange introduisit dans le roman de nouveaux mots et de nouvelles constructions allemandes; cependant l'esprit de vie qu'apportèrent les conquérans dans cette province, leurs bonnes lois, leur bonne administration, et la détermination que prirent les vainqueurs d'apprendre et de parler la langue des vaincus, formèrent et policèrent plutôt le roman wallon en Normandie qu'en

qu'en aucune autre province de France. Rollo fut reconnu pour duc en 912, et un siècle et demi plus tard, un de ses successeurs, Guillaume-le-Conquérant, avait tellement attaché son amour-propre et celui de sa nation à la langue romane, qu'il l'introduisit en Angleterre, et qu'il s'efforça de la substituer, par des lois rigoureuses, au langage du peuple vaincu, qui était presque celui de ses ancêtres." Vol. I. p. 258.

From this statement, it is equally manifest, that M. Sismondi asserts, that the language which William imported into England in the year 1066, was the French Wallon, or langue d'oïl; but our author has already stated, that this language began to differ from the general language of Gaul in the year 879, when Boson divided the whole country into two nations: now William invaded England in the year 1066, that is 107 years after Boson; if therefore the statement of M. Sismondi be true, at the time of William, the Norman French, or Roman Wallon of our author, must have differed from the Provençal language just as much as this latter differed from Spanish. Now what will M. Sismondi say to our asserting that this by no means was the case. What we shall urge is nothing else than a song or *descort*, written in the Provençal, Italian, French, Gascon, and Spanish languages, just as they were spoken at the time, by *Rambert de Vaqueiras*, a Troubadour, who died in the year 1226, that is 160 years after William, and not less than 267 years after the separation made by Boson, when of course these two languages, Provençal and Wallon, must have reached the utmost degree of difference that could ever exist between them. We quote it from a memoir of Mr. La Curne de St. Palaye, which is to be found in the *Memoirs de l'Académie des Inscriptions*. 4to. vol. 26, p. 640.

Ist Stanza. *Provençal Language.*

" Aras quan vey verdèyar,  
Pratz e vergiers e boscatges;  
Vuelh un descort comensar,  
D' amor per que vau aratges:  
C' una dona m sol amar,  
Mas camiatz les son coratges;  
Per qu' ieu fauc dezacordar,  
Los motz els sos els lengalges.

IId Stanza. *Italian Language.*

" Ieu sui selh que be non ayo,  
Ni anqueras non l' auerò;  
Per Abrilo ni per Mayo,  
Si per Madona no l' O:

Et

Et entendo son leguagó,  
 Sa gran beutat dire no so ;  
 Plus fresca es que flor de glaio,  
 E ie no m' en partiro.

**III<sup>d</sup> Stanza.**      *French Language.*

" Belha doussa Dança chera,  
 A vos mi don e m' autroy ;  
 Ta n' aurai mes joy entera,  
 Se no mos ai e vos moi.  
 Molt cestes mala guereya,  
 Se ja muer per bona foy  
 Solaç per nulha maniera  
 No m partrai de vosta ley.

**IV<sup>th</sup> Stanza.**      *Gascon Language.*

" Dauna io mi rent a bos,  
 Luar eras m' es bon e bera,  
 Ancse es guallard e pros,  
 Ab que no m fossetz tan fera.  
 Mout abetz beras faissos,  
 Ab color fresqu' e novera,  
 Bos m' abetz esi eu'hs ag os ;  
 No 'm so frahera fiera.

**V<sup>th</sup> Stanza.**      *Spanish Language.*

" Mas tantemo vostre pleide,  
 Todon soi escarmentado.  
 Per voi ai pue e maltreito,  
 E mon corpo lazerado.  
 La nueit quan jatz e mon leite,  
 I soi mochatz ves resperado.  
 Pro vos cre e non proferto,  
 Falhit sos en mey evitado,  
 Mai que falhir non cuideso.

*Conclusion.*

*Provençal.*      " Bel Cavaliers, tant es eote  
 Lo vostr ouratz Senhoratges.

*Italian.*      " Que cada jorn m' eaglayo.  
 He me lasso que faro.

*French.*      " Si selg que g' ey plus chera  
 Me tpa, non sai por quoy.

*Gascon.*      " Ma dauna se que dey bos  
 Ni pe I cap sanhta quetera.

*Spanish.*      " Mon corasso m' avetz trayto,  
 E mout gen favian furtado."

From

From this descort it is evident that the French and the Provençal languages, that is, the langue Wallon and the langue Romane of M. Sismondi, were by no means so different as he pretends. They differ among themselves so very little, that they stand in regard to each other just in the same light as the dialect which is now spoken in Sicily, to that which is used by the Calabrians. Indeed the similarity which exists between the Provençal and the French is so very great, that the reader would have found no difference at all, had he not been told that the first and the third stanzas of this descort were written in two different languages.

We are sorry we cannot dwell any longer on the absurdity of the system which wishes to make so wide a difference between the languages which were spoken in the South and North of France at the time of the Troubadours. In a former number, we stated at full length the real theory concerning the Provençal language, and on the authority of the Abbé Massieu and Mr. La Curne de St. Palaye, we observed that the vulgar Latin which was spoken in Gaul, during four centuries after the conquest of the Romans, was the mother tongue of the langue Romance, which, with very little alteration, produced the old French, which, in the hands of the writers who flourished under the reign of Louis XIV. became what we now call French language.

This fact, however, does not suit M. Sismondi. Having espoused the system that the Normans were the inventors of Romance, he divides the Provençal poets into two sects, of *Troubadours* properly so called, who spoke the langue Romance and were lyric poets, and *Trouveres* by far superior to the Troubadours, who spoke the langue Wallon, and wrote the first epic Romances.

“ Il semble qu'à la réserve d'une différence dans la langue, les troubadours et les trouvères, égaux à peu près en mérite, également instruits ou ignorans, également appelés à vivre dans les cours, et à y produire leurs inventions et leurs poésies, également entremêlés avec les chevaliers, également, enfin, accompagnés de jongleurs et de ménestriers, devaient se ressembler dans toutes leurs productions; rien n'est plus différent, cependant, que les ouvrages de ces deux classes d'hommes. Presque tout ce qui nous est resté de la poésie des troubadours est lyrique, presque tout ce qui nous est resté de celle des trouvères est épique. Les Provençaux réclament, il est vrai, contre le jugement qu'on a porté de leurs poètes, auxquels les partisans des trouvères ont refusé tout esprit d'invention; ils disent que dans plusieurs poèmes des troubadours

troubadours \* on voit l'énumération d'un grand nombre de nouvelles, de romans et de fables, qu'un jongleur devait savoir, pour plaire dans les cours, et qui sont ou perdus, ou conservés seulement en langue d'oïl; ils ajoutent que parmi les poésies des trouvères, plusieurs paraissent d'origine provençale, puisque le lieu de la scène est souvent en Provence, et ils supposent que les trouvères s'étaient contentés de traduire des romans et des fabliaux, dont ils n'étaient point les inventeurs. Mais ce serait un hasard bien étrange que celui qui aurait conservé uniquement les chants des Provençaux, et les contes des Français, si le génie des deux nations n'était pas, sous ce rapport, essentiellement opposé.

" L'histoire de chaque troubadour a été écrite à plusieurs reprises; celles qui ont été publiées par Nostradamus, celles qui ont été rassemblées par M. de Sainte-Palaye, et reproduites par Millot, sont toutes romanesques; ce sont des amours avec de grandes dames, des souffrances, des hauts faits de chevalerie: les trouvères sont beaucoup plus obscurs, on sait à peine le nom de quelques-uns d'entre eux, on ne connaît presque rien de l'histoire des plus célèbres, ou si l'on en conserve quelques traits, ils n'ont rien de piquant ou d'aventureux.

" Les trouvères nous ont laissé des romans de chevalerie et des fabliaux; les premiers sont le vrai titre de gloire des douzième et treizième siècles. Toute la chevalerie qui apparaît tout à coup dans ces romans, cet héroïsme d'honneur et d'amour, ce dévouement des plus forts aux plus faibles, cette noblesse, cette pureté de caractère, partout présentée pour modèle, et presque toujours triomphante des plus fortes épreuves; ce surnaturel si nouveau, si différent de ce qu'on avait vu et dans l'antiquité et dans les inventions des autres peuples, supposent une force, un brillant d'imagination que rien n'a préparé, que rien n'explique." Tom. I. p. 263.

To explain this difficulty our author very properly observes.

" On se retourne de tous les côtés pour chercher les premiers inventeurs de l'esprit chevaleresque qui brille dans les romans du moyen âge, et l'on est toujours également confondu, quand on voit combien cet élan du génie était peu préparé. En vain chercherait-on dans les mœurs ou dans les fables des Germains l'origine de la chevalerie; ces peuples, quoiqu'ils respectassent les femmes, et qu'ils les admissent dans les conseils et le culte des dieux, avaient pour elles plus d'égards que de tendresse; la galanterie leur était inconnue, et leurs mœurs braves, loyales, mais rudes, laissaient peu prévoir un si sublime développement du sentiment et de l'héroïsme; leur imagination était sombre, les pouvoirs surnaturels auxquels la superstition les faisait croire,

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\* Entre autres, dans les *Conseils au Jongleur*, de Giraud Calanson, dont nous avons donné l'extrait, et qui se rapportent à l'an 1210. Voyez Pappon, *Lettres sur les Troubadours*, p. 225 à 227."

étaient tous malfaisans. Le plus ancien poème de l'Allemagne, celui des Nibelungen, dans la forme où nous l'avons aujourd'hui, est postérieur aux premiers romans français, et peut avoir été modifié par eux; cependant, ses mœurs ne sont point celles de la chevalerie: l'amour y a peu de part aux actions; les guerriers y ont de tout autres intérêts, de tout autres passions que celles de la galanterie; les femmes paraissent peu, elles ne sont point l'objet d'un culte, et les hommes ne sont point adoucis et civilisés par leur union avec elles; tandis que les inventeurs de la chevalerie romanesque surent réunir pour peindre des héros les traits les plus brillans de toutes les nations avec lesquelles ils furent en contact, la loyauté allemande, la galanterie française, et la riche imagination des Arabes.

“ C'est chez ces derniers que d'autres ont été chercher la première origine de la chevalerie des romans. Au premier aspect, cette opinion paraît naturelle, et s'appuie sur beaucoup de faits. De très-anciens romans représentent la chevalerie comme établie chez les Maures, autant que chez les Chrétiens; ils mettent en scène des chevaliers maures; et tous les historiens, les conteurs et les poètes d'Espagne, donnent aux Maures des mœurs chevaleresques; ainsi Ferragus, ou Fier-à-Bras, le plus bravé, le plus loyal des chevaliers maures, paraît déjà dans toute sa gloire dans la Chronique de Turpin, qui a précédé tous les romans de chevalerie. La même Chronique affirme (ch. xx.) que Charlemagne avait reçu l'ordre de chevalerie de Galafron Emir (*admirantus*), ou prince sarrasin de Coletto en Provence. Ainsi Bernard de Carpio, le plus ancien héros de l'Espagne chrétienne, ne se signale à peu près que dans l'armée des Maures par de hauts faits de chevalerie; ainsi l'Histoire des Guerres civiles de Grenade, n'est qu'un roman de chevalerie; et dans la Diane de Montemayor, la seule aventure chevaleresque qui soit mêlée à ce monde tout pastoral, est placée chez les Maures; c'est celle d'Abindarraës, l'un des Abencerrages de Grenade, et de la belle Xarifa. Les anciennes romances espagnoles et le plus ancien de leurs poèmes, celui du Cid, donnent encore, dès le douzième siècle, les mêmes mœurs aux Arabes; toute la partie de l'Espagne que les Maures ont occupée, est couverte de châteaux forts sur toutes les hauteurs; chaque petit prince, chaque seigneur, chaque cheick s'était rendu indépendant; il existait, en Espagne du moins, une sorte de féodalité arabe, et un esprit du liberté, qui n'est pas en général celui de l'islamisme. Les notions du point d'honneur qui ont eu une si grande influence, non pas seulement sur la chevalerie, mais sur toute notre civilisation moderne, sont plus propres aux Arabes qu'aux peuples germains; c'est d'eux que nous est venue cette religion de la vengeance; cette appréciation si délicate des offenses et des affronts, qui leur fait sacrifier leur vie et celle de toute leur famille pour laver une tache à leur honneur, qui fit, en 1568, révolter toute l'Alpuxarra de Grenade, et périr cinquante mille Maures, pour venger un coup de

de bâton donné par D. Juan de Mendoza à D. Juan de Malet, descendu des Aben-Humeya.

“ Le culte des femmes semble encore propre à ces peuples brûlés par le soleil ; ils les aiment avec une passion, avec une fureur, dont la vie réelle chez nous, ni même les romans, ne donnent encore aucune idée ; ils regardent leur demeure comme un sanctuaire, un mot qu'on prononce sur elles comme un blasphème, et tout l'honneur d'un homme, comme étant entre les mains de celle qu'il aime. L'époque de la naissance de la chevalerie est celle précisément où la morale des Arabes était arrivée au plus haut terme de délicatesse et de raffinement, où la vertu était l'objet de leur enthousiasme, et où la pureté du langage et des pensées chez leurs écrivains, fait honte à la corruption des nôtres. Enfin, de tous les peuples de l'Europe, les plus chevaleresques sont les Espagnols, et ce sont les seuls qui aient été immédiatement à l'école des Arabes.” Tom. I. p. 265.

So far M. Sismondi is perfectly right, but we fear he gives us a specimen of an Arabian imagination, when he endeavours to prove his favourite system, that the Normans were the inventors of the Romances of Chivalry.

“ Les romans de chevalerie se divisent en trois classes bien distinctes : ils s'attachent à trois époques différentes dans la première moitié du moyen âge, et ils représentent trois sociétés, trois armées de héros fabuleux, qui n'ont point eu de communication les uns avec les autres. La naissance successive, et le caractère propre de ces trois mythologies romantiques, est peut-être ce qui doit jeter le plus de lumière sur la première invention de tout le genre.

“ La première classe des romans de chevalerie a célébré les exploits d'Arthur, fils de Pandragon, le dernier roi breton qui défendit l'Angleterre contre l'invasion des Anglo-Saxons. C'est à la cour de ce roi et de sa femme Genièvre que se rattachent et l'enchantement Merlin, et l'institution de la Table ronde, et tous les preux chevaliers Tristan de Léonois, Lancelot du Lac, etc. La première origine de cette histoire se trouve dans le roman du Brut, de maître Gasse, qui porte, dans le texte même, la date de 1155. Dans cette chronique fabuleuse se trouvent déjà et le roi Arthur, et la Table ronde, et le prophète Merlin ; mais ce furent les romans postérieurs qui achevèrent cette création, et qui firent de la cour d'Arthur un monde vivant, dont tous les personnages n'étaient pas moins connus que ne le sont aujourd'hui ceux de la cour de Louis XIV. Le roman de Merlin, fils du diable et d'une dame bretonne qui vivait au temps du roi Vortiger, fait connaître et les grandes guerres d'Uter et de Pandragon contre les Saxons, et la naissance d'Arthur, et sa jeunesse, et les prodiges par lesquels le prophète de la chevalerie a sanctionné l'établissement de la Table ronde, et les prophéties qu'il a laissées après lui, auxquelles  
tous

tous les romanciers des temps postérieurs ont eu recours. Le roman du Saint-Gréa!; écrit en vers dans le douzième siècle, par Chrétien de Troyes, rattache la chevalerie bretonne à l'histoire sainte. Le coupe dans laquelle Notre Seigneur fut abreuvé pendant son supplice, porte chez les romanciers le nom de Saint-Gréa!; ils supposent qu'elle fut apportée en Angleterre, et qu'elle fut conquise par les chevaliers de la Table ronde, Lancelot du Lac, Galaad son fils, Perceval-le-Galois, et Boort, qui chacun ont aussi leur histoire. Le roi Arthus, messire Gauvain son neveu, Perlewaux, neveu du roi pêcheur, Meliot de Logres, Meliaus de Danemarck, sont tous des héros de cette cour illustre; et les aventures de chacun ont été racontées par divers romanciers avec le même mélange de naïveté, de grandeur, de galanterie et de superstition. Le roman de Lancelot du Lac fut commencé par Chrétien de Troyes, mais continué, après la mort de celui-ci, par Godefroi de Ligny; celui de Tristan, fils du roi Méliadus de Léonois, le premier de tous qui ait été écrit en prose, et le plus fréquemment cité par les anciens auteurs, fut écrit en 1190 par un trouvère dont on ignore le nom.

“ Lorsqu'en examine cette nombreuse famille de héros, et la scène sur laquelle ils sont placés, on se confirme dans l'opinion que les Normands ont été les vrais auteurs de ce nouvel univers poétique. De tous les peuples de l'ancienne Europe, les Normands s'étaient montrés, dans les siècles qui précédèrent cette littérature, les plus aventureux et les plus intrépides. Leurs expéditions de Danemarck et de Norwège, sur toutes les côtes de France et d'Angleterre, dans des bateaux plats et ouverts, avec lesquels ils traversaient les mers les plus orageuses, ils remontaient les rivières, et ils venaient surprendre, au milieu de la paix, des peuples qui ne soupçonnaient pas leur existence, étonnent aujourd'hui et confondent l'imagination par leur hardiesse. D'autres Normands traversaient les déserts inconnus de la Russie; l'épée à la main, ils se frayaient une route au travers de peuples perfides et sanguinaires, et ils arrivaient à Constantinople, où ils formaient la garde des empereurs; au prix de leur sang ils achetaient la jouissance des fruits du Midi; le désir des figues est encore aujourd'hui, en Islande, le nom du désir le plus impétueux, de ce désir qui entraînait leurs pères dans de si étranges aventures. D'autres Normands se fixèrent dans cette Russie même que leurs compatriotes traversaient; leur courage indomptable, que la ruse secondait toujours, les y rendit bientôt puissans; ils y fondèrent la dynastie des Warag ou Warangiens, qui dura jusqu'à l'invasion des Tartares. Lorsqu'une puissante colonie de Normands se fut établie en France, qu'en donnant son nom à la Neustrie, elle eut adopté la langue et les lois du peuple au milieu duquel elle venait vivre, elle n'abandonna point cependant l'amour des expéditions lointaines; et les conquêtes des Normands étonnent par leur hardiesse, et par l'esprit aventureux qui dirigeait chaque individu. Dès le commencement du onzième siècle, quelques pèlerins aventuriers, attirés dans le royaume de Naples par la dévotion et la curiosité, conquièrent successivement



successivement la Pouille, la Calabre et la Sicile. A peine cinquante ans s'étaient écoulés depuis que le premier d'entre eux avait appris la route de ces pays lointains, lorsque Robert Guiscard vit fuir devant lui, dans la même année, les deux empereurs d'Orient et d'Occident. Au milieu du onzième siècle (1066,) un duc de Normandie conquiert l'Angleterre; au commencement du siècle suivant, un Normand (Boémond) fonda la principauté d'Antioche; et les aventuriers du Nord s'établirent jusqu'au centre de la Syrie." Tom. I. p. 269.

According to this statement, the Romances of the Round Table, King Arthur, &c. &c. &c. are of Norman origin. 1st. Because the Normans being a very enterprising nation, had made many expeditions, sometimes in open boats by sea to England, and at other times, sword in hand through Russia to Constantinople, &c. &c. and 2d. because they were very fond of eating figs.

If, then, the desire of figs was the cause of the enterprises of the Normans, and the origin of their writing epic Romances, will M. Sismondi be good enough to explain to us why he does not give the same credit to those barbarians, who, before the time of the Troubadours, invaded Spain, France, and Italy? They were just as barbarous and enterprising as the Normans: they marched sword in hand, and liked figs just as much as the inhabitants of Neustria; and what is still more, they conquered a country, the natives of which, by the neighbourhood of the Arabians, who had been by M. Sismondi's own confession, the first inventors of chivalry, had already an idea of this species of writing. Why, then, did they not write Romances? M. Sismondi pretends that the cause of this phenomenon is to be attributed to the Troubadours, who being lyric poets, directed this love of figs of their invaders, to the progress of lyric poetry; while the Trouveres, being epic writers, turned this ardent desire for this delicious fruit of the South, to the advantages of epic, that is, the Romances of Chivalry.

The second species of Romances is equally of Norman origin, and the reasons are by no means less urgent and conclusive.

" Une seconde famille de romans chevaleresques, est celle des Amadis, dont on dispute avec assez de fondement la propriété à la littérature française. Ces romans sont placés à peu près sur la même scène que ceux de la Table ronde; c'est encore l'Écosse, l'Angleterre, la Bretagne, la France; mais les lieux sont moins fixes, ils n'ont plus aucune couleur locale, et leurs noms, au lieu d'être pris des objets, semblent empruntés de précédens livres de chevalerie. Les temps sont absolument fabuleux; le règne de Péron, roi de France, de Languines, roi d'Écosse, de Lisvard,

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roi de Bretagne, ne saurait cadrer avec aucun souvenir historique, et l'histoire des Amadis ne se lie à aucune révolution, à aucun grand événement. Amadis de Gaule, le premier de ces romans, et le modèle de tous les autres, est réclamé par les peuples au midi des Pyrénées, comme l'ouvrage de Vasco Lobeira, portugais, qui vivait entre 1290 et 1325. Il faut convenir cependant que si l'ouvrage est d'un portugais, on peut s'étonner qu'il en ait placé la scène en France, et précisément dans le même pays illustré par les romans de la Table ronde; qu'il n'ait point conduit son héros en Espagne, qu'il ne lui ait donné aucune relation avec les Maures, dont les guerres étaient toujours le grand intérêt de tous les Espagnols; qu'enfin il n'ait différé de ses prédécesseurs que par plus de délicatesse dans les sentimens, plus de tendresse, et quelque chose de plus mystique dans l'amour. Si au contraire, comme les Français le prétendent, Amadis de Gaule fut seulement retravaillé par Lobeira d'après un plus ancien roman français, il est étrange que celui-ci ne fût point lié aux romans de la Table ronde, et qu'il commençât une autre génération d'hommes et une fable toute nouvelle \*." Tom. I. p. 282.

Now as this statement is rather ambiguous, to prevent any possibility that this meaning should be mistaken, M. Sismondi immediately adds.

" On ne dispute point sur les continuations et les nombreuses imitations d'Amadis de Gaule, Amadis de Grèce, et tous les Amadis, Florismart d'Hircanie, Galaor, Florestan, Esplandian; tous ces romans là sont incontestablement espagnols d'origine, et ils en portent le caractère. L'enflure orientale y prend la place de l'antique naïveté du style; l'imagination y devient plus extravagante, et cependant moins forte; l'amour y est plus raffiné, la valeur y a plus de rodomontades, la religion y occupe plus de place, et le fanatisme persécuteur s'y laisse déjà entrevoir." Tom. I. p. 283.

Here, however, M. Sismondi has a great misfortune to encounter, and that is, nothing less than the authority of both the great Torquato Tasso and his father, who has translated this Romance of Amadis into Italian, and who having examined the question with all possible accuracy, has been bold enough to give the credit of it to the Spaniards, as we shall mention by and by.

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" \* Je n'ai en entre les mains que l'Amadis espagnol, imprimé à Séville, *in fol.*, 1547; et l'Amadis français, que Nicolas de Herberay a traduit de l'espagnol, édition *in fol.* 1540. C'est parmi les manuscrits qu'il faudrait chercher, et les premiers récits en vers français, et l'ancien ouvrage de Vasco Lobeira, qu'on reconnaît à peine dans l'espagnol du seizième siècle."

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For the present we go on with M. Sismondi, who having disposed of the first and second species of Romances in favour of the Normans, ascribes the origin of the third to the French, and their celebrity to Ariosto, who made so great use of their fictions.

“ Mais la troisième famille des romans chevaleresques est toute française, quoique leur plus grande célébrité soit due au grand poète de l'Italie qui s'en est emparé ; c'est celle de la cour de Charlemagne, et de ces paladins. L'histoire de Charlemagne, la plus éclatante du moyen âge, avait dû laisser aux siècles suivans un sentiment d'étonnement et d'admiration ; son long règne, sa prodigieuse activité, ses brillantes victoires, ses guerres avec les Sarrasins, les Saxons, les Lombards ; son influence sur l'Allemagne, l'Italie et l'Espagne, et le renouvellement de l'empire d'Occident, avaient rendu son nom populaire dans toute l'Europe, long-temps après qu'on avait perdu la mémoire des événemens qui l'avaient signalé. C'était, en effet, un héros propre à la chevalerie, un point brillant au milieu des ténèbres, auquel on pouvait attacher une création toute fantastique.” Tom. I. p. 284.

Here, then, we have three species of Romances:—King Arthur and the Round Table, &c., Amadis de Gaul, and Turpin, &c. &c. &c. The first exclusively belongs to the Normans. The second belongs to the Normans also, though all other Romances of the same species be of Spanish extraction, because the Spaniards copied the idea from the Normans, who never saw them ; and the third is French. We have seen the reasons for attributing the first two to the Normans ; those which M. Sismondi assigns for the third, are equally ponderous. He says that the chronicle of Turpin, because it relates the history and deeds of Charlemagne, owes its origin to the expedition of Alphonso IV., King of Castile, against Toledo, in the year 1089. In the second place, this chronicle is to be considered as a history, because it contains the relation of incredible deeds of war—Des faits incroyables de guerre, page 288—Miracles and enchantments, without the least allusion to love and women. And at last, that in the year 1289, under the reign of Philip the Bold, the Romance writers began to make use of this chronicle, because they regarded it still as a history. Upon such incontrovertible reasoning, M. Sismondi has grounded the theory with which he has been pleased to favour the public.

It would require more leisure and more room than we have, to point out the whole extent to which our author has let his imagination keep place with the wonderful recitals of the good Turpin. We are truly sorry that neither ourselves nor our readers possess the Hippogriff of Rogiero, who carried Astolfo to the moon.

There, perhaps, we might have found, arranged in a chronological order, the Romances in the same way in which our author has thought proper to do in his book; just as Ariosto arranged in that satellite of our globe, the phials which contained the brains of all those who had lost them on earth. The Italian poet, however, disposed of his *ampolle*, according to the causes which had replenished them with the brains of men; and in the distribution of his Romances, M. Sismondi has shewn such a wonderful felicity of invention which baffles all the calculations of our earthly chronology, and which would make Turpin, Altissimo, and Ariosto, to be ashamed of the poverty of their own.

Seriously, if M. Sismondi had laboured during the whole course of his life, to bundle together a heap of absurdities of all descriptions, he could not have met with a greater success than he now has, in laying down his theory concerning the origin of Romances. To detail them all would require a work as voluminous as the *Litterature itself du midi de l'Europe*, and for this reason we shall, in our next Number, briefly state to our readers, the real fact concerning this new species of writing unknown to the ancients, from which we have derived our modern epic.

ART. III. *Helga: a Poem, in seven Cantos.* By the Hon. William Herbert. 8vo. pp. 299. 12s. Murray. 1815.

THIS is not the first offering which has been made by Mr. Herbert to the Scandinavian muse. The public are already in possession of some very pretty translations from the Icelandic, by the same hand: it is with pleasure, therefore, that we hail the appearance of a longer and more finished poem. A Northern Epic is indeed a phenomenon in poetry; we wonder indeed that this field should have so long continued unoccupied. We do not indeed hold the Runic fragments so high as Mr. Herbert, yet we agree with him that there is much in the manners, the scenery, and the superstitions of the Northern climates, to open a wide expanse to a poetical imagination. We are happy, therefore, that a scholar of such distinguished elegance, as Mr. Herbert is acknowledged to be, has led the way, and with how much success, will appear from an examination of the poem.

The poem opens with a feast in the hall of Ingva, king of Sweden, whose beautiful daughter, Helga, is the heroine of the song. The merriment is suddenly disturbed by the rude entrance of twelve wolfish Danes, the chief of whom, Angantyr, comes to claim Helga as his bride. As he appears inclined to

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put his threats into execution, the king calls on all his subject knights to defend his daughter. They all shrink from the contest, Hialmar excepted, who challenges Angantyr to meet him in the field of Samsoe, and there to decide by the sword their claims to the maid. This after much scowling is accepted, and Angantyr, after a gratuitous display of his manual strength, retires. In the second Canto, Helga descends to the tomb of Vala, a mighty prophethess of ancient times.

“ But yet, if rumor rightly tells,  
In her cold bones the spirit dwells;  
And still, if bold intruder come,  
Her voice unfolds his hidden doom:  
And oft the rugged ear of Hell  
Is sooth'd by some melodious spell,  
Slow-breathing from the hollow stone  
In witching notes and solemn tone;  
Immortal strains, that tell of things,  
When the young down was on the wings  
Of hoary Time, and sometimes swell  
With such a wild enchanting peal,  
As heard above would fix the eye  
Of nature in sweet ecstasy,  
Steal every sense from mortal clay,  
And drag the willing soul away.” P. 34.

Her descent is described in a strain of elegant and classical poetry. As she proceeds, she is startled with *obscene* spirits which glide between the rocks.

“ O who shall save thee, Helga! mark  
The ambush'd spirits of the dark!  
Those are the powers accurst, that ride  
The blasting whirlwind, and preside  
O'er nature's wrecks; whose hands delight  
To weave the tempest of the night,  
Spread the red pestilence, and throw  
A deeper gloom o'er human woe!  
Those are the fiends, that prompt the mind  
To deeds of darkness, and behind  
Send their fell crew with sickening breath,  
Despair, and infamy, and death!” P. 43.

She reaches the tomb, and a voice informs her, that if Hialmar can procure a faulchion, forged by a race of pigmies, who live immortal in the Northern fells, Angantyr shall fall beneath his hand, but that she herself shall rue the time when she came to consult so dreadful an oracle. In the beginning of the third Canto it is intimated, that all which passed was but a dream.

Be

Be this as it may, she is summoned in the morning to the hall of state, where she finds the monarch and his courtiers preparing for the chase. Helga joins the party, but as she lingers behind the rest, a wolf springs suddenly upon her, but is instantaneously dispatched by the arm of Hjalmar: he now declares his love, and finds his affections returned by Helga. She informs him of her fancied journey to the tomb of Vala; Hjalmar is resolved alone to seek the mystic faulchion, and sets sail to accomplish his purpose. The beginning of the fourth Canto gives us a spirited picture of the northern scenery, through which he passes. He discovers at last the retreat of the unearthly race.

" Silent he trod the winding cave,  
Dark as the cloisters of the grave,  
While round the dank imprison'd air  
Sigh'd piteous, breathing chill despair;  
Till full display'd, a glorious light  
Burst sudden on his wondering sight.  
A vault immense before him lay,  
Yet was the dungeon bright as day.  
There high uprear'd on either hand  
Compact basaltic columns stand,  
Shaft above shaft, a monstrous pile,  
Like that which girds fair Staffa's isle,  
Or the huge mass whose giant pride  
Breasts the full strength of Erin's tide.  
Nor lacks there radiance to disclose  
Their various shapes and magic rows.  
Myriads of lights their lustre shed,  
By secret exhalations fed;  
And, as each alabaster lamp  
Dispels the gloom and joyless damp,  
The vaulted roof sends back their rays,  
And crystals and stalactites blaze.  
Around unnumber'd treasures lie,  
Of every hue and changeful die;  
The ore that gives each metal birth,  
Torn from the fruitful womb of earth;  
And countless gems, a brilliant heap,  
And pearls and corals from the deep.  
Next lie huge bars of metal sheen,  
Then piles of weapons bright and keen;  
And many an engine form'd for ill  
By cunning workmanship and skill.  
Beyond, through that long vista seen  
The double row of steel between,  
In a dread nook obscure and low  
The distant furnace seem'd to glow.

*Herbert's Poem of Hjalga.*

A loathsome, wan, and meagre race,  
 With shaggy chin and sallow face,  
 Treading with steps demure and slow  
 The Pigmy folk moved to and fro.  
 Some on their sturdy shoulders bore  
 The weight of rude unsmelted ore;  
 Some, from the high-piled stores displaced,  
 The ponderous bars of metal raised;  
 Near the hot furnace others staid,  
 And laboring smote the glowing blade;  
 Or, tempering the sharp steel, unheard  
 Mutter'd the powerful magic word.  
 In the full centre of the hall  
 Stood a dark statue, huge and tall;  
 Its form colossal, seen from far,  
 Shew'd like the thunderous God of war,  
 The sinews strain'd for deadly strife,  
 The strong limbs starting into life.  
 Its left hand grasp'd an iron shield,  
 Its right a threatening falchion held;  
 On the pure blade were written plain  
 These fatal words, 'Angantyr's bane.'  
 Hjalmar's eyes shone bright as fire,  
 Their keen glance spoke his soul's desire.  
 'Art thou,' he cried, 'the thundering Thor,  
 First of the gods in strife and war?  
 Or does thy marrowless strength in vain  
 Those iron muscles seem to strain  
 In threatening mockery, form'd to scare  
 The coward from the Pigmies' lair?  
 Whate'er thou art, Hjalmar's hand  
 Must tear from thine that flaming brand.'  
 Him answered straight, with visage wan,  
 Smiling in spite, a dwarfish man.  
 'Go, boaster, seize the shining prize!  
 But know, who wins that falchion, dies!'" P. 85.

Our classical readers will trace the cave of Vulcan in every line of Mr. Herbert, and again the spirit of Achilles in the breast of Hjalmar, who though death is to be the lot of him who gains the victorious blade,

" 'To others preach of death and sorrow!  
 I heed not what may fall to-morrow!  
 Glory and bright renown be mine,  
 And let my deeds, while living, shine!  
 O! why should man, whose hours must tend  
 To death, their necessary end,  
 In the dull lap of ease retire,  
 And feed unseen life's feeble fire;

' Nor

- Nor rather strive by worth to share
- High valor's guerdon pure and fair!
- To gleam, like some famed meteor's blaze,
- The theme of wonder and of praise,
- Long chronicled in after times,
- And sung by bards in distant climes!" P. 90.

This spirited declaration will remind the reader of the speech of Achilles to his horse, in the nineteenth Iliad.

Ξάνθε, τί μοι θάνατον μαντεύεαι; οὐδέ τί σε χερή·  
 Εὖ νύ τοι οἶδα καὶ αὐτός, ὃ μοι μὲρ ἐνθάδ' ὄλεσθαι  
 Νόσφι φίλου πατρὸς καὶ μητέρος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔμπησ  
 Οὐ λήξω, πρὶν Τρώας ἄδην εἰλάσαι πολέμοιο. II. xix. l. 420.

Hialmar wrests the blade from the hand of the statue: the lights are extinguished, nor can he retrace his steps from the cavern, till he is led by the strain of soft music to a species of garden, where stretched on a couch lay a nymph, who wakes at his approach. He is enchanted with her beauty, and when on the point of yielding to her charms, he finds a gentle pressure endeavouring to wrest the sword from his hands. This recalls him to his senses, he brandishes the sword around, and the illusion vanishes; and he finds himself at the mouth of the cavern, with none near him but the malignant dwarf. Hialmar aims a blow at him, and the Dwarf vanishes.

In the fifth Canto we are introduced to Asbiorn who with Orvarod was the friend and compeer of Hialmar. He also had long been smitten with the beauty of Helga, and resents the preference shown to Hialmar. As he pursues his way through the forest, he breaks upon the retreat of Helga; he reveals his love, to which she appears at first to listen, but soon falls senseless at his feet.

Hialmar returns with the spring, and instantly seeks the shores of Samsøe, where Angantyr and his band are waiting his arrival. As he lands, six female forms, on "chargers of etherial birth," appear before him, and like the weird sisters, summon him to the hall of Odin. After this solemn invocation they vanish. Hialmar anticipates his melancholy doom, but is reproved by his fiercer friend, Orvarod, in the following spirited lines.

- " 'Curse on the dimpled cheek,' he cried,
- That half unmans my comrade's pride!
- Not Odin's maid shall bow thy crest,
- But the soft woman in thy breast.
- Behold yon orb, whose sitting beam
- Sooth'd thy fond bosom's wayward dream!

• See



' See his bright steeds with equal pace  
 ' Pursue their never-tiring race.  
 ' They waste not in the morning's bower  
 ' Mid dewy wreaths the fragrant hour;  
 ' But ever at the call of day  
 ' Spring forth and win their glittering way:  
 ' Though storms assail their radiant heads,  
 ' Eternal splendour round them spreads;  
 ' Onward the wheels of glory roll;  
 ' They pant, and struggle to the goal.  
 ' And thou, like them, my fere, pursue  
 ' Thy course to fame and honour true.  
 ' All hopes beside are little worth,  
 ' Man walks in sorrow from his birth;  
 ' The fleeting charms that round him move  
 ' Are vain, and chief frail woman's love.  
 ' Fate comes at last, and then the brave  
 ' To glory spring beyond the grave;  
 ' With Odin quaff the godlike bowl,  
 ' While round their feet the thunders roll,  
 ' And in bright fields of azure light  
 ' Each day renew the blissful fight,  
 ' And joyous with immortal hand  
 ' Thrust the strong lance and wave the brand.'''

P. 144.

The combat between Hialmar and Angantyr now begins: the latter wields his ponderous mace, which is received on the sword of Hialmar, and is shivered in pieces. Angantyr falls, but Hialmar disdains to smite a fallen foe: he bids him rise and defend himself with his sword. In the mean time, the bold Orvarod, who had singly engaged the remaining band, appears to fly, and outstrips his foes who follow, with unequal paces. Like another Horatius, he turns upon the first, who falls an easy victim; the rest follow one by one, and are thus singly and most classically dispatched. The combat between the chiefs still proceeds; they are both mortally wounded; the first who falls is Angantyr; Hialmar just lives to witness the defeat of his foe and expires. The *Epiciedion* contains many fine lines, but it is far too long; the Icelandic mythology indeed holds out strong temptations to the poet, but we wonder that a man of Mr. Herbert's high and Virgilian taste, should have yielded to the seduction. We need not inform Mr. Herbert that out of an hundred and thirty lines, the hundred at least would have been better spared.

The first strain of the last Canto,

" Say when the spirit fleets away  
 From its frail house of mortal clay,

When

When the cold limbs to earth return,  
Or rest in proudly sculptur'd urn,  
Does still oblivion quench the fire  
That warm'd the heart with chaste desire?" P. 171.

we fancy that we have heard that strain before. Mr. Herbert is indeed a plagiarist, but it is from himself. To many of our classical, and to all of our Etonian readers, the beautiful exercise of our author is too well known to be forgotten.

To wind up the story of the poem, Angantyr is buried in the lonely island of Samsøe, and the body of Hjalmar is conveyed by his friend Orvarod to the court of the Swedish monarch. As it is landed, it is met by Asbiorn, who is now conscience-struck for his treacherous love. With a strange, but characteristic barbarity, the corpse itself is suddenly introduced by Orvarod into the presence of Helga.

" O! it came o'er her like a blast  
Withering life's blossom as it pass'd,  
A frightful overwhelming flood  
Nor seen, nor felt, nor understood;  
It chill'd her heart, and then it burn'd  
As memory and sense return'd,  
And like a horrid dream the past  
Came rushing o'er her soul at last.  
She knew those features pale in death,  
And look'd, and seem'd to drink his breath;  
But, dared not lay her cheek to his,  
Nor print on his cold lips a kiss;  
Nor did she with one sad embrace  
Her lord's beloved relics press;  
But, all unconscious of the crowd  
That mute and wondering round her stood,  
And horror-struck, with fixed eye  
She gazed on Asbiorn dreadfully.  
It was a look that chill'd his blood,  
And seem'd to freeze life's secret flood:  
And she was dead and cold as stone,  
Her spirit pass'd without a groan;  
But her dread look and glazed eye  
Still fixed him as in agony:  
Nor ever from that dreadful hour  
Sentence or word spake Asbiorn more." P. 183.

The concluding lines are in high taste, we shall therefore extract them with pleasure, as a most favourable specimen of Mr. Herbert's poetical powers.

" With

*Herbert's Poem of Helga.*

" With many a sigh and many a tear  
 They placed her on Hialmar's bier,  
 And to one melancholy grave  
 They bore the beauteous and the brave.  
 Sad Asbiorn follow'd, and behind  
 Stepp'd slow with self-corroded mind;  
 He saw them render'd to the earth  
 That gave their pride and beauty birth;  
 He mark'd the monumental heap  
 Piled o'er the limbs that silent sleep;  
 He saw without a tear or groan  
 Fix'd on its top the Runic stone:  
 Then on the gloomy mound he placed  
 The sword that long his side had graced,  
 And, falling on the edge, he press'd  
 Its death-point through his manly breast.  
 Well may old Ingva wail, and tear  
 The honours of his hoary hair;  
 While Sweden's loveliest virgins spread  
 Fresh flowers to deck the honour'd dead,  
 And warlike Scalds bid gently flow  
 From their gold harps the notes of woe;  
 Not that such duties sadly paid  
 May hope to soothe the silent shade;  
 Not that the plaint or pious wreath  
 Can charm the dull cold power of death;  
 But that such tribute duly given  
 Lifts the weak mourner's thoughts to heaven,  
 And round the venerated tomb  
 Bids infant virtues rise and bloom.  
 Well may the serfs with toil and care  
 The monumental pile uprear,  
 Gigantic mound, which there shall raise  
 Its structure to Earth's latest days,  
 A huge memorial! not to tell  
 How bled the brave, how beauty fell;  
 But that, as cold Oblivion's hand  
 Blots their frail glories from the land,  
 The great, the fair, whate'er their lot,  
 Sleep undistinguish'd and forgot.  
 The mound, the massive stones remain  
 To frown on the surrounding plain;  
 The peasant oft shall check the plough  
 To gaze upon its lofty brow,  
 To think of wars and beacon fires,  
 Strange tales transmitted by his sires;  
 But none shall live, in sooth to tell  
 Who sleeps within that gloomy cell." P. 185.

Upon

Upon the merits of the poem before us, it is somewhat difficult to decide. The first Canto is unquestionably the worst; and cannot fail to impress the reader with the most unfavourable ideas of the whole. The sudden visit of Angantyr is unnatural in the extreme; and the description of his person, his appearance, and of his strength, is almost a childish caricature. With the second Canto, however, Mr. Herbert's genius bursts forth, and with the exception of a few instances of bad taste and tiresome description, continues to the end.

Mr. Herbert is both an Icelandic and a classical scholar, but we must confess, that we prefer him much in his latter character. A few fine incidents are borrowed from the Northern mythology, but it is to his classical knowledge that he is indebted for being enabled to work them up with effect. We must confess, that with the exception of some few instances to the contrary, the Runic legends appear to us but sad baby-house trash. There is indeed a rumbling and uncouth sublimity in the names, which acts as a charm upon the imagination, and magnifies the most trifling and mean ideas into a sort of dark mysterious magnificence.

That the poem abounds with passages of the most legitimate beauty, the extracts which we have made are a convincing proof. There are faults indeed, and such as we should not have expected from so polished and chastened a scholar as Mr. Herbert.

“ prosperous gales  
Already fill the strutting sails.”

“ Lustrous” and “ thundrous,” are words for which we believe that Mr. H. would have some difficulty in finding authority. But these are points in themselves of little consequence, unless by repeated usage they grow into a serious evil. The description of the northern scenery is both spirited and accurate; Mr. H. has taken here a new station in the poetical world, and he has maintained it well. We trust that the poem will meet the attention which it deserves, for with all its faults, it does no small degree of credit, both to the genius and to the taste of its author.

Subjoined to *Helga* are some entertaining notes, illustrative of the Northern mythology. There are also two minor poems, “ the Song of Vala,” and “ Brynhilda,” which do not appear to contain much worthy of remark.

ART. IV. *Remarks and Explanations connected with the "View of the System of Education at present pursued in the Schools and Universities of Scotland." By the Rev. M. Russel, A. M.* 8vo. 100 pp. Bell and Bradfute, Edinburgh; and Rivingtons, London. 1815.

"THE View of the System of Education," with which these Remarks and Explanations are connected, was published in 1813, and is a very interesting work, of which the reader will find a pretty copious account in our first volume. It was followed by a coarse *philippic*, inserted into the middle of a singular publication, by professor Dunbar of Edinburgh, called *Prosodia Græca*, &c., of which we endeavoured to appreciate the merits in our third volume. That professor Dunbar, who appears to estimate literature, as shopkeepers and manufacturers estimate their wares, by the money price which they bring, and the demand for them in the market, should have been offended by Mr. Russel's "View," is not wonderful; for that gentleman certainly does not exhibit a favourable view of the "literary mill" of Edinburgh, though he writes with abundant respect of the skill of the "millers," were the machinery which they employ better constructed. We are surprised, however, to find that a late "miller" of Glasgow, of whom better things might have been expected, had taken offence likewise at the View; for certainly ample justice is there done both to the "mill" of Glasgow, and to the skill and attention of those who regulate its motions. Such, however, has been the case. The late professor Richardson, as well as professor Dunbar, appears to have made a reply to the View, though the former writes with more urbanity and much greater art than the latter; and, in the pamphlet before us, Mr. Russel, without entering into acrimonious controversy, has defended his former statements against both the professors, and brought forward some new facts in their support. As he seems very desirous to do impartial justice, he explains in his *preface*, the grounds of an inaccuracy, with which he has been charged by Mr. Dunbar, respecting the attendance required in the University of Edinburgh, of candidates for orders on the prelections of the mathematical professor. This was, in his original work, but an incidental observation; which he therefore properly explains before he enters on the general merits of the subject discussed; and it is indeed of so little importance in that discussion, that we should have passed it over without notice, but for the clear and discriminating view which

which it exhibits of the spirit with which each combatant has carried on this academical warfare.

"Prior," says Mr. R., "to Session 1810—11, as is well known, it was left entirely to the choice of the students, whether to attend the mathematical class in the University, to take lessons of a private teacher, or, lastly, to proceed to the study of Natural Philosophy, without having read mathematics at all. It happened, however, in the Session of College above mentioned, that an antiquated statute was brought to light; by which it was understood to have been enacted, that all young men whose views were directed towards the clerical profession, should, in the course of their preparatory studies, see the professor of mathematics, and present his ticket, in addition to the other certificates, which are demanded by the Divinity-professor, at their admission into the hall. This statute was revived, and all its provisions put in force, in 1810; but, two years after, namely, in Session 1812—13, I observed one day, while passing to the class of Natural History, an advertisement appended to the door of the Divinity-hall; the purport of which, according to the impression left on my mind, after a repeated perusal, was, that the ancient statute, which had been resuscitated two winters before, was to be again permitted to go to rest, and consequently, that theological students were once more to enjoy their former privileges as to the choice of a mathematical teacher. It seems, however, that the real purport of the said advertisement had completely escaped my penetration; for I have since been informed by the highest authority in the University, that the object of it was solely to grant relief to such students of divinity, as had entered college prior to 1810, and not, as I had imagined, to annul the proceedings of the *Senatus Academicus*, in favour of mathematical science. I was extremely desirous, as might readily be supposed, to obtain a copy of this advertisement, as I could not divest my mind of suspicion, that there must have been something very ambiguous in the wording of it; but as *my request could not be complied with*, I possess no means, whereby to explain more satisfactorily, the cause of my mistake, and must therefore quietly submit to the imputation of *downright stupidity*! To have invented the story, however, and published it with my name, within two miles of Edinburgh, must have argued rather more than stupidity; on which account it is somewhat surprising that Mr. Dunbar did not allow me the alternative of a *mistake*, instead of asserting, in his peculiar manner, and with all the emphasis of Italics, that there is not *one word of truth* in the whole of this statement."

Whether Mr. Russel mistook the meaning of the advertisement or not, we have no other means of deciding than such as are now in the possession of our readers, who will probably draw the same inference that we have done, from his having been *refused* a copy of the said advertisement; but we can say

on

on greater authority than even that of professor Dunbar, that previous to the revival of the ancient statute, attendance on the mathematical professor was not deemed necessary to complete a regular course of education for the Church, in the University of Edinburgh.

"The rules prescribed for those, who enter on the study of Divinity, require, says one of the greatest ornaments of that University, that previously to being received in this character, a young man must have studied the Greek and Latin languages, and attended the three philosophy classes, i. e. Logic, Natural and Moral philosophy. This is necessarily required, and is a condition that must be complied with, before the avenues to church preferment can be opened to any candidate. No mention is here made of the mathematics; and that study, which, from the severe application it requires, has more need than any other to be enforced by rules, is left to the student to be pursued or not, as he thinks proper. The consequence is, that by such students, it is *very generally left out of the academical course entirely*. These observations do not apply to those who are educated at all the Universities, but chiefly to those of Edinburgh. At the other seminaries, the internal regulations of the University prevent the students from passing over the Mathematical Class. This I know to be the case at St. Andrew's, and I believe also at Aberdeen \*."

This is in such perfect unison with all that is of importance in Mr. Russel's statement, respecting the study of Mathematics in the College of Edinburgh, that we are strongly inclined to suppose it the copy from which that statement had been transcribed. At any rate, professor Dunbar must either admit that there is *more than one word of truth* in the statement, or enter into a new controversy with a brother professor, of such eminence in his own department, as Mr. Dunbar has not yet attained to in his. He will likewise have to combat another antagonist,—a clergyman of the established church, who has authorized Mr. Russel to publish a detail of the means whereby a student may easily avoid the penalties of the ancient statute, supposing it still in force; and the reader will certainly wonder, that if such a statute be really in existence, and accurately expressed, it should never have been seen by professor Playfair in 1806, when he published the *Letter* to which we have referred.

From the preface we proceed to the "Remarks," &c., themselves, of which the first is on classical learning. On this sub-

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"\* See *A Letter to the Author of the Examination of Mr. Stewart's short Statement of Facts*. By John Playfair, A. M. Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh, published by Cadell and Davies, 1806." Note on P. 22.

ject, Mr. Russel, in his former work, endeavoured to convince his countrymen of the propriety, and even the necessity, of continuing such of their sons as are intended for any of the learned professions, longer at school, before they be sent to the University. A college-class, as he observes, is not the place, where any boy can be properly taught the rudiments of either the Greek or the Latin language. In the college of Glasgow, which appears to be by much the best constituted of any in Scotland, boys, it seems, come to be taught the *Greek alphabet*, and even so ill furnished with Latin, that the professor is obliged to read with them the fables of *Phædrus*, and the commentaries of *Cæsar*!

“Why,” asks Mr. Russel, “should boys, no farther advanced, be removed from a seminary, where they are taught between ten and eleven months in the year, and sent to another where they are taught no more than six, and at two of our Universities not more than five months! Can any system of instruction be more whimsical or ridiculous than this? If Greek and Latin be worth having at all; if industry and application be in any respect valuable habits; and if the years of youth be precious, as connected with future reputation and usefulness, why, in the name of common sense, are boys abandoned by their teachers from April till November, and sent away to forget all that they had learned from November till April?” P. 14.

These questions are obviously unanswerable. The professors, Richardson, and Dunbar, however, have attempted,—the former to answer, and the latter to evade them. Mr. Richardson rests his defence of the Scotch system, on the practice of the German and Dutch Universities, and the authority of Johnson.

“In Germany,” says he, “and particularly in the seminaries now mentioned, (Leyden and Utrecht,) humanity was studied in school three or four years, and the study was then continued and completed at College, where the professor was, as it were, the rector or teacher of a higher Grammar School class; and the students were so employed for two, three, or more sessions, in which time they began and carried on the study of the Greek language. For this account, we have, among others, the ample authority of an enlightened and classical author, who received his university education at Oxford, and was by no means partial to Scotland. Johnson informs us\*, in his life of the very learned and celebrated

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\* Professor Richardson's *tract* not having fallen in our way, we are obliged to quote his reasoning, as it is stated by Mr. Russel. For reasons, however, which the reader will discover by and bye, we have thought it expedient to quote Johnson's words immediately from his own work.



Peter Burman, that 'at about eleven years of age he was sent to the public school of Utrecht, to be instructed in the learned languages; and it will convey,' continues the Biographer, 'no common idea of his capacity and industry, to relate, that he had passed through the classes, and was admitted into the University in his thirteenth year.' This account of the rapidity of his progress," says the English scholar, "in the first part of his studies is so stupendous, that though it is attested by his friend Dr. Astor- dyke, of whom it cannot reasonably be suspected that he is him- self deceived, or that he can desire to deceive others, it must be allowed far to exceed the limits of probability, if it be considered with regard to the methods of education practised in our country, where it is not uncommon for the highest genius, and most com- prehensive capacity, to be entangled for ten years, in those thorny paths of literature, which Burman is represented to have passed in less than two years; and we must doubtless confess, the most skilful of our masters, much excelled by the address of the Dutch teachers, or the abilities of our greatest scholars far surpassed by those of Burman. But to reduce this narrative to credibility," continues Johnson, it is necessary that admiration should give place to en- quiry, and that it be discovered what proficiency in literature is ex- pected from a student requesting to be admitted into a Dutch uni- versity. It is to be observed, that in the universities in foreign countries, they have professors of Philology, or Humanity, who are to instruct the younger classes in grammar, rhetoric, and lan- guages; nor do they engage in the study of philosophy, till they have passed through a course of philological lectures and exer- cises, to which, in some places, two [or three] years are *commonly* \* allotted. *The English scheme of education, which, with respect to academical studies, is more vigorous, and sets literary honours at a higher price than that of any other country; exacts from the youth, who are initiated in our colleges, a degree of philological knowledge, sufficient to qualify them for lectures in philosophy, which are read to them in Latin, and to enable them to proceed in other studies without assistance; so that it may be conjectured, that Burman, at his en- trance into the University, had no such skill in languages, nor such ability in composition, as are frequently to be met with in the higher classes of an English school; and was, perhaps, no more than moderately skilled in Latin, and taught the first rudiments in Greek."*

Having made this long extract, or at least *parts* of it, from Johnson, the professor adds,

"Thus then, the method followed at Glasgow, is the same which produced those high classical editors and critics, to say no-

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\* The words, *or three*, are not in Johnson; the word, *commonly*, is, though not transcribed by Richardson.

thing of such persons, in other departments, as Boerhaave and Grotius, who have on the continent so eminently promoted a taste for, and the true knowledge of ancient literature. In truth, the method is so proper, and so adequate, that we need not be surprised to find it very generally adopted. For, in fact, at least in full effect, it is the method practised even in England, though the mode be somewhat different." P. 19.

What is here meant by the *mode* of a *method*, or how two methods, of which the modes are *different*, can be in effect the *same*, we are far from being sure that we know; but had not the learned professor suppressed all that part of Johnson's narrative and inquiry, which we have printed in italics, we hardly think that he would have quoted the authority of that enlightened and classical scholar in support of his own opinion, that the method of education in the Scotch and Dutch universities is not only proper and adequate to the purposes for which those seminaries were established, but also, in full effect, the method practised even in England! This, however, is not the only passage in Johnson's Life of Burman, which, though much to the purpose in this academical controversy, the professor has kept out of view. The Biographer informs us, that when Burman became himself a professor in the university of Utrecht, he went to Paris, with the view of visiting the libraries, and making those inquiries which might be of advantage to his darling study; but that *the vocation of the university allowed him to stay at Paris but six weeks*. Supposing him to have been a month on the journey to and from Paris, and a man so eager to accomplish his purpose would not probably be longer, the boys in the university of Utrecht were not longer abandoned by their teachers at that period, than they are at present in our great schools, but is this the case in the Scotch universities? Mr. Russel, we are persuaded, considers it as of no importance, whether the seminary in which boys are instructed in the learned languages be *called* a *school*, a *college*, or a *university*, provided they be instructed on the *proper plan*; and the plan of instruction in the university of Utrecht, in the days of Burman, appears to have been much the same with that pursued, not in the college of Glasgow, but in our great schools.

Mr. Russel, however, seems not to have had recourse to Johnson's Life of Burman, for the discovery of the truth, but to have taken the professor's statement on trust, to which he make the following reply;

"This passage brings to light two facts, neither of them of much importance; first, that the system of the Flemish schools was execrably bad, and next, that Burman was a diligent boy, and became a good classical scholar in spite of every disadvantage. To say

say, that the method pursued at Glasgow was the same as that observed at Utrecht, is merely to assert, in other words, that one wretched system is very like another; while the list of 'high classical editors and critics,' brought forward by the professor, to prove the excellence of the plan upon which they had been taught, bears no proportion to the number of distinguished characters who have learned Greek and Latin, under the tuition of their mothers and maiden aunts. Though Peter Burman shews a considerable degree of learning in his editions of Lucan and Petronius, it does not necessarily follow, that the surest way to make a good classical scholar is to send a boy to the university in his thirteenth year."

He might have added, that though our own Warburton displays, in all his writings, a greater variety of erudition than three-fourths of those who have passed their lives in the most distinguished seats of learning, it does not, therefore follow, that to make a youth equally learned with Warburton, it is only necessary to keep him at a distance from every university.

Mr. Russel's greatest objection to the method of classical education in the Scotch schools and universities, was to the practice of sending boys to college to learn the *rudiments of the Greek language*, and even the *letters* in which that language is written. This professor Dunbar considers as an irregular and presumptuous intrusion into his department of literature, and, therefore, in a long passage, which is here fairly quoted, he tells Mr. Russel and his friends, how much is done in the several Greek classes in the college of Edinburgh, what books are read; what pains are taken to make the young gentlemen of the higher classes turn short sentences of English into Greek prose, or Iambic, Trochaic, and Anapæstic verse, the laws of which are explained with an accuracy which we have pointed out elsewhere\*; and how excellent the specimens are which he has received from many of his pupils of different kinds of verse. All this is, *doubtless*, very true, but Mr. Russel has the insolence to represent it as nothing to the purpose.

"The question under consideration," says he, and here we must agree with him, "was not, whether any individual professor did his duty, or whether the books he put into the hands of his pupils were the fittest that could be chosen with a reference to their previous attainments; but it was, whether boys should be sent to college to learn the *Greek alphabet*; and after having learned it, whether or not they should be sent home six months to forget it. All allusion to this topic is carefully avoided by my academical critic.

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\* See our third vol. p. 17, &c.

He ventures no nearer the dangerous ground than to say, 'I shall pass over every thing that is done in the junior class, only premising, that it is wholly separate and distinct from the senior.' But why pass over the junior class? Is it not about that very class, as the most absurd and nugatory of all plans of teaching, that my remarks were chiefly employed?" P. 28.

Mr. Russel had, in his former work, attributed to the defective mode of classical education in Scotland, the superficial knowledge of the Greek language, which, with a few illustrious exceptions, characterizes, in this age, the literati of that country. This Mr. Dunbar denies, and attributes to a very different cause the general neglect of Greek literature. His account of the matter we shall give in his own words: because, though we are not now reviewing his book, justice requires of us to state the reason we have for supposing that a professor of Greek estimates the value of learning, as shopkeepers and manufacturers estimate the value of their wares.

"There are not," says professor Dunbar, "ten situations in all Scotland which require an extensive, or even a moderate knowledge of Greek literature. Is it thought requisite in the profession of the law? No ordinance requires it. Is it necessary for the qualification of a physician? What injunction has been given to study it? No: Latin and *Mathematics* were lately prescribed by the college of Surgeons, but not a word of Greek. Does it ever form an important part of the examination of candidates for the church? Even here no very great acquirements in that branch of knowledge will open for them a way within her pale; and when they have succeeded in attaining their wishes, what higher object courts their ambition? In the other ranks of life how few make it their study, or prosecute it to any extent?—All this lamentable deficiency Mr. Russel, with his usual sagacity, will no doubt attribute to the defective system in our university. But let me ask him, *if he ever saw any artist fabricating goods which he could not bring to market, or if he brought them there, whatever value he might set upon them, would draw no purchasers? Does he not know that where there is an extensive demand for any article, there will always be an adequate supply.*

Such an apology as this for the decline of Greek literature in Scotland was surely never made before, and will probably never be made again; and if we had heard an over zealous Oxonian express his belief that it *might* be made by the *Greek professor* in the boasted university of Edinburgh, we should certainly have considered our countryman as under the dominion of prejudice and resentment for the torrents of obloquy poured from that city on the university of Oxford. If this view of the learned professions in Scotland be indeed correct, there cannot

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be more than *five* situations in that country which require a moderate knowledge of Greek literature; for since it is not to be taught in *schools*, and is of *no* use to *theologians, lawyers, and physicians*, the five Greek Professors are the only men in that part of the united kingdom who can have the smallest occasion ever to open a Greek book. It is not indeed very easy to imagine why even *they* should take that trouble, or what useful purposes their predilections on Iambic, Trochaic, and Anapaestic verse can serve in society; for they are verses, it seems, which draw no purchasers in the market! Mr. Russel, however, thinks very differently from the Professor of the cause of the decline of Greek literature in Scotland, though he agrees with him as to the price of that commodity at present in the market.

"Taking up," says he, "the Professor's remarks in this view of their bearing, it cannot be concealed that they are but too just; for it is an unpleasant truth, that a competent knowledge of Greek is not deemed requisite in Scotland, to qualify a person for holding a place in any of the learned faculties. This circumstance, however, so far from justifying perseverance in a bad system, ought to be regarded as the strongest reason for a speedy change; for Grecian literature is not demanded in candidates for the liberal professions, not so much because it is *lightly* valued, as because it is *not to be found*; and it is not to be found merely because the plan upon which it has been hitherto taught, is not calculated, in any point of view, to render such knowledge either accurate or extensive. The Professor, then, is quite right in his conjecture: for I do, without the least hesitation, *attribute all this lamentable deficiency to the defective system* of the universities in relation to their method of teaching Greek, and I will venture to add, that this language will never be generally known nor properly valued, until it be introduced into the regular course of grammar-school education." P. 32.

Our author travels over the whole ground of his former tracts, exposes, with equal ability, the weakness of every attempt that has been made to defend the practice of teaching mathematics and philosophy by public lectures, without regularly examining the students, and obliging them to write essays on the subjects of the lectures: and supports all his former conclusions by new facts and illustrations well worthy of the attention of every enlightened Scotchman. That he should have given offence to any man by his letters on this subject, would indeed astonish us, did not we daily see that interest, or *supposed* interest, hoodwinks the intellectual eye of the most vigorous mind; for no man ever exposed the defects of a system, and at the same time more frankly acknowledged the personal merits of those by whom the system was carried on, than Mr. Russel did in these *Letters*. He repeatedly declared, that the faults of the Scottish system of li-

beral education are not the faults of the teachers either in the school or colleges, but of the constitution of those schools and colleges themselves; and he represents the Professors in the university of Glasgow, with which he is necessarily best acquainted, as doing all that men can do to counteract the baleful influence of the system which they are obliged to carry on. On no individual Professor, in any university, did he, in that work, throw out the faintest reflection; and if he has treated Mr. Professor Dunbar with very little ceremony in the pamphlet before us, every man, we think, except that learned Professor himself, will find a sufficient apology in Mr. Dunbar's unprovoked attack upon him—upon his moral as well as his literary character. The subject of discussion between them is of great national importance, which must be our apology for having occupied so much of the time of our readers by the review of a pamphlet of 100 pages. It is of importance in England, as well as in Scotland; for though our schools are indisputably so superior to those of our neighbours, as to excite no wish in the breast of any well-educated Englishman, to transplant from the Scottish schools any practice into our own, perhaps the case is different with respect to the universities.

"The division of the academical year into one session, and one recess, seems to me," said Johnson, "better accommodated to the present state of life, than that variegation of time by terms and vacations, derived from distant centuries, in which it was probably convenient; and still continued in the English universities. So many solid months as the Scotch scheme of education joins together, allow and encourage a plan for each part of the year; but with us, he that has settled himself to study in the college, is soon tempted into the country, and he that has adjusted his life in the country, is summoned back to his college."

The truth of this observation is supported by every argument urged by Mr. Russel against the Scotch practice of studying the rudiments of the learned languages in colleges; and were Johnson's improvement to be adopted in Oxford and Cambridge, the expence of education now become enormous, in these celebrated seats of learning, would be considerably diminished. But when we have with Johnson allowed to the universities in Scotland a more rational distribution of time, we agree with him, that they are entitled to preference in nothing else—certainly not in the lecturing plan by Professors, instead of the method of teaching in the pupil-room by college-tutors, which we have reason to believe was, at no distant period, the mode of teaching in all the old colleges in Scotland.

ART. V. *Psalms and Hymns, selected for the Churches of Buckden and Holbeach, of Bluntisham cum Erith, and Hemingford Grey, in the Diocese of Lincoln.* pp. 330. Cadell and Davies. 1815.

THE fifty-ninth Canon of the Council of Laodicea is to this effect; ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἰδιωτικοῦς ψαλμοὺς λέγεσθαι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ: "That no psalms, composed by private individuals, should be used in the Church." From which we may infer, that some Christians had introduced into the public worship of the sanctuary, hymns and sacred songs of their own composition, and had adopted that method of giving circulation to their own heretical or incorrect notions. The Council of Laodicea therefore deemed it expedient to put this check upon a practice which was reprehensible only in the abuse of it; for we learn from Eusebius (xvii. p. 16. b.) "that the early Christians were wont to compose songs and hymns to God, in various metres, and adapted to grave music." In the present age, although religious licence has so long overborne the restraints of discipline, that we should only be deemed half a century behind hand in our ideas, were we to censure indiscriminately all compilations of Sacred Poetry, subsidiary to the Psalms, properly so called, for the devotional harmony of the Church, yet we assure ourselves of the hearty concurrence of all our readers in laying it down, that great caution should be exercised in admitting into the public service the pious effusions of individuals, which may in many instances be more remarkable for fervour of devotion than for solidity and correctness of doctrine. For want of due discretion in this respect, it has certainly happened even in our own Establishment, that "Congregations have been sometimes exposed to the effects of hasty and injudicious choice." Pref. p. vii. And so by degrees different parishes have attached themselves to different sets of devotional poems, some favouring one sect in religion and some another; whilst individual ministers, actuated by a regard for the spiritual comfort of their flock or their own poetical fame, have exclaimed, with Gregory Nazianzen, Καὶ ἡμεῖς ψαλμολογήσομεν, καὶ πολλὰ γράφομεν, καὶ μετρήσομεν. It certainly was not the intention of the founders of our ecclesiastical polity, that a single word should be introduced into the public worship of the Church, except what should be sanctioned by authority. And it is something like an anomaly in our Establishment, that both the doctrine and language of that part of the service, which perhaps makes a stronger impression than any other upon the minds of the lower orders, should be left to the discretion of particular ministers. But the fact is, that it is a licence which has crept in imperceptibly. We

do not think it too late to remedy the growing evil; and till this is done by the united authority of our spiritual governors, it is the part of each individual Bishop to exercise within his own diocese a vigilant inspection over this branch of divine service, that no principles, hostile to the purity and integrity of its doctrines, be insidiously foisted into its authorised formularies, and insinuated into the minds of the people by means of versions, and paraphrases and hymns, and that nothing should be allowed, which may tend to degrade the dignity of religion, or diminish the awe and respect due to the divine name, by clothing the most sublime and important doctrines in coarse or vulgar language, or by familiar and indecent addresses to the Son of God. To shew that we have good reason to be apprehensive on this score, we need only select a few passages from Hymn Books, which have been published by Clergymen, *professing themselves members of our Establishment*, and, we are willing to suppose, *believing themselves to be so*. The collections to which we allude, are in many parts of them equally conspicuous for the absence of poetical taste and of rational piety; and are calculated at once to deceive and perplex the ignorant, and to disgust the well informed; and yet we lament to say they are by no means uncommonly to be met with in congregations of the Establishment. Our first collection shall be one published by the Rev. Mr. Madan, in which he professes that "the grand subject of every Song is Jesus;" and assuredly an uninstructed person might sing nearly the whole of Mr. Madan's book without ever learning that such a Being as God the Father is to be worshipped. The metre in which many of these Hymns is written, is not less extraordinary than their phraseology, and the accuracy of the rhimes; for instance,

" Rejoice evermore  
With angels above,  
In Jesus's power,  
In Jesus's love.

" With glad exultation  
Your triumph proclaim,  
Ascribing salvation  
To God and the lamb.

" No longer we'd join  
Where Sinners invite,  
Nor envy the Swine  
Their brutish delight!"—P. 12.

Again, p. 14.

" And when I'm to die,  
Receive me, I'll cry,  
For Jesus hath loved me, I cannot say why!"  
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The phrases 'dear Saviour,' 'dear Jesus,' and others equally familiar and profane, occur in every page.

In p. 78 we are offended with the following incredible vulgarity.

"Teach me some *melodious sonnet*,  
Sung by flaming tongues above;  
Praise the Mount—*I'm fix'd upon it*,  
Mount of God's unchanging love.

"Here I raise my *Eben-Ezer*,  
Hither by thine help I'm come,  
And I hope by thy good pleasure  
Safely to arrive at home."

And this forsooth is *poetry*, and *divine poetry*! The following invitation to take a heavenly excursion would be ludicrous, were it not heart-rending to see such a profanation of holy things.

"Come let us ascend,  
My companion and friend,  
To a taste of the banquet above;  
If thine heart be as mine,  
If for Jesus it pine,  
Come up in the chariot of love!"

In the next extract, we have the very cream of the Calvinistic doctrine; a man saved violently and against his will, and in spite of all his endeavours to be sinful.

"Conquer thy worst for in me,  
Get thyself the victory;  
Save the vilest of the race,  
Force me to be saved by Grace!"

But not a word is there in the whole book in favour of a *holy life*; no where is God implored to make us *live uprightly*. Our readers, we doubt not, will excuse our transcribing any more; in fact it is a painful task to us, both as Christians and critics; but we must in conclusion express our unqualified disapprobation of the taste and piety which could insert amongst "Hymns for the Communion," a religious parody (for it is no better) of "God save the King."

"Come thou Almighty King,  
Help us thy name to sing,  
Help us to praise!  
Father all glorious,  
O'er all victorious,  
Come and reign over us,  
ANTIENT OF DAYS!"

Jesus

" Jesus our Lord arise,  
Scatter our enemies,  
And make them fall !  
Let thine almighty aid,  
Our sure defence be made,  
Our souls on thee be stay'd,  
Lord hear our call !"

The next collection upon which we lay our hands is one by the Rev. Mr. Biddulph, which contains less offensive matter than the preceding, but yet is by no means unexceptionable. Is it possible that any person who has just and adequate notions of the dignity of Christ's nature, and the relation in which we stand to him, can address him in such terms as these ?

" Jesu, lover of my soul,  
Let me to thy bosom fly !"—P. 176.

" Thou dear Redeemer, dying Lamb,  
We love to hear of Thee ;  
No music like *thy charming name*,  
Nor *hail* so sweet can be !"—P. 175.

In the *Olney Hymns*, which were the joint production of Mr. Newton and his friend, Cowper the poet, there is much less of bad taste, though a great deal of what we do not think to be good doctrine. Many of the poems in that collection are truly edifying and affecting ; there is an union of pastoral simplicity, with fervent piety, which renders them highly pleasing. But there is also a great deal of that miserable poetry and pernicious doctrine, which we have reprehended in the preceding collections. The following description of himself was drawn by Cowper, after the sunrise of his clear and vigorous mind had been obscured by the dark and dreary mists of *melancholia*, from which it never afterwards emerged.

" Friends and ministers said much  
The Gospel to enforce,  
But my blindness still was such,  
I chose a *legal* course.  
Much I fasted, watch'd and strove,  
Scarcely would shew my face abroad,  
Fear'd almost to speak and move,  
A stranger still to God.

" Thus afraid to trust his grace,  
Long time I did rebel ;  
Till despairing of my case,  
Down at his feet I fell :

There

*Selections of Psalms and Hymns.*

Then my stubborn heart he broke,  
 And subdued me to his sway;  
 By a simple word he spoke,  
 'Thy sins are done away.' "

This comfortable assurance, however, it is well known, the unfortunate poet did not obtain. In the school of the Solifidians he was taught to despair, but he never learned to hope. But it is wonderful that even there, he should so far have forgotten his good sense and refined taste, as to indulge in such metaphors as those which disfigure the following stanza.

" O fearful thought ! be timely wise ;  
*Delight but in a Saviour's charms ;*  
 And God shall take you to the skies,  
*Embraced in everlasting arms !*"

The best defence of this is to say that it is nonsense ; but it is mischievous and profane nonsense : surely nobody can pretend that it is calculated to convey just or proper notions of God's nature, or of those heavenly rewards which are reserved for the souls of the just made perfect. We find no such expressions as these in the New Testament ; and, assuredly, we are not to take as a model for Christian hymns, the Song of Solomon, a poem which was worked up to the highest tone of oriental allegory, and suited to the fervent imagination of an Asiatic people. And besides, those expressions and figures which may be consistent with the allegory itself, may become highly absurd and improper, when applied to the things signified. This cannot be more forcibly illustrated than by that far-famed distich which we meet with in the Hymn-book used at Trinity Church in Cambridge, and printed under Mr. Simeon's inspection, for the edification of his congregation.

" Come needy and guilty, come loathsome and bare !  
 Tho' leprous and filthy, come just as you are."

Mr. Simeon may call this devotion—we deem it little short of blasphemy, and greatly lament that our church discipline is so relaxed, that such language is suffered to prophanize our public worship. It is against this fault that the compilers of the selection before us, have been particularly cautious to guard.

" We have more particularly felt it our duty to guard against all coarse overstrained expressions of familiarity and endearment ; and the more so, because they occur frequently in some compositions, very unaptly styled sacred or devout. Such expressions  
 surely

surely must have the effect of creating disgust, rather than of promoting a spirit of real piety; and certainly, they do not accord with that reverential awe, which a *proper* sense of the vast distance between man and his Redeemer, and a genuine feeling of humility and contrition would unavoidably inspire." Pref. p. xi.

At the same time they have been careful to introduce a proper number of hymns, more peculiarly adapted to the relations in which Christians stand to their Maker and Saviour.

"In pursuing this design, we have endeavoured to select, from various sources, such pieces of sacred poetry, as appeared to us to convey the sense of Scripture in language at once perspicuous and poetical; such as were likely to regulate the warmth of devotion, by the sobriety of sound interpretation, and at the same time, to cherish it by the graces of language, and the harmony of numbers. It is therefore presumed, that our little volume may not prove unacceptable in families, for the purpose of imparting to young minds, a relish for poetical composition, while they may, at the same time, imbibe the principles of that knowledge, which so far transcends all human science;—the knowledge, not only of the holiness, power and goodness of their Almighty Father and Creator, but also of the unbounded love and compassion of their Redeemer, and the benign and saving influence of their Sanctifier. When we mention the names of Crashaw, Sandys, Denham, Dryden, and Addison, and add to them Mason, Cowper, and Burns, as well as Cotton, Merrick and Watts, amongst others of high merit, from whose works our selection has been made, that taste must surely be fastidious, or, what is worse, insensible to a just spirit of piety, if it does not here find something to applaud in the charms of composition, as well as something to feel from the incentives to devotion." Pref. p. ix.

Approving of the object of the present collection, with this proviso with which we set out, that in our private opinion the authorized Psalmody is all-sufficient; and, for the most part, of its execution, we will take the liberty of suggesting a few remarks, which may tend to the improvement of a future edition. The version of Psalm 15, given in p. 14, is considerably inferior to that of Tate and Brady, in more respects than one; it is more paraphrastical, and less nervous. Addison's Hymn on the Wonders of Creation should not have been given under the title of Psalm 19. of which its author never intended it for a version. It is a beautiful ode, and might be given as an adjunct to the excellent version of Tate and Brady.

"The heavens declare thy glory, Lord,  
Which that alone can fill;  
The firmament and stars express  
Their great Creator's skill,

"Their

" Their powerful language to no realm,  
 No region is confined;  
 'Tis nature's voice, and understood  
 Alike by all mankind."

This last stanza is superior to any thing in Addison's imitation. The same remark applies to the hymn, inserted in No. 452 of the *Spectator*, which cannot, surely, be termed a version of the 71st psalm. To some of the hymns it may be objected, that they are composed in a style far above the comprehension of two thirds of any country congregation; for instance, the 12th, which is an extract of Pope's *Messiah*, the 15th, the 25th, the 53d, the 59th, the 60th, the 80th, the 124th, the 139th, (which in point of fact, is not a hymn, but a short moral poem) and the 164th. We would designate by an asterisk, those poems in this collection, which are more peculiarly appropriated to the devotional exercises of those, who have enjoyed the benefits of a good education. Upon the whole we do not hesitate to say, that the editors, Dr. Maltby, Mr. Tillard, and Mr. Banks, in making the present selection, with a strict regard to the principles of taste and orthodoxy, have rendered an acceptable service to the soberly religious part of the community, and if, from our perhaps too rigid notions of conformity and too inveterate partiality for the *Psalms of David*, we hesitate in recommending this volume to the public service of the sanctuary, we can most conscientiously point it out as well adapted to the more retired exercises of family worship.

ART. VI. *A Letter on the Game Laws. By a Country Gentleman, a Proprietor of Game. 8vo. pp. 44. 1815.*

THE pamphlet now before us appears to contain much good sense, and a very original view of the subject on which it treats. This subject may, at first sight, seem to affect none but the sportsman and the poacher, or the magistrate before whose tribunal the disputes between these warlike opponents are carried. But a deeper investigation of it may convince us, that all well-wishers to morality and good order, in whatever station of life, ought to take a lively concern in the present state of the Game Laws, since the best interests of morality, and the good order of society are deeply interwoven with it. The general drift of the author is, to prove, that the alteration in the state of society in England, since the establishment of the game laws, calls loudly for a reformation of the laws themselves. He justly observes, that

that in consequence of the extension of commerce, and the introduction thereby of a new class of rich men into the country, who, not possessing land, can only procure game by purchase; a temptation is offered to poachers, to break the laws, too powerful to be resisted by the generality of the lower orders. Fatal experience indeed proves this fact, which is well known to all country magistrates, who witness the lamentable frequency of poaching cases. The gentleman of monied property, who thinks it necessary to have game at his table, purchases it of the poulterer, at a very high price, without enquiring whence it comes. The poulterer finding a great demand for game, offers a good price to any person who will procure it for him; and we must be well aware, however we may choose to shut our eyes on this subject, that those persons who thus procure it for the table of these gentlemen, can be no other than poachers, who are tempted by the high price offered to them, to commit the necessary depredation. So that every partridge that is purchased by the gentleman of monied property, costs a breach of the laws; and this has been becoming every day more common and frequent, from the great influx of wealth into the country of late years. The demoralizing tendency of this arrangement to the lower orders, it is almost needless to point out; since all who consider the constitution of human nature, must be convinced that the breach of one law commonly leads to that of another, and that those persons who begin with poaching, may probably end with swindling or highway robbery. From the consideration of these circumstances, our author in a lively manner, describes the game laws, as a system of regulations by which the youth of our villages are reared for the gallows by the temptations arising out of their enactments. The remedy proposed for this great evil, is, that it should be made lawful to sell game with a licence and under certain restrictions: but we proceed to give a few extracts as specimens of the author's reasoning and manner of writing. He introduces his observations, by the following statement of the occasion which immediately drew them forth, viz. the recent homicide of a desperate and notorious poacher, who left destitute upon the parish, a wife and several children.

"A distressing event, which has lately taken place in my own neighbourhood, has revived in my mind reflections which have frequently passed through it, on the tendencies of the Game Laws; and I am more than ever convinced that an impartial review of their principle, objects, and effects, should scarcely fail to gain the assent of all parties to considerable alterations. More especially may this result be expected, if, as I think, it can be shown that the alterations proposed would tend to conciliate and promote the interests of all parties concerned:—that they would, at one and the same time, increase the quantity of Game for the sportsman; ex-

tend the enjoyments connected with the possession of game to those whom the progress of society has raised into a station to be entitled to them; and also immediately check, and ultimately annihilate, the moral and political evils resulting from the present prohibitions. I do not, however, wish to disguise my opinion, that it is the extent of these last which imperatively calls for the interference of the Legislature, and of all persons who have the least regard for the welfare of their country. The extent and progress of the evil cannot be conceived by those who are not conversant with the lower ranks in the country villages. From extensive observation and enquiry, I believe in my conscience, that it is not too much to assert that three fourths of the crimes which bring so many poor men to the gallows have their first origin in the evil and irregular habits, NECESSARILY introduced by the almost irresistible temptations held out, in consequence of the prohibitions of the Game Laws, to a nightly breach of their enactments.

"This I can safely declare of my own knowledge,—that of the numerous country villages with which I am acquainted, NOT ONE exists in which the profligate and licentious characters may not trace the first and early corruption of their habits to this cause\*. And, I think, it will soon be acknowledged that the wonder is, not that so many are corrupted, but that so many escape the temptations necessarily consequent upon a set of prohibitions, enacted for one state of society, but by the lapse of time, and change of circumstances, rendered perfectly inapplicable to its actual condition. Truly this is no object of petty legislation or insignificant detail. The moral habits of the universal population are deeply implicated in it. The safety of every description of rural property is as much concerned. The peace of society and the security of individuals are no less endangered. We scarcely take up a country newspaper without seeing a long list of proprietors associating for mutual assistance in prosecuting and punishing the depredations of their poorer neighbours. How comes it that it never occurs to these gentlemen, that this general depravation of habits must have some *moral* cause?—and that they would save themselves much trouble, and do the state good service, if they would associate to *prevent* the evil rather than to *punish* it, to weaken or remove the *cause* rather than vainly to oppose its necessary effect?" P. 5.

He then, after a few more observations, goes on to remark.

"The *Principle* of the Game Laws is abstractedly a very fair one;—namely, to secure to those, at whose expense the animals are reared and supported, the enjoyments accruing from the possession of them. To accomplish this end, the specific *objects* of the

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\* "The experience of every impartial magistrate, of every judge of assize, will fortify this assertion:—many indeed have openly declared it."

Laws seems to have been, 1st. To preserve to the Proprietors of Land the amusement of sporting:—2dly. To afford to the higher ranks of Society, *to whom alone it is of any value*, the luxury of game at their tables. Now these are certainly reasonable objects. It is of the highest importance to the welfare of the people and to the good of the state, that landed gentlemen should reside upon their properties. It is therefore matter of sound policy to secure to them the enjoyments which will make such residence agreeable, as far as it can be done without injustice to others. And surely it can never be called unjust to preclude a stranger from destroying animals for his own profit, which have been reared and preserved at the expense of the landed proprietor. Again, the possession of game, as a luxury for the table, is absolutely of no value to persons of the lower sort: they annex no idea to a dead hare or partridge, but its value in money. Since therefore there is neither game enough in any country either to afford the amusement of sporting to the whole population, or to afford articles of food to all ranks of society, it seems perfectly fair that those, who by natural justice have no right to the article, and to whom it is in fact of little or no value, should be the party debarred from taking it. By the principles of equity it is evident that a stranger has no more right to the wild animals, bred and fed on my property, at my expense, than he has to the tame animals in my poultry yard. In either case he could only entitle himself to the possession of them by agreement or purchase." P. 9.

Having thus vindicated the abstract principle and objects of the game laws, he enquires how far they are consistent with the attainment of these objects in their practical effects, and attempts to prove that, according to the present system of society, the largest part of those persons who, from their fortune and rank in life, think themselves entitled to have game at their tables, would be entirely debarred from it, but for the facility of purchasing from poachers.

"In the agricultural state of society, in which England was found when the Game Laws assumed their present shape, enactments prohibiting the sale of Game, and confining the privilege of taking it to the landed proprietors, might fairly enough be said to have fulfilled this second object. The gentry of England, those who exercised hospitality, and who kept a table, were almost exclusively such proprietors, or their connexions;—so that there was no man who from his station in life felt it proper, or entertained a wish, to have game at his table, who was precluded from lawful means of placing it there.

"But how stands the case since the changes introduced into society by commerce and manufactures, by the increase of great and opulent towns filled with merchants and other citizens, who are bound by their stations and occupations to exercise a liberal  
hospitality,



hospitality, and especially to support a well appointed table, at which the appearance of game is but a reasonable indulgence? Why, it cannot be denied that three fourths of the legitimate consumers of game in the present day can only procure it by tempting others to a positive breach of the laws; for they can get it by no other means except by purchase from those who employ the country poacher in almost every rural village in the kingdom, or corrupt the land-owner's gamekeeper, on half the extensive properties of England, to take it for them. And what is, if possible, still more absurd, unjust, and insane than the other parts of this wretched arrangement, while the poacher, the poacher, and the gamekeeper, are exposed to heavy and ruinous penalties for selling this game, the ultimate purchaser or consumer, who is certainly the prime mover of the whole transaction, offends against no law whatsoever (at least against no human law) in placing the almost irresistible temptation in their way." P. 13.

But here, he leaves entirely out of his account, that immense supply of game which is sent by country gentlemen as presents to that class of persons for whose hospitable entertainments he wishes honestly to provide, and which forms one of those reciprocations of kindness, which are the best bands and ligaments of society. Though we do not, therefore, mean to represent our author as failing altogether in this link of his chain of reasoning, yet most certainly it is inconclusive in the same proposition that the alleged evil is obviated by the friendly distributions of game from those who under the existing laws are qualified to kill it.

Of the dreadful effects of the temptation amongst the lower orders, our author's representation is perfectly correct, and is as follows:—

"I trust it will scarcely be necessary to enlarge upon their destructive moral tendency further than briefly to detail effects which almost every country newspaper must have made familiar to my readers. Discontent against their superiors is one of the first effects produced by the Game Laws among the lower orders. Finding himself employed as the agent to transfer the property of one rich man to another, who is obnoxious to no punishment for receiving it, the poacher, when discovered and convicted, perceiving himself to be the only victim, is tempted to think that there is one law for the rich and another for the poor; an observation which a poacher made in my presence the other day. This feeling is carefully fostered by his employers, who studiously represent game to be *every man's property*, tyrannically preserved for the benefit of a few, and therefore that it is at least *fair if not meritorious* to attack it; whereas certainly no man can have the slightest equitable claim to it except by purchase, who has had no share  
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in the expense of rearing and preserving it. Frequent breaches of the peace, murders, and homicides, are the natural result of the continual contests which are kept alive in a parish, between different portions of its armed population. The regular army, as it may be called, of Gamekeepers and their assistants are assailed in their nightly bivouac by the irregular *timailleurs* of the bands of poachers; and the savage spirit and consequences of a war of posts are perpetuated in every village. All moral ideas of right and wrong are confounded; all love of the spirit of peace and humanity are banished from the breasts of the contending parties; and even the shedding of a neighbour's blood is considered matter of triumph among their several advocates.—As the poet states of a prodigate alehouse-keeper:

“He praised the poacher, precious child of fun,  
Who shot the keeper with his own spring gun.” CRABBE.

“That this condition of things should ultimately prepare the minds of the lower classes for every crime to which the circumstances of their station can tempt them is not surprising—nor that the calendar which records the most atrocious enormities should be filled with the names of those, who, upon first starting in the career of poaching, would have shrunk with horror from a contemplation of the crimes which they were afterwards the most forward to commit.

“The habit of nightly plunder,

—“When steals the vagrant from his warm retreat,  
To rove a prowler, and be deem'd a cheat,”—

by depriving the poor man of the conscious integrity of his conduct, deprives him of more than half his motives to abstain from crime. He acquires the feelings, the fears, the suspicions of the thief:—he considers himself as in a state of warfare with all the honest part of the community, and as justified by his new system of opinions and associations to attack them and their property. Failing his success in the wood, the field, and the forest, he resorts to the hen-roost or the sheep-fold. He becomes a felon confessed or convicted: and with feelings and habits corrupted and perverted by the process just described, what principle of restraint can any longer operate to prevent him from the most desperate undertakings—from the extremes of burglary and murder? The whole process is as simple and natural as it is in most cases inevitable; and the proprietor of game may tremble to think from what a little cloud, apparently no bigger than a man's hand, all this storm of vice, misery, and corruption, to the poor themselves, and to their innocent wives and children, has evolved.” P. 18.

After more discussion of the subject, the author proceeds to suggest a remedy for the great evils he has described, prefacing it with a further summary of the cause from which these evils proceed.

proceed. What he proposes as an amelioration of the game laws is expressed as follows:—

“ My proposed alterations then, in the present Game Laws, amount on the whole to the following enactments :

“ 1. That game may be legally exposed to sale.

“ 2. That owners and occupiers of more than thirty or forty acres of land may, under certain restrictions, take and kill game upon *their own occupations*.

“ 3. That qualified persons shall not sport upon preserved and enclosed ground (after notice to abstain), under a penalty of five pounds.

“ I trust they will be candidly and impartially considered. I have, undoubtedly, exhibited a moral evil of great magnitude, which every good man must wish to see remedied ; and of which the legislature of a free and enlightened country ought to be deeply ashamed. I have taken some pains to show that the proposed remedies would go far to extenuate at least if not entirely to remove the complaint. If the argument be at all supported by fair reasoning, all I presume to ask is that it shall be met in the same manner, and that the just conclusion, whatever it be, may be honestly acted upon. Above all, I deprecate the evasion of it by the hack-nied pretence of a dread of innovation ; an argument which, when applied to a *moral evil, proved or admitted*, appears the most degrading and disgraceful by which a great and wise nation can be influenced. For to what does it, in fact, amount, but to a fear of *improvement* ; to a dereliction of moral duty ; to an admission of apathy and idleness, where zeal and exertion are imperatively requisite ; to a confession of incapacity for those very purposes for which systems of polity were instituted, and governments invested with power ? And to what does it inevitably lead, but to the production of the very mischief it pretends to dread ? The ultimate, and not distant, result of all permission of moral evil is the destruction of civil society : whereas it is to the last degree idle to assert that it cannot be checked by renovating laws, without leading an enlightened and considerate people to destroy the acknowledged foundations of their own happiness and tranquillity. The conclusion of the French revolution, among its other benefits, has, I trust, brought to a close the abuse of this contemptible argument.

“ You will perceive that the provisions I have ventured to recommend do not involve any radical abolition or change of the Game Laws, and that they have especially avoided the plausible expedient which I have frequently heard recommended, of making Game *the absolute property of the owner of the soil on which it is found*, and placing it under the same protection as all other property : a scheme prohibited by the very nature of the animal, and which would prodigiously enhance the severity of the present laws. It would give the proprietor of every little spot of ground the power of *indicting for a larceny* a neighbour who had pursued a partridge or hare across

across his hedge and killed it; and would establish in every parish in the kingdom a set of petty persecutors, from whom no man who carried a gun could be for an instant free, unless he were the lord and owner of all the country in his neighbourhood. On the contrary, I think that the plan I have traced out is a considerable relaxation of the severity of the present laws, while at the same time it promises to promote a great increase in the breed of game, provides much more certainly for its preservation, and without materially curtailing the amusements and advantages enjoyed by the sportsmen at *present privileged*, extends them to a wide circle of others, who in the present state of society (it would be mere attachment to old and obsolete prejudice to deny it) are equally entitled by their station and property to enjoy them."

The pamphlet concludes with an appeal to every friend of good order and sound morals to unite in petitioning the Legislature for an alteration in the game laws, so as to render them consistent with the peace, morality, and good order of their neighbourhoods. And an Appendix follows, containing a sketch of the proposed petition, and of an act of parliament for carrying the objects of the pamphlet into execution. We must again repeat in conclusion, that we earnestly hope due attention will be paid to the many and cogent arguments which the pamphlet contains, for the revision of a code of laws, enacted under very different circumstances than those which now exist on these subjects, now that the promise of permanent repose affords leisure for the revision of statutes relating to our internal polity. The evil it deprecates has increased, and is increasing, and ought to be diminished; and from the number of idle hands thrown out of employment, in consequence of the peace, by the disbanding of many regiments, and the paying off of many ships, &c. &c. who are now scattered all over England, seeking subsistence, but in too many instances unable to find it, a present remedy is the more loudly and urgently called for. We trust, therefore, that amongst the many very important subjects of domestic legislation which require the speedy attention of parliament, the Game Laws will be brought in due rotation before it, as a subject in common with many others, just adverted to, deeply involving the permanent interests of the country.

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ART. VII. *The Chronicles of Scotland by David Lindsay of Pitcottie, published from several old Manuscripts.* 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 638. 1l. 1s. Edinburgh, Constable; Longman and Co. 1814.

IN the genuine and authentic Chronicles of ancient days there is much amusement to be derived from their quaintness, if there

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is no instruction to be drawn from their history. The volumes before us contain much curious and interesting matter, and cannot fail in parts to engage the attention of the reader. Mr. Dalzell who has undertaken the labour of editing them, seems to think that it is not satisfactorily established who is their real author. He supposes that we certainly owe this work to the successive labours of different individuals who flourished at different intervals. We much wish that Mr. Dalzell had given his reasons for this opinion; for from the internal evidence we should certainly have supposed it to have been the work of one writer, and he a Lindsay: for the Lindsays are heroes wherever they appear. As no reason therefore is given to the contrary, we are willing to attribute to Robert Lindsay of Pitcottie all the merit of the work. In the prefatory notice to two later transcripts he has claimed it, and till his claims be proved to be unfounded, we are willing to allow them. The continuation by other hands is certainly very meagre.

The first circumstance that must strike the reader, is the extraordinary usage of certain English words, to which custom has assigned a very different meaning. In p. 165, we are told that the people *justified* the captain of the house, signifying that they hanged him, or put him to death. Again James III. was advised to make use of this aforesaid *justification* against certain evil counsellors whom he had committed to the castle of Edinburgh. We know not how far this usage of the word will be relished by some of our puritanical brethren.

We have the word *continue*, signifying to defer the conclusion of, but not implying that the action proceeds without interruption.

"The Proveist hearing this, desired my Lord Bishop to *continue* the matter till the morne."

The Cambridge formulary "*Nos continuamus hanc disputationem,*" was probably introduced at a time when the English used *continue* in the same sense.

In p. 29 we have the proposition *by*, which is generally spelt *be*, signifying "contrary to." So again p. 285, *by* the consent of her Lords, i. e. in opposition to their wishes.

In the following passage we have the word *malice* in the sense of the French *malaise*, trouble, affliction.

"This meane tyme the king of Scotland oversaw not to give dew reverence to the queine with the rest of hir dames, and in speciall to Magdalene, the kingis dochter, quho was ryding in ane chariott, becaus shoe was seiklie, and might not ryd vpon hers. Yitt notwithstanding all hir seiknes and malice, fra tyne shoe saw the king of Scotland, and spak with him, shoe became so enamoured with him, and loved him so weill, that shoe wold have no man alive to hir husband." P. 367.

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This does not look much like our English malice; in other places however we have the word in its commoner usage.

In two passages we have the obsolete term *ding*, to throw or cast down. "He had yet the same wand to *ding* him that *dang* his father." From this obsolete present was clearly derived through its past participle our term *dung*.

Our graver readers may perhaps be amused by being informed that among the personal merits of the Earl of Lenox is mentioned that he "Vent verrie stretcht up in his passage;" by which it is only meant that he walked very bold and upright.

There are some few instances of ignorance respecting English affairs which we should much wonder at, did we not consider how interrupted an intercourse existed in those times between the rival kingdoms. We are presented in one place with a long history of the exclusion of Edward Crookback, a son of Henry III. from the crown on account of his misshapen form, and other bodily infirmities, and in another place we are informed, that Edward the VIth. was shot.

Our readers will be much pleased with the relation of the death of Bishop Cameron.

"In this meane tyme fell ane horrible case to Joha Cameron bishop of Glasgow, principall rueler of the prince, and his ruelaris; and to all mischeiffe and innocent slauchter, dons in thir troublous tymes, ane marvellous example to all mortall man, to withdrave thameselfis from all vicked counsell, abuse, and vicked tyrannie. For he caused thame to exerce oppressiouse vpoun the realme, as he had done himself vpoun the poore tennentis of Glasgow, sua that quhen the power divyne of God had permitted him to scourge and overune the people on this wayes, for ane certain space, he thought to put ane end to his tyrannie. At last, vpoun Yuill evin, quhen he was lying sleiping in his bed, thair cam an thunderring voyce out of heavin, crying and summonding him to the extreame judgment of God, quhair he sould give an account of all his cruell offences, bot ony fardder delay. Throw this he wakened out of his sleip, and tuik great fear of this noviltie. Bott yitt he believed it to be nothing bot ane verie dreame, and no trow vairneing, for the amendement of his vicked lyfe; yitt he called for his chamber boy, and caused him to light candles, and to remaine ane whyll beayd him, till he had recovered the fear and dreadour that he had takin in his sleip. Be he had weil takin ane booke and red ane little space thairupoun, the same voyce and wordis war heard with no lesse fear and dreadour than befoir, quhilk maid thame affrayed that war about him for the present: so that now of thame had ane word to speak to another; thinkand no lesse than suddene mischeiffe to befall tham all. And frae hand the same voyce and wordis war morre vgsunlie hard cry nor befoir. The bishop renderit the spirit haistilie at the pleasour of  
God

God, and schew out his tongue most vyldlie as he had beine hanged vpoun ane gallous. Ane terrible sight to all murtheraris and oppressouris of the poore. Bot alas the vicked mynd of men, beldin with all conceived malice, dreadis nevir the terrible judgment of God, nor the good and godlie men ceass nevir to imbrace his good and godlie merceis. But to our history." P. 69.

The death of James the IIId. is here given at a much greater length than by other historians. As the account is curious we shall extract it for the amusement of our readers.

" Bot at the last the thieves of Annerdail cam in, schoutting and crying, and feard the king so, that he tuik purpose and raid his way, and thought to have win the toun of Stirling: bot he spurred his hors at the flight speid. Cuming throw the toun of Bannockburne, ane voman perceaved ane man cuming fast vpoun hors, shoe being carrieing in watter, cam fast away and left the pig behind her; so the kingis hors lap the burn and slak of friewill, quhairfra the voman cam. The king being evill sittin, fell aff his hors befor the mylne doore of Bannockburne, and so was bruised with the fall, being heavie in armour, that he fell in ane deadlie sowne: And the miller and his wayff harled him into the mylne, and not knowing quhat he was, kest him vp in ane nuik, and covered him with ane cloath; quhill at the last the kingis hoast, knowing that he was fled, debaitted thameselfis manfullie, and knowing that they war bordereris and theivis that delt with thame, thairfoir they had the moir courage to defend thameselfis. Nevirtheles they retereid and fled in guid ordour quhill they came to the Torwood, and thair debaitted long tyme till the night came, and fled away als quyetlie as they might, and pairt past to Stirling. Bot thair enemies, on the other side, followed thame verrie scharp-lie, so that thair was many takin, hurt, and slaine of thame. And be the kingis enemies war reteiring back, the king himself overcame lying in the mylne, and cryed, if thair was ane preist to mak his confessioun. The miller and his wayff heiring thir wordis, inquyred of him quhat man he was, and what was his name. He happened to say, vnhappilie, " This day at morne I was your king." Than the milleris wayff clapped hir handis, and ran furth and cryed for ane preist. In this meane tyme ane preist was cuming by; sum says he was my lord Grayes servand; quho answered and said, " heir am I ane preist, quhair is the king?" Then the milleris wayff tuik the preist by the hand, and led him in at the mylne doore, and how soone the said preist saw the king, he knew him incontment, and kneilled down on his knies, and speired at the kingis grace if he might live if he had guid leichment: he answered him he trowed he might, bot he wold have had a preist to tak his adwyce, and to give him his sacrament. The preist answered, that sall I doe haistlie,—and pulled out ane whinger, and strak him four or fyve times evin to the heart, and syne gatt him on his back and had him away. Bot no man knew quhat he did with

with him, nor quhair he buried him. Nor no tryall of the king was gotten ane moneth thairefter. Notwithstanding, the battellis war dissevered, as I have schowin befor, the kingis battell fled to Stirling that night, and the other partie to thair tentis: and on the morne cam to Linlithgow. I cannot hear of any man of reputation that was slaine at this tyme, bot thair was many earles, lordis, and barronnes, that war takin and ransomed. This battell was strickin in the moneth of Junij the aucht day, in the yeir of God 1488 yeires.

"This may be ane example to all kingis that cumes heirefter, not to fall from God, and to grund thameselfis vpoun the vaine sayings and illusiones of devillis and sorcereris, as this feible king did, quhilk pat him in suspitioun of his nobilitie, and to murder and exyll his awin native brother. For, if he had vsed the counsall of his wyse lordis and barronnes, he had not cum to sick disparatioun, nor suspitione, quhilk he was moved to tak be vaine and vicked persones, quhilk brought him to ane mischeivous end. Thairfor we pray all godlie kingis to tak example by him, and to fear God, and to vse wyse and godlie counsall, having respect to thair high calling, and to doe justice to all men." P. 220.

In the beginning of this passage we have no doubt but that "slak of frie will," which is wholly unintelligible, ought to be written, slak ofer ye well, which is the sense that is wanted. With the banquet and grace of Bishop Forman, who went to Rome to confer with the Pope, our readers cannot fail of being entertained.

"Then this bischope maid ane banquet to the Pope and all his cardinallis, in on of the Popes awin palaces, and when they wer all sett according to thair custome, that he who ought the hous for the tyme should say the grace; and he was not ane gude scholter, nor had not guid Latine, bot begane rudlie in the Scottise faschioun, saying Benedicite, beleivand that they schould have said Dominus, bot they answered, Deus in the Italiane faschione, quhilk pat the bischope by his intendment, that he wist not weill how to proceed fordward, bot happened, in guid Scottis in this manner, sayand quhilk theyvnderstuid not, "The divill I give yow all false cardinallis to, in nomine Patris, Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, Amen." Then all the bischope's men leugh, and all the cardinallis thameselfis; and the Pope inquired quhairat they leugh, and the bischop schew that he was not ane guid clark, and that his cardinallis had put him by his text and intendment, thairfor he gave thame all to the devill in guid Scottis, quhairat the Pope himself leugh verrie earnestlie." P. 254.

We could give many more extracts from these curious and interesting volumes, from which our readers would receive much amusement. But the specimens already presented to them sufficiently intimate the nature of the entertainment and information which the work contains: we therefore refer them to it for further gratification.



ART. VIII. *An Essay on the Character and Practical Writings of St. Paul. By Hannah More. Third Edition. 2 vols. Cadell and Davies. 1815.*

UPON a work, that in the course of twelve months has reached a third edition, the public opinion is already formed, its beauties are already acknowledged, and its errors are already propagated, Sitting down to the examination of it under the impression that it is the *opus palmarium*, and probably *ultimum* of a writer, who for almost half a century, has amused, or instructed us, with dramas, or tracts, with novels, or strictures, it would have been grating to us to have passed upon it any very severe reprehension. We congratulate ourselves however, notwithstanding some surmises to the contrary, that this is not necessary. Yet, when first an *Essay on the Life and Writings of St. Paul*, by a lady, who has written so variously and so much, was advertised, we feared that it would be so defective in execution, or so erroneous in judgement, as to render praise impossible. The writings of this great apostle, indeed, afford a subject so intricate, so frequently discussed, viewed in such different lights by men of the deepest learning and most undoubted piety, that we were fearful lest Mrs. More should have overrated her powers, and totally failed in her arduous attempt. Our authoress, however, has so adroitly avoided the difficulties of her subject, and so well adapted her observations to Christians in general, that every reader may peruse the larger part of her *Essay* with satisfaction and even with instruction.

The mode, indeed, which Mrs. H. More has adopted, might have extended both the volumes and their contents to any magnitude or number. For we have several chapters on certain religious duties, where St. Paul, indeed, furnishes the text, but the observations assume the form of a sermon. Many discourses of different divines might be produced in which St. Paul is brought forward quite as prominently as in chapters 14 and 19 of vol. 2d.—chapters excellent, indeed, in themselves, but which belong quite as much to a *Life of St. John*, or of *St. Peter*, as of *St. Paul*. But, perhaps, Mrs. More designedly adopted this mode of conveying to her readers that instruction, which could not have been so well introduced to general notice, in any other shape. And to execute this plan more completely, all attempts at a chronological account of the apostle's life and writings are omitted. We think this a very striking defect in a book which professedly treats upon the *Life and Writings of St. Paul*. For a due acquaintance with the times when these *Epistles* were written, materially conduces to a right understanding of their

*Hannah More's Essay on the Character of St. Paul. 37*

their contents. As they are certainly the most difficult part of scripture, and notwithstanding all the labours of Mrs. More, so continue to be, we should avail ourselves of every means which can tend toward their elucidation.

But in thus expressing ourselves, we scarcely know whether we do, or do not differ from our authoress. For in one passage she says,

“ By the august simplicity and incontrovertible reasoning of this Epistle to the Romans, and by the supernatural power which accompanied it, he brought down the arrogance of human ability from its loftiest heights.”

But soon we are informed,

“ He is often abrupt, and sometimes obscure: his reasoning, though generally clear, is, as the best critics allow, sometimes involved, perhaps owing to the suddenness of his transitions, the rapidity of his ideas, the sensibility of his soul.”

This is, indeed, truly the case; and that he has been misunderstood beyond any other writer of the New Testament, must be unanimously allowed. We, therefore, are still persuaded, notwithstanding what Mrs. More may urge in her Preface to the contrary, that the attention of ordinary Christians, should be drawn by their spiritual teachers to the Gospels, rather than to the obscure and difficult portions of these Epistles.

We wonder, indeed, that Mrs. More has omitted to draw the attention of the reader to the great end, which the apostle aims at, in those of his Epistles, which are most the subject of controversy. The consummation of the Mosaic Covenant, and its consequent abolition, were facts most reluctantly received by many Christians of the first four centuries. That natives of Judea should be rigidly attached to the rights of their once glorious temple, none will be surprised at. But that Christians, 800 years after its destruction, should still persevere in following the Mosaic ritual, is so inconceivable, that we cannot refrain from giving our readers the following proof thereof. Chrysostom, whilst at Antioch, found it necessary, even in his time, to preach eight sermons consecutively against such practices, and this course of lectures, he begins in the following manner—

“ Again the Jews, wretched and most afflicted of all men, are preparing to fast, and again it is necessary to guard the flock of Christ. For as shepherds, whilst no beast disturbs the fold, stretching themselves under the shady oak or fir, play on their pipes, permitting their sheep to range at pleasure; but when they perceive the wolves to prepare an attack, they, throwing down the flutes, snatch up their slings, and instead of the pipe, arm themselves  
themselves

themselves with clubs and stones, then, standing before the flock, with loud and dismal shouts, frequently drive away the wolf, before he comes within reach of the slings; So we, &c."

He goes on to declare the Jewish fast worse than drunkenness itself. To remove therefore this prejudice from the minds of the early converts, extraordinary measures were taken; a consideration of which we recommend to the advocates of Antinomian grace. The Apostle was conscious that it was, in part, at least, the design of Providence, in his miraculous conversion, to send him as a minister to the Gentiles, and therefore he frequently insists on that fact, particularly in Phil. iii., where he expressly declares, that no man had better grounds for boasting than himself. He details at length the qualifications in which the Jews prided themselves, and avowedly relinquishes them as of no avail under the Gospel covenant, whatever they might have been under the Mosaic. Then he as often contends that the calling of the Gentiles was the great mystery peculiarly intrusted to him, see Rom. xi. 25, xv. 18, Eph. iii, &c. A due consideration of these passages will greatly elucidate many otherwise obscure arguments of the Apostle. Under these circumstances too, it will appear, how cautious we ought to be in applying St. Paul's expressions to modern disputes, except there should be found among us some, who like the Galatians, would add circumcision to the Christian faith,

It is by this opposition of faith to works, and to the law, that so many have been induced to argue, as if men were less obliged by the moral law, after becoming Christians, than they were before. Mrs. More has therefore judged well in appropriating one of her first chapters to the subject of Faith, and another to that of Morality. But on subjects so beset with difficulties, she should have been more didactic and less declamatory. For however faith taken in the comprehensive sense, usually adopted by St. Paul, cannot be too highly eulogised, still we are unable to give our assent to the following passage.

"To change the heart of a sinner is a higher exertion of power than to create a man, or even a world. In the latter case, as God made it out of nothing, so there was nothing to resist the operation; but in the former, he has to encounter, not inanity, but repulsion; not an unobstructive vacuity, but a powerful counteraction; and to *believe* in the Divine energy which effects this renovation, is a greater exercise of faith than to believe that the Spirit of God, moving on the face of the waters, was the efficient cause of the creation." Vol. I. P. 82,

In thus representing faith to be an entirely supernatural gift, arising from the *immediate* impulse of grace; and conversion to be

be a greater effort than creation; (which, by the way, as they both relate to Omnipotence, is nonsense :) the foundation is laid of those doctrines, which Augustine first introduced into the church, and Calvin afterwards remodelled and enforced. Again, in p. 95, vol. i., it is asserted, that "morality is not the instrument, but the effect of conversion:" but in p. 219, it is taught with greater truth, that,

"Nothing so effectually bars up the heart, and even the understanding, against the reception of truth, as the practice of sin. 'If any man will do his will,' says the Divine Teacher himself, 'he shall *know* of the doctrine.'"

There are indeed some other important errors, which it becomes our duty, at this time particularly, to point out. Nor can we, from motives of respect, so far sacrifice that duty to the public, as not to mark, with strong disapprobation, the parallel made between our Lord and the Apostle, in chap. 15, vol. ii., at p. 143, particularly. With every due veneration for St. Paul, still the distance between his Master and himself was infinite. He underwent the severest trials and sufferings; but let these be increased to any amount we choose, can they even then be compared to the sufferings of the second Person of the Godhead, leaving his state of glory, and suffering all the afflictions of our mortal nature? Are indignities offered to a citizen of Tarsus to be compared to those endured by the Son of God? We did not think it possible for Mrs. More to have so forgotten herself. The following is the passage to which we allude.

"Finally, the judgments of Heaven bore the same kind of testimony to the truth of the Gospel in the prison at Philippi, as it had done on the Mount of Calvary. In the one instance, 'Behold the veil of the Temple was rent in twain, and the earth did quake, and the rocks rent.' In the other, 'Suddenly there was a great earthquake, the foundations of the prison were shaken, the doors were opened, the chains were loosened, the captives were freed, the jailor was converted!' Are not all these circumstances, taken together, a clear solution of St. Paul's otherwise obscure declaration, that he thus *filled up what remained of the sufferings of Christ?*"

Vol. I. p. 143.

Whatever might remain of the sufferings of Christ, to them, not all the sufferings of all the Apostles could make the smallest addition. For they like ourselves were not capable of doing more than it was their duty to do. But had Mrs. More quoted the whole text, the obscurity would have disappeared. *I who now rejoice in my sufferings for you, and fill up that which is behind of the afflictions of Christ in my flesh for his Body's sake, which is the Church,* Col. i. 24. And the sense is simply

this:—"Now I rejoice in my sufferings, so that you are instructed, and for the sake of the Church, I am very ready to undergo those sufferings which are imposed upon me by the Gospel of Christ, yet to come." Such is Schleusner's paraphrase, and the words are incapable of any other signification. Why Mrs. M. complained of obscurity, and why those words, *in my flesh*, are omitted in her quotation, she herself must explain.

There is indeed another text, which we might say was in like manner misquoted, but it seems to have been an accidental oversight, produced by a desire of rounding the period well, p. 85, vol. i. "God believed on in the world is the climax of this astonishing progress, but in the original, this step has another above it, Received up into Glory, 1 Tim. iii. 16."

Returning, however, to this strange parallel, we must observe, that the praises of St. Paul are pushed far beyond all bounds, not only throwing all the other apostles into the shade, but some expressions are actually reproachful towards them.

"As he had not been a follower nor an acquaintance of Jesus, he had never been buoyed up with the hope of a place in his expected temporal kingdom. Had this been the case, mere pride and pertinacity in so strong a character, might have led him to adhere to the falling cause, lest by deserting it, he might be accused of disappointment in his hopes, or pusillanimity in his temper."

And in p. 254.

"His powerful and diversified character of mind seems to have combined the separate excellencies of all the other sacred authors. The loftiness of Isaiah, the devotion of David, the pathos of Jeremiah, the vehemence of Ezekiel, the didactic gravity of Moses, the elevated morality and practical good sense, though somewhat more highly coloured, of St. James, the sublime conceptions and deep views of St. John, the noble energies and burning zeal of St. Peter."

And as if all this was not enough, he is described as adding powers of his own, which neither Isaiah, nor David, Ezekiel, nor Moses, nor James, nor John, nor Peter possessed. Yet this absurd exaggeration as it may appear, is much less indecent than the comparison of the apostle with our blessed Lord. Surely more measured terms, more discriminating expressions would have become the sober years, and matured judgment of Mrs. More. We know not how to refrain from expressing our feelings on language which does not fall far short of denying Christ, and believing in St Paul. Before this work reached to a third edition, it is strange that none of her former clerical friends, who once signalized themselves very unseasonably in her service,

service, did not here seasonably hint the impropriety of such passages. Yet so complete has been their neglect, as to permit her reprinting a gross but unimportant mistake, which a school-boy's knowledge of Greek, might have rectified. See p. 58, vol. I. where we have—God forbid, represented as the very words of the ass, *and he obtains the same Almighty name to his opposite practice.* Now the Greek is merely *μὴ γένοιτο*, let it not be. To this neglect of their's, may we also attribute the inflated language which frequently occurs, as in p. 171, vol. I. where to conquer human prejudice, is represented as an extreme effort to omnipotence. There are many other places in which Mrs. More, for the indulgence of her fancy, appears to have fallen into errors, which we have not time to notice; one, indeed, we cannot pass over, because Dr. Priestley often took the same line of argument. This is found in p. 168, vol. 2d.

“ Jesus in the early part of his ministry was extremely cautious of declaring who he was, never but once owning himself to be the Messiah.”

But it is evident, from a careful perusal of Scripture, that our blessed Lord, from the first, instructed his hearers who and what he was. John the Baptist proclaimed him previous to his baptism. The Father from heaven immediately afterwards. In St. John, chap. 1st, we perceive that Andrew knew him to be the Messiah. So did Philip. Such Nathanael acknowledged him: So in John, chap. viii. 25—*Then said they unto him, Who art thou? And Jesus saith unto them, Even the same that I said unto you from the beginning.* The unfortunate Heresiarch insisted on the contrary, as convenient to his system, but Mrs. More, without design, through want of recollection, we should presume. It would gratify us much could these and some other erroneous passages be erased from a work, which in many parts might afford holy meditation to many, and especially to those of her own sex. The divine, indeed, would not resort to it for the depth of its reflections, nor the critic for its elucidations; but every reader would be delighted with its glowing language, and be instructed by some excellent discourses, which would surprise him in the disguise of chapters.

We much admire the chapter upon prayer, from which we shall give our readers a long, but a very beautiful extract.

“ To pray incessantly, therefore, appears to be, in his view of the subject, to keep the mind in an habitual disposition and propensity to devotion; for there is a sense in which we may be said to do that which we are *willing* to do, though there are intervals of the thought as well as intermissions of the act—‘as a traveller,’ says Dr. Barrow, ‘may be said to be still on his journey,’

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'ney, though he stops to take needful rest, and to transact necessary business' If he pause, he does not turn out of the way; his pursuit is not diverted, though occasionally interrupted.

"Constantly maintaining the disposition, then, and never neglecting the actual duty; never slighting the occasion which presents itself, nor violating the habit of stated devotion, may, we presume, be called 'to pray without ceasing.' The expression 'watching unto prayer,' implies this vigilance in finding, and this zeal in laying hold on these occasions.

"The success of prayer, though promised to all, who offer it in perfect sincerity, is not so frequently promised to the cry of distress, to the impulse of fear, or the emergency of the moment, as to humble continuance in devotion; it is to patient waiting, to assiduous solicitation, to unwearied importunity, that God has declared that he will lend his ear, that he will give the communication of his Spirit, that he will grant the return of our requests. Nothing but this holy perseverance can keep up in our minds an humble sense of our dependence. It is not by a mere casual petition, however passionate, but by habitual application, that devout affections are excited and maintained, that our converse with heaven is carried on. It is by no other means that we can be assured, with Saint Paul, that 'we are risen with Christ,' but this obvious one, that we thus seek the things which are above; that the heart is renovated, that the mind is lifted above this low scene of things; that the spirit breathes in a purer atmosphere; that the whole man is enlightened, and strengthened, and purified; and that the more frequently, so the more nearly, he approaches to the throne of God. He will find also that prayer not only expresses but elicits the divine grace.

"Yet do we not allow every idle plea, every frivolous pretence to divert us from our better resolves? Business brings in its grave apology, pleasure its bewitching excuse. But if we would examine our hearts truly, and report them faithfully, we should find the fact to be, that disinclination to this employment, oftener than our engagement in any other, keeps us from this sacred intercourse with our Maker.

"Under circumstances of distress, indeed, prayer is adopted with comparatively little reluctance; the mind, which knows not where to fly, flies to God. In agony, nature is no Atheist. The soul is drawn to God by a sort of natural impulse; not always, perhaps, by an emotion of piety, but from a feeling conviction, that every other refuge is 'a refuge of lies.' Oh! thou afflicted, tossed with tempests, and not comforted, happy if thou art either drawn or driven, with holy David, to say to thy God, 'Thou art 'a place to hide me in.'

"But if it is easy for the sorrowing heart to give up a world, by whom itself seems to be given up, there are other demands for prayer equally imperative. There are circumstances more dangerous, yet less suspected of danger, in which, though the call is louder,

louder, it is less heard ; because the voice of conscience is drowned by the clamours of the world. Prosperous fortunes, unbroken health, flattering friends, buoyant spirits, a spring-tide of success—these are the occasions when the very abundance of God's mercies is apt to fill the heart till it hardens it. Loaded with riches, crowned with dignities, successful in enterprize ; beset with snares in the shape of honours, with perils under the mask of pleasures ; then it is, that to the already saturated heart, ' to-morrow shall be ' as this day, and more abundant,' is more in unison than ' what ' shall I render to the Lord ?'

" Men of business, especially men in power and public situations, are in no little danger of persuading themselves, that the affairs which occupy their time and mind, being, as they really are, great and important duties, exonerate those who perform them from the necessity of the same strictness in devotion, which they allow to be right for men of leisure ; and which, when they become men of leisure themselves, they are resolved to adopt :—but now is the accepted time, here is the accepted place, however they may be tempted to think that an exact attention to public duty, and an unimpeachable rectitude in discharging it, is itself a substitute for the offices of piety.

" But these great and honourable persons are the very men to whom superior cares, and loftier duties, and higher responsibilities, render prayer even more necessary, were it possible, than to others. Nor does this duty trench upon other duties, for the compatibilities of prayer are universal. It is an exercise which has the property of incorporating itself with every other ; not only not impeding, but advancing it. If secular thoughts, and vain imaginations, often break in on our devout employments, let us allow Religion to vindicate her rights, by uniting herself with our worldly occupations. There is no crevice so small at which devotion may not slip in ; no other instance of so rich a blessing being annexed to so easy a condition ; no other case in which there is any certainty, that to ask is to have. This the suitors to the great do not always find so easy from them, as the great themselves find from God.

" Not only the elevation on which they stand makes this fence necessary for their personal security, by enabling them to bear the height without giddiness, but the guidance of God's hand is so essential to the operations they conduct, that the public prosperity, no less than their own safety, is involved in the practice of habitual prayer. God will be more likely to bless the hand which steers, and the head which directs, when both are ruled by the heart which prays. Happily we need not look out of our own age or nation for instances of public men, who, while they govern the country, are themselves governed by a religious principle ; who petition the Almighty for direction, and praise him for success." Vol. II. p. 229.



If Mrs. H. More had always written thus, we should have been enabled to have bestowed upon these volumes, what we could always wish to bestow upon every effort of our authoress, unqualified approbation. Mrs. More is a lady of excellent abilities. We would that she had not too frequently been betrayed into theological controversy much beyond her depth, and that the piety which pervades her writings were divested of the dialect of religious party, in which it is, in too many instances expressed, as then, her numerous volumes, like those of her fellow-labourer in the cause of Christianity, the late excellent Mrs. Trimmer, would have been productive of unmixed good.

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**ART. IX.** *An Enquiry into the Causes of the high Prices of Corn and Labour, the Depressions of our Foreign Exchanges and high Prices of Bullion, during the late War; and Considerations of the Measures to be adopted for relieving our Farming Interest, from the unprecedented Difficulties to which they are now reduced, in Consequence of the great Fall in the Price of their Produce since the Peace: with Tables, Remarks, &c. &c. By Robert Wilson, Esq. Constable and Co., Edinburgh; Longman, and Co., London. 1815.*

WE have some recollection of a pamphlet published by the same author during the rage of discussion which followed the appointment of the bullion committee; and the good sense which he then displayed in combating the arguments of certain Lords and Gentlemen, is again employed on a subject, in relation to which political wisdom seems to have arrived at no clearer views. From a variety of well established facts, Mr. Wilson accounts satisfactorily for the rise which took place in the price of corn and labour, subsequent to the year 1763, upon the ground, not of a diminution in the quantity of grain produced in the country, but of a vastly enlarged consumption, occasioned by the flourishing state of our manufactures, and, more recently, by large establishments naval and military. The extensive outlays of government, by rendering money more plentiful, necessarily lowered its nominal or relative value all over the kingdom; and when to this is added the obvious consideration that all classes of people were, owing to the improved state of commerce, enabled to live better than formerly, that the public exigencies continued to demand larger and larger sums in the shape of taxes, which were again circulated rapidly among almost every order of men, it must be easily understood why the prices of food and labour should have got up. The return of peace, however, and the temporary

temporary stagnation of trade which usually attends the change either from war to peace or from peace to war, have occasioned a great depression in the value of agricultural produce; and our author is even of opinion that the special causes which since 1793 have maintained prices on so high a scale, are now completely done away, and that means should accordingly be used to place the farming interest in nearly the same situation, in point of rent and other charges, that subsisted prior to that date. With this view he urges landlords to lower their rents to the scale of 1793, insisting that the farmers, at present, are not able to spare quite so large a proportion of their gross produce, in the name of rent, as they could at the period in question. He deprecates particularly the loss of agricultural capital which must ensue, if the land-proprietors shall refuse the indulgence here recommended, and points at the hazard that their farms will be thrown upon their hands in an exhausted state, without the prospect of getting them as well let as they are at present.

If things were certainly to continue a considerable length of time at the scale of prices which is now established, the relief proposed by Mr. Wilson would not be more than commensurate with the necessities of the farmer; but we cannot imagine that wheat will long continue at fifty shillings a quarter, or the loaf at tenpence. Trade will very soon revive; our manufactures will again restore the wonted circulation of wealth in town and country, and the demand for land-produce of all kinds will ere long secure to the farmer a fair return for his labour and capital. The level at which things will permanently settle is considerably higher than that to which they have been sunk by the reaction, consequent upon an unnatural and strained exertion of our means in the late war; on which account a temporary arrangement between the landlord and tenant seems more advisable than a decided and ultimate engagement upon quite a new basis.

The portion of his pamphlet which we admire the most, is that wherein Mr. Wilson recapitulates his arguments on the bullion question; and the facts which he brings forward to prove that the rise and fall of that article is regulated by the balance of our foreign exchanges, and has no connection whatever with the issue of Bank paper, seems to us to set the discussion completely to rest. It cannot be necessary to explain to the youngest student in commercial policy, that if one country uses more of the commodities produced by another country, than it pays for, by sending commodities in return, the balance must be settled in money; and if this difference be considerable, it will follow that bills payable in the country enjoying the favourable balance, will bring a premium in the country where the balance is unfavourable. If the London merchant has more money to remit to  
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Hamburgh than the Hamburgh merchant has to remit to London, bills upon Hamiburgh will bring a premium in London in proportion to the difference which the former merchant has to make up; and this premium on some occasions has amounted to 25 or 26 per cent. Rather, however, than purchase bills at such an exorbitant rate, the London merchant will endeavour to send bullion; and, of course, the demand for that commodity, and its price in the market will rise or fall, exactly to the extent that the balance of trade is unfavourable. Circumstances of a particular nature, such as the necessity of keeping up a large military establishment on the Continent, or of importing in the time of dearth an unusually great quantity of corn, will, it is clear, increase the amount of payments to be made abroad, and of consequence the unfavourable balance of trade; and it is entirely to circumstances of this description, that we have to ascribe the unprecedented rise of gold and silver in the London market. But, instead of entering into any discussion upon a subject where our first-rate talkers erred so egregiously, we shall extract a passage from the pamphlet now before us, where the doctrine is established by the experience of 35 years.

“ During the years 1780, 1781, and 1782, we were not only in an active state of war with America, and with France, Spain, and Holland, but a combination against our maritime rights, to the exclusion of our commerce, had been set on foot by the Northern Powers; and a year of famine occurring in 1782, it is reasonably to be supposed that our exchange with the continent must have undergone a depression. It accordingly turned against us in October 1780, and continued uniformly under the par until October 1784. In 1781, the average depression of the exchange, which must have arisen wholly from the interruption of our trade, was from July that year to January 1782, 6.75 per cent. nearly. In 1782, the average was 5.75, and in 1783, about 6.75, having in July that year reached 8.13 per cent. Here the greatest average depression was for the year 1783, as might have been expected from the great importations rendered necessary by the failure of the preceding crop. The price of Bullion it is evident could not be materially affected by those depressions of the exchange, and accordingly it will be found that all the rise on the price of gold was sixpence the ounce, from 3*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* to 3*l.* 18*s.* In the middle of 1784, when the exchange became favourable, it returned first to 3*l.* 17*s.* 10½*d.* the mint price, and in July 1785, to its former price of 3*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* From October 1785, to July 1795, the exchange continued uniformly in our favour, and in April 1793, the premium was as high as 11.29 per cent. It fell in the summer 1795, and continued to do so in the winter 1795-6, by reason no doubt of the war expences and the deficiency of crop of 1795, by which an unprecedented importation of corn was rendered necessary as already adverted to. On this occasion,  
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what with the unfavourable exchange and the demands of government for foreign expenditure, the price of Bullion rose from 3*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* the price at which it had ever stood from July 1785, to 4*l.* 8*s.* if not still higher. But on the restoration of the exchange in October 1796, it again fell to its former price of 3*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* at which it continued until October 1799, when both the exchange and the price of Bullion were affected by the great deficiency of that year's crop, joined to the still continued necessity of public remittances to the continent for the expences of the war. In October 1799, the exchange suddenly fell from 2½ per cent. in our favour in July preceding, to about 6⅞ per cent. against us, and it continued fluctuating in the period from January 1800 to January 1802, from 4.2⅞ per cent. against us. In January 1801, it stood so low as nearly 13¼ per cent. In April 1802, the depression was still 3¼ per cent. and the par was not completely restored till October 1803. In this period the price of Bullion rose from 3*l.* 17*s.* 9*d.* to 4*l.* 6*s.* if not more, with intermediate fluctuations until January 1804, when the exchange being restored, it settled at 4*l.* which has ever since, probably from the increased expence of importation, and the exhausted state of the country of these metals, been considered the lowest price at which it can be sold.

From January 1804 to July 1808, the exchange continued with few exceptions in our favour, fluctuating from 1 to 4½ per cent. of premium. The price of gold Bullion continuing during all this period steady at 4*l.* the ounce. But in consequence of our great continental expenditure in 1806, and succeeding years, by the establishment of our armies in Portugal and Spain, the large importation of corn, which, as well from circumstances connected with the war as from partial deficiencies in our own crops, became necessary; and still more perhaps by the measures pursued by Buonaparte and our measures of retaliation in the Orders of Council then issued, by which the neutral trade was almost put a stop to, and finally our disputes with the United States, a depression on our foreign exchange took place to an unprecedented extent; which nothing but the extraordinary combination of these causes could have produced. In October 1808, the exchange with Hamburgh had fallen from 3.72 of premium in July preceding, 3.78 of depression. In January 1809, this was augmented to 8.86, in April to 9.58, and in July to 16.2, and it afterwards fluctuated from 9.58 to 16.15 per cent. until January 1811, when the depression was equal to 22⅞ per cent. against this country, the consequence of which must have been to add so much per cent. to the whole of our continental expenditure, and to the price of all the corn imported. The rise in the price of Bullion in the mean-time kept its usual pace with the fall on the exchange, and in the course of the years 1809 and 1810 rose from 4*l.* to 4*l.* 13*s.* and upwards, equal to 16½ per cent. above its usual price.

" Owing to the still encreasing expence of the continental war, the exchange continued to fall and the price of bullion to rise after

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January 1811, the rise on the latter generally following in nearly similar proportions to the depression of the former, and both depending not on an over issue of bank notes, which had in the period alluded to still continued to increase; but on the state of our foreign expenditure for the purposes of the war. Thus it will be seen from the table annexed, No. 1, that from January 1811, to the time of Napoleon's expulsion from France, in the spring, 1814, the depression of exchange fluctuated 15.48, to 31.47 per cent., and the price of bullion from 10 to 18 per cent. above its usual price of 4*l.* But in spring 1814, when the war ceased, the exchange was suddenly restored to within 4 per cent. of par, and gold bullion reduced to 4*l.* 5*s.*, at or about which rates they continued till the month of March 1815, when, on Buonaparte's return and the consequent renewal of the war, the exchange again fell to 18 per cent. below par, and the price of bullion rose to 5*l.* 10*s.* its highest former price. But thanks to the heroes of Waterloo, these evils have been of short endurance; all our foreign exchanges having within a month after that glorious victory risen from 18 to within 6 per cent. of par, and bullion fallen from 5*l.* 10*s.* to 4*l.* 8*s.* 6*d.*, and in the month of October following, the exchange was a little above par, and bullion at 4*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.*, the ounce, being not more than 1*s.* 8*d.* above the usual price of 4*l.* Thus upon the whole of this branch of the subject, it is clear beyond the possibility of doubt, that the theory adopted by the bullion committee and most of the numerous writers on the subject, among whom may be enumerated, Mr. Canning, Mr. Huskisson, the Earl of Lauderdale, and even Mr. Malthus himself, inferring that the fall of our foreign exchange, and rise in the price of bullion, were owing not to any real unfavourable state of our exchange with the continent, but to the supposed depreciated state of our paper currency, has turned out altogether visionary and unfounded, while it is to be regretted that on a subject of such great national importance, they should have ever indulged themselves in such fanciful speculations, as if with the intention to draw off the attention of the country from the real cause of the evils under consideration, and the effect of which may have been to aggravate the ill consequences resulting from them, by inducing people to conclude that if the high prices of grain proceeded from a cause in the power of the legislature to maintain, and which could not be corrected without great inconvenience, as well to the landholders and farmers, as to our public finances, the bank restriction act might never be repealed, as certainly was the opinion of many people in this country, who despaired of ever seeing the circulation of specie restored to its former value. Indeed one of the supporters of the doctrine of the committee, went the length of suggesting that a new coinage should be made on the footing of the increased price of bullion, when it was at 5*l.* 10*s.* the ounce, or to reduce the value of our coin forty per cent., a proposal which no doubt would have kept up nominal prices

prices to that extent, but must have been an actual fraud on our public creditors to that amount."

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ART. X. *A Charge to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Colchester, in the Diocese of London, in the year 1815.*  
By J. Jefferson, A.M. and F.A.S. pp. 37. Colchester, Keymer.

THE topics of this useful and interesting Charge are those suggested by the duties specially belonging to the archidiaconal office. Adverting to the Bishop of London's Charge recently delivered, Mr. Jefferson introduces his address to his clerical brethren with a well-merited eulogium on that truly episcopal production; and upon the respectful plea that it would be presumptuous in him to touch upon subjects however momentous which have been so profoundly treated by the Diocesan, he passes immediately to those which his own parochial visitation just completed has brought before him. The first of these is the sacred edifices in which the members of the Church of England assemble for the public worship of God. It is the duty of the Archdeacon to visit once in three years all the churches within his bounds, to examine whether the churchwardens have maintained the structure in sufficient reparation, and, as the 85th canon, setting forth their duty, expresses it, "in that orderly and decent sort as best becometh the house of God."

The faithful execution of this trust, especially where, through the infirmities of age or any other less justifiable cause, the due performance of it has been long neglected, does not promise, under the circumstances of the times, to be a very satisfactory undertaking. Such seems to have been the experience of Mr. Jefferson: for having paid a just tribute to our Reformers for preserving amidst the convulsions of contending parties, for our use and veneration, those noble Gothic structures which grace our country—the monuments both of the taste and pious munificence of antient days; a painful observation, as he justly describes it, is extorted from him on surveying their present state.

"That an unworthy parsimony has often been as injurious as gross barbarism, and the hand of avarice, in some instances, more destructive than the hand of violence" inasmuch that "in a large majority of cases, it is difficult to say, whether the genius of architecture will find more with which to be disgusted, or the genius of religion to lament."

Accordingly, laying down as an impregnable position,

"That religion, like man, must have two component parts, an *external* form as well as an *internal* spirit, and that these as the body and soul, will ever have an influence upon each other."

He remonstrates at some length, and with great force of argument, against the contempt of this principle which our churches exhibit, and having contrasted their neglected state with the present grandeur of Mahometan mosques, and the past magnificence of heathen temples, and shewn by an induction of particulars, that in proportion as the influence of religion prevailed more or less at different periods, the sacred edifices both of Judaism and Christianity have been honoured with that dignity, order, and decoration, to which, from their very uses, they are entitled, he sums up this part of his Charge in the following words, which are, he justly observes, an evident deduction from his premises, and which he wishes therefore strongly to enforce.

"That in every age and country, in a *material* as well as a *spiritual* sense, the supreme Being should be served, with the best things, not with the worst—that a reverence of what is dedicated to God is a reverence of God himself; that though the temple of Solomon cannot be a model for future temples, any more than idolatrous deities can be put in competition with the true God, who was worshipped there; yet that God having by his Spirit directed the structure—he expects, that we should honour *them* with our substance wherever he condescends to bless *us* with his more immediate presence;—that if the presence of the Shekinah resting upon the ark was to the Jews in their passage through the mazes of the wilderness to an earthly Canaan, a perpetual claim of reverence for the tabernacle—the presence of Christ, leading us through the difficulties and temptations of the world to an everlasting rest, must, and ought, to produce a tenfold reverence for his Church."

It is no more than might be expected from Mr. Jefferson, that having expressed these sound religious sentiments, his own resolution should be formed to act upon them to the full extent of his powers. He does not, however, leave us to draw this inference for ourselves, but having sketched out the history of the canon law, and thus shewn the shelter to be found in it for the assertion of his authority and the claim which it gives him to his clerical brethren's best exertions in his support, he delivers this public pledge of his intentions.

"As far as these canons have reposed a trust in me, and enjoined a duty, I cannot consider it of inferior moment; and shall therefore use my best endeavours, if God is pleased to bless me with life and health, faithfully to fulfil it."

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The Charge now passes on to other external circumstances in public worship subject to the cognizance of the Archdeacon, and in order to shew that *uniformity* in the public service has a closer alliance than many conceive it to have with conformity of doctrine, and thus to give a consequence in the estimation of the clergy to points which they may have been induced to overlook as insignificant, or to condemn as unessential, the Archdeacon invites his clerical brethren to the following consideration.

“ Indeed if we consider from what shades of difference, distinctions have arisen in the Christian family ; by what trifling variations, divisions have, in modern times, been introduced into the Christian Church ; we shall easily perceive by what apparently trifling deviations, even in structure, or in forms, our Church,—scriptural as it is in all that belongs to it, may be assimilated to the Conventicle ; and being blended with it in superficialities, may appear less distinct in essence ; thereby facilitating the secession of the flock, and promoting a delusion which it ought to be our first duty and our first care to prevent.”

Proceeding to specify the particulars to which this general observation applies, Mr. Jefferson animadverts, in the first place, with great propriety, on the superseding our authorised Psalmody by Hymns, and our prescribed forms of Prayer by extempore effusions, and descending to a point of minor account, but by no means unimportant, he calls the attention of the Clergy to it as

“ Worthy of observation that even *style and manner*, as distinct from doctrine, may corrupt the taste of the hearers, and give a bias in favour of those preachers whose Creeds are spurious, and whose principles are as much at enmity with the tenets, as their practice is with the discipline, of the Church.”

The unvarying observance of the Canons and Rubrics is next enforced, and the peculiar claim of the Chancel to marked distinction, pointed out, as consecrated to the more solemn services of religion, and therefore commanding more than ordinary reverence. In this feeling we concur entirely with the Archdeacon, and never observe without lamenting it, that innovation of modern times, the removal of the pulpit from the side of the aisle, where our Reformers left it, to a position which throws the Altar into the back ground and takes away the impression of its pre-eminence. Of every Church where this change has taken place we have no hesitation in saying, in Mr. Jefferson's words, that “ the character of the edifice ” is destroyed ; but here we see the natural alliance between *form* and *spirit*, for this innovation has grown upon us precisely in the proportion that the sacrament has fallen



fallen into contempt and Preaching been raised in popular estimation.

The state of the Communion plate is the subject of the Arch-deacon's concluding observation. "He very frequently found it," he says "far from worthy its most holy uses," and we fear were he translated to any other archdeaconry in the kingdom his experience would be the same. His reflections upon this discreditable circumstance claim general consideration.

"Appointed as it is to the most solemn act of Christian worship, to that sacred feast at which the 'Elder Brother \*' of an infant family, afterwards to be multiplied as the stars of heaven, deigned to preside; to that Holy Supper which commemorates the greatest mercy, that has been or can be vouchsafed to man; to that high ordinance which carries the purified spirit, on faith, on hope, and charity to heaven; and raising the downcast eye of penitence to the cross, there cheers it with a certified atonement:—thus exalted above all things that are earthly in its use, above all that can administer to or decorate the most costly entertainment; it cannot be reverent, it cannot be satisfactory to the devout mind, to see it in rudeness or impurity of appearance, as well as in intrinsic worth, inferior to similar articles, which are appointed to the ordinary purposes of common life. While an increased and becoming decency in *all cases* and in *some* a magnificent and sumptuous splendour, marking the character of the age, adorns our own tables, it would indeed be painful to behold 'the table of the Lord' alone devoid of decency in decoration, were I not persuaded that it has proceeded rather from a want of religious consideration, than of religious sentiment; and I am satisfied this defect needs only to be suggested to ensure its correction."

Strictures upon the sacred vessels provided for the Communion, naturally lead the thoughts to the holy Ordinance itself, and it is a reflection which the survey of them can scarcely fail to suggest that as, "by being made of the baser metals, they bear testimony of a less opulent, so they afford, in the quantity they are calculated to contain, marks of a purer age"—and the painful result of Mr. Jefferson's enquiries being to this effect, that "in some parishes not one in fifty; in others not one in twenty; and in a

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\* We introduce this expression because so it stands in the passage which we cite, marked as a quotation; we cannot however suppress our repugnance at introducing it. Our Redeemer's infinite condescension, we are aware, renders the terms legitimate; but if he is pleased to humble himself to an equality with us it does not therefore follow that we should so speak as to convey the idea of even an approach of equality with him.

few that one in ten of the *adult* population, seem to be in the practice of joining in this most essential ordinance," it would have been a disappointment to us had he quitted the subject without strongly enforcing it upon his clerical brethren as calling loudly upon them for instruction, for admonition, for remonstrance, for exhortation, for advice : this he does in a few but pointed observations, and then closes, if not an eloquent, yet, as we set out with remarking, a very useful address, with this recapitulation and re-enforcement of the points brought under discussion.

" Let not an *unworthy avarice* dilapidate, nor a *corrupt taste* transform, her temples; let not an *unwilling or forced submission* condemn her laws, nor a *misplaced criticism* vitiate her liturgies; let not a *spurious liberality* warp her creeds, nor an *opprobrious contempt* endanger her charity. There is no vacillation in *truth*,—it is " the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever."

ART. XI. *Poetical Effusions; comprising Poems, Ballads, and Songs.* By C. Feist. Crown 8vo. pp. 80.

MR. C. Feist is one of the most pert and self-sufficient young gentlemen with whom it has been our chance to meet, in the course of our critical labours. From his preface, it appears that he has been a lawyer's clerk, or something of the kind, and his volume, which he states to be his " pet," proves that, if he was not " foredoomed a father's soul to cross," he was certainly foredoomed " to pen a stanza when he should engross." Such, however, is, of course, not his own opinion. " I should not," says he, " have avowed myself the author of the following poems, was I not prepared to meet and answer every objection that can possibly be urged against them." In this modest strain he goes on for some time, and convinces us that he has been long enough connected with the profession of the law, to imbibe a large portion of the impudence of its professors. The manner in which, by anticipation, he defends himself from critical censure, is delightful. If, says he, I published at eighteen, Moore and Hunt did the same; if I quit law for the Muses, Scott, Moore and many others did the same; if I write pastoral, Cunningham, Shenstone and Hamilton did the same; if some of my poems " present the readers with every species of bad composition," Dean Swift's first production did the same; and if I have been guilty of " errors against prosody," I can plead that " half a hundred poets more eminent than I can ever hope to be," have been the same, and even in a worse degree. It is impossible

not to admire the exquisite logic of this. Men of genius have done certain things; and, therefore, dunces may do the same. Mr. Feist should have remembered, that the ass was cudgelled, for attempting to play the tricks of the spaniel. So confident, however, is he of his powers, that he declares, "should the critic feel inclined to continue his strictures, he will find me furnished with answers to them, be they what they may." For our parts we shall content ourselves with one observation on his verses, which is, that they are absolutely among the very worst which we have ever seen. What answer he will make to this, we know not, and, in truth, we have little curiosity to know. We would give him some advice, were he not obviously a subject on whom it would be thrown away; and we must confess that we feel no pleasure in performing the thankless office of throwing pearls before swine.

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ART. XII. *Love and Horror; an Imitation of the Present, and a Model for all Future Romances.* By Ircastensis. 12mo. pp. 219. Stockdale, 1815.

THE author of this *bagatelle* has had wisdom enough to discover, that the mock heroic will not bear to be prolonged to the extent of a modern novel. As a professed burlesque upon productions of this description, it has all the distortion of caricature, and contains a sufficient quantity of improbable incidents and extravagant sentiment. A secret spring and trap door are ever at hand, to extricate the hero and heroine, or involve the adventurers in greater perplexity: by the help of this convenient machine, and other licences of the romance, the author, with infinite expedition, contrives to drown and hang his hero, to cast him into a furnace of molten glass, and have him fished up as a mermaid, and presented in a turtle-tub to Buonaparte.

Whether the author has carried his imitation of the epic plan farther, and has interwoven an allegory with his fable; or has merely undertaken to burlesque that part of the economy of heroic compositions, we leave to profounder wits to determine. To assist those who may think "two grains of wheat in a bushel of chaff worth the trouble of seeking," we shall observe, that the insurrection of the Spanish patriots, on which M. Rocca has written so much, is ascribed to the influence and eloquence of our author's hero. A few passages now strung together will enable the reader to draw his own conclusions relative to the latent

latent sense which the author may have veiled under the literal incidents of his fable.

"The whole conduct of the war in the peninsula, with all its brilliant detail of events, has been ascribed to the present ministry, without the least mention being made of Thomas. Those who are sceptical about the existence of Thomas must give them the whole undivided praise; but they should first, by a careful perusal of all the registers in the kingdom, prove his nonentity. At all events the warmest thanks of the nation are due somewhere." P. 147.

The following description, with the initials of the name of that well known and unfortunate person, to whom it alludes, will at least identify the party with whom the hero is, in some measure, politically connected. It exhibits him at sea, in the eventful crisis, when wafted on a hen-coop, he is relieved by an approaching vessel.

"In the mean time a vessel, of the most curious form and construction that ever was made, appeared in sight; the form was that of a club, the sails were in the shape of a club, the mast was a club, in fact the whole affair was a floating club. It appears that some thirty or forty dukes, marquisses, and earls had clubbed together to furnish this vessel, in which they might enjoy each others' society without interruption, and might float after fine weather to every portion of the globe. Their idea was singular, but their conversation was so sprightly, so elegant, so thoroughly club, that Mr. S—W—, himself, could he have entered the vessel, would have been delighted. Noblest and best of men! into whatever part of the globe the harsh fates shall throw the author of this immortal work, it will be his highest consolation to have seen and conversed with thee." P. 149.

We obtain a little further insight into this mysterious character, in the following passage, in which the hero is described in the same awkward dilemma.

"He immediately swam forward, seized the hen-coop, and again seated himself on that vehicle. He was now totally at a loss for occupation. 'I now,' said he, 'feel quite alone; my tobacco and pipe are as if they had never been.' In this distress, he smote himself with his fist on every part of his body; at last his knuckles hit against some books, in the pocket of his vestments. To his great joy, he found a Spanish grammar, a dictionary, and a volume of *Lopez de Vega*. Thomas applied himself with so much intense-ness to his books, that in three hours he was a perfect master of the language, and could speak it with the fluency of a native. This anecdote places the character of Thomas in the highest rank of genius. It would be difficult to find a parallel." P. 163.

But enough of this trifling.

ART.

**ART. XIII.** *An Extract from a Journal, kept on Board H. M. S. Bellerophon, Captain F. L. Maitland, from Saturday July 15, 1815, to Monday, August 7, 1815; being the Period during which Napoleon Buonaparte was on Board that Ship. By Lieutenant John Bowerbank, R. N. (late of the Bellerophon.) To which is added, an Appendix of Official and other Documents.* 8vo. pp. 76.

**FLETCHER**, or more probably Shirley, in his comedy of the Coronation, makes Seleucus say

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Men have risen  
From a more cheap nobility to empires,  
From dark originals, and sordid blood;  
Nay, some that had no fathers, sons o' th' earth,  
And flying people, have aspir'd to kingdoms,  
Made nations tremble, nay, have practic'd frowns  
To awe the world——

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These lines are not inapplicable to the fallen Napoleon. Happily for mankind, however, his frowns will no longer awe the world. His red and terrific star is set in utter darkness. It is, nevertheless, natural to wish to know how he bears himself after his fall. This pamphlet will furnish some portion of the desired information. It contains, says the author, "a plain unvarnished narrative of occurrences (as far as they came under my observation) during the time Napoleon Buonaparte was on board the Bellerophon." It bears in itself evident marks of authenticity. The anecdotes which it relates are curious, and some of them are highly characteristic. Many of them have been copied by the daily papers, and, therefore, we will not injure the sale of Lieutenant Bowerbank's book, by extracting any of those which have been left untouched. He seems to have no fears except of Reviewers, of whom he certainly has a formidable idea. But his fears with respect to them are groundless, as he has not committed any such literary faults as would justify them in "cutting up the poor sailor."

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**ART. XIV.** *Speech of Mr. Phillips, delivered in the Court of Common Pleas, Dublin, in the Case of Guthrie v. Sterne.* 24 pp. Faulkner.

**IRELAND** has of late years abounded with men of distinguished eloquence in the senate, the pulpit, and at the bar; indeed a natural vein of florid but captivating eloquence is the general

general character of the Irish. Their ardent and enthusiastic tempers are infused into their compositions, and in extempore addresses they are peculiarly happy. More brilliant than solid, they hurry their hearers on, without permitting them to enquire into the strength of their arguments, or question the truth of their assertions. In depth and argumentative reasoning, the speeches of the Irish are greatly deficient: their eloquence is admirably adapted for the moment, but will rarely bear calm perusal in the closet.

The speech before us will, we think, serve as an illustration of the foregoing remarks: it has been much celebrated of late, and it displays indeed a brilliant specimen of Irish eloquence. It was delivered upon one of those melancholy occasions which, happily for Ireland, appear to be of rarer occurrence there than at home. The plaintiff was the intimate friend of the pleader, whose happiness had been destroyed by one of those "vain and vapid coxcombs, whose vices tinge the frivolity of their follies with something of a more odious character than ridicule." We proceed to lay before our readers a few extracts, which will enable them to judge whether we have been justified in the praise we have bestowed; and the following description of marriage is perhaps one of the finest parts in the whole.

"But of all the ties that bound, of all the bounties that blessed her, Ireland most obeyed, most loved, most revered, the nuptial contract. She saw it the gift of heaven, the charm of earth, the joy of the present, the promise of the future, the innocence of enjoyment, the chastity of passion, the sacrament of love: the slender curtain that shades the sanctuary of her marriage bed, has in its purity the splendour of the mountain snow, and for its protection the texture of the mountain adamant."

In a beautiful and pathetic strain, he describes the mutual happiness subsisting between the plaintiff and his wife until the appearance of the defendant, who

"with the serpent's wiles and the serpent's wickedness, stole into the Eden of domestic life; poisoning all that was pure, polluting all that was lovely, defying God, destroying man, a daemon in the disguise of virtue, a herald of hell in the paradise of innocence."

The defendant had avowed that ambition prompted him to his infamous purpose, which calls forth from Mr. Phillips the following brilliant description.

"I had heard, indeed, that ambition was a vice,—but then a vice so equivocal it verged on virtue; that it was the aspiration of a spirit, sometimes perhaps appalling, always magnificent; that though its grasp

grasp might be fate, and its flight might be famine, still it reposed on earth's pinnacle, and played in heaven's lightnings; that though it might fall in ruins, it arose in fire, and was withal so splendid, that even the horrors of that fall became immersed and mitigated in the beauties of that aberration! But here is an ambition—base, and barbarous, and illegitimate: with all the grossness of the vice, with none of the grandeur of the virtue; a mean, muffled, dastard incendiary, who in the silence of sleep, and in the shades of midnight, steals his Ephesian torch into the fane, which it was virtue to adore, and worse than sacrilege to have violated.”

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**ART. XV.** *French Delectus, consisting of a Variety of Short Sentences, Historical Anecdotes, &c. By James Foley, of the University of Paris.* Law and Whittaker. 1815.

**THE** commercial intercourse between France and Great Britain, which is about to take place, renders the acquisition of the French language highly necessary. As an elementary book, and an easy introduction to the French language, Mr. Foley's French Delectus has a claim to public notice. The following sentiment with which the author closes his preface, is excellent.

“The cause of instruction should never be separated from that of morality: those who deviate from this principle in the education of youth, whatever merit they may appear to possess, are not entitled to the esteem or approbation of the public.”

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**ART. XVI.** *A Key to Gregory's Arithmetic, adapted to the First and to a prepared Second Edition. To which is affixed a Compendium of Logarithmic Arithmetic. By the Author of the Arithmetic.* 5s. 12mo. pp. 128. Longman and Co. 1814.

**IT** has become fashionable of late to publish books on certain subjects wrapped up in a deal of obscurity which renders another volume indispensable, under the name of *A Key*. How far such a mode of disseminating knowledge is expedient, we will not determine. Mr. Gregory has exercised a great deal of labour in this work, as also in his arithmetic, which is upon a new system. We think Mr. Gregory has been peculiarly happy in his explanations of the nature and use of logarithms; and this work reflects credit on the abilities of the Master of the Free Grammar School of Repton.

**ART.**

ART. XVII. *The Principal Events in the Life of Moses, &c.*  
By Henry Lacey. 16mo. Darton. 1815.

SACRED Biography is a copious source of pleasing instruction to persons of all ages, classes, and conditions; but is especially calculated to form the lives and direct the conduct of the young.

Moses, the great legislator of the chosen people of God, and the inspired writer of the Pentateuch, from the momentous events of his life is a character, which, if well delineated, must have a striking and impressive effect. Moses was his own biographer; we approve therefore the idea which the author of the present work has adopted, of drawing from the inspired writings of the great Hebrew Lawgiver a well arranged narrative of his life. Such a work is peculiarly serviceable, to preserve the rising generation from the poison of Infidelity diffused through various channels, and in which both the divine legation, and the inspiration of Moses as an author, are called in question.

Mr. Lacey has adopted a pleasing and familiar style; and his observations are of a practical nature, well calculated for general edification. But we cannot forbear censuring an opinion, which we conceive of a dangerous nature in Christian theology. Speaking of the children of Israel gathering manna in the wilderness, the author thus expresses himself.

"Without speculating on the mode in which the manna came down, the Israelites had but one enquiry to make; 'Whether the provision was suited to their wants?' Thus should we be comparatively *unconcerned* about the *mode of dispensing* the ordinances of Christ: anxious only that Christ may dwell in our hearts by faith, and that we may live for ever through Him." P. 45.

This savours too much of the fanatical spirit of the times, which is setting at nought all the divine appointments. With the above exception, Mr. Lacey's *Life of Moses* is a pleasing and useful work.

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THE  
BRITISH CRITIC,  
FOR FEBRUARY, 1816.

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ART. I. *Eight Sermons preached before the University of Oxford, together with a Sermon delivered at an Ordination, holden at Christ-Church, by the Bishop of Durham, on Trinity Sunday, in the Year 1810, by Edward Garrard Marsh.* pp. 225. Oxford. Rivingtons. 1814.

NOTHING can be more important to the preservation of true religion among us, than the system of divinity which is taught in our two universities. In these venerable seats of learning, a large proportion of the men who are destined for the ministry of the Church of England imbibe their principles and settle their religious faith. It is therefore a matter of national concern, that the greatest attention should be paid to this part of their education, and that all their studies should be made subservient to this most important object. Much may be done in this way by professors of divinity and college tutors : but a very serious part of the charge devolves upon those, who are selected to fill the university pulpits. It is a great mistake to suppose that the sermons at St. Mary's are a mere matter of form, and that the young men rarely attend them. Both at Cambridge and at Oxford the select preachers are attended by a very numerous, and a very observant congregation : what they say is duly weighed and considered, especially by the younger part of their audience, who in most cases go not to hear only but to be taught. Most important, therefore, it is, that the select preachers before our universities should be chosen out of those whose learning is most extensive, whose zeal is most affectionate, whose theology is most sound. Should those to whom the choice is intrusted, either from indolence, perversity, or caprice, so neglect their duty, as to appoint any, whose doctrines are well known to be in opposition to the doctrines of our Church, and in whose minds fanaticism supplies the place of piety, and conceited ignorance that of learning, then should we consider the university, be it which it may, as disgraced.

Impressed with these sentiments, we turn to a volume of university sermons with peculiar interest and attention. Here, at least, we expect, that our critical labours will be amply repaid by good writing, clear argument, and sound divinity. We will not say that our expectations are altogether disappointed in the volume before us. Its subject matter is various; and we have examined it with various feelings of censure and approbation. We proceed, therefore, to lay before our readers a brief account of each discourse, and to state the grounds of the very different opinions which we find ourselves obliged to pass upon them.

The first Sermon in the volume was delivered at an ordination, holden at Christ Church, on Trinity Sunday, 1810. It is founded on our Lord's injunction to St. Peter to "feed his sheep." From this appropriate text, the preacher enforces the necessity of the love of Christ, as the only legitimate motive for undertaking the duties of the ministry. On this point Mr. Marsh's sentiments can not be better expressed than in his own words.

"The proper question, therefore, for every candidate who applies for ordination, to put to his own bosom, is—What is my object in coming hither? Am I seeking my own profit, or the profit of many that they may be saved? Am I urged by the love of Christ, or of myself, of godliness or of gain? And this is a question which every one must determine for himself. No examiner can settle it. He may investigate the claims of his candidates with respect to scholarship or attainments. He may ascertain the grounds of their faith, and may inquire into their character in the world. But all beyond this must be left between them and God. If they have been guilty of no gross offences such as are cognizable to all men, the human examiner can not penetrate deeper. It is to God that they must answer this question—'lovest thou me more than these?'—and it will be well for them if they can answer it, as Peter did,—'Lord, thou knowest all things, thou knowest that I love thee.'" P. 10.

In the subsequent part of this discourse, the preacher reminds his audience that the proper mode of displaying their love of Christ, is by attending diligently to the spiritual interest of the flock committed to their charge. He enforces upon them the duty of studying the Scriptures, as the fountain of all truth, and of preaching the whole doctrine of the Gospel without reserve. He then briefly touches upon the doctrine of the day, (Trinity Sunday) and concludes with seasonable admonition. We can safely recommend this discourse to our readers' attention. It is not distinguished, indeed, by any peculiar excellence of style, or originality of thought: but it is sound, scriptural, and unaffected. It expresses the sentiments of a Christian in the language of a scholar.

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The first Sermon prepared for the university pulpit, is upon the operation of second causes ;—a subject highly proper to be discussed before young men, who are combining the study of philosophy with that of religion. For if it is once supposed that the system of nature could not have been constituted otherwise than it is, the foundation of infidelity is effectually laid in the mind. About twenty-five years ago, a French philosopher in this country, who had probably been trained in the school of Voltaire, pretended to *demonstrate* that the law of gravitation could not possibly operate in any other manner than it does; from whence he would have inferred, that it is a necessary principle of nature, not an appointment of the Creator. The mathematical arguments on which this doctrine rested, were examined and refuted by Bishop Horsley, and Professor Robison, whose attention had naturally been roused by the pernicious tendency of this boasted discovery. The Sermon before us is well calculated to give a right view of the absolute power of the Deity in the constitution of the universe. It justly maintains that the laws of nature were established by the arbitrary decree of God, not by any necessity in the case. The *only* connection between any cause and its effect is the will of God. Nay, further, (as Mr. M. observes),

“The effects themselves were in their creation prior to their present causes”—“for, though it was on the first day that God said, ‘Let there be light, and there was light,’ it was not till the fourth, that he made those two great lights, which have continued ever since to rule the day and the night.”

He then contends that the appointment of second causes does not derogate from the omnipotence of the Deity, that it is more consistent with his glory and mercy than an immediate exercise of his power, inasmuch as it conduces to the moral agency of man, and other grand designs of His Providence. The same mode of operation pervades the dispensation of grace, and serves to

“Explain many difficulties attending it, in which men act, as second causes, in the hand of the Great Artificer: for the ways of God, both in the formation and reformation, in the government and redemption of the world, are uniform, analogous, and consistent. In both he makes use of means. And though on extraordinary occasions he has sometimes chosen to accomplish his objects without them, yet this manner of operation through the intervention of second causes, besides being more beautiful, tends more to the glory of his omnipotence than the other. Even in this latter work the Almighty has no need of subordinate ministers; and yet here also the employment of them is both a grace and a glory to his blessed scheme of salvation.” P. 32.

This excellent discourse is followed by one on mysteries, to which our approbation cannot be so cordially extended. After a few preliminary remarks on religious mysteries in general, Mr. M. adverts to the "controversy relating to the divine decrees." This he represents as a mystery which can never be cleared up, and he recommends us to abstain from perplexing ourselves with the question, since it does not affect the essentials of religion. He proceeds :

"Many who have agreed upon all other parts of our common religion, have differed, and agreed to differ, upon this. Such were notoriously many of the reformers and fathers of the Church of England; and such their consciousness of the innocence of this difference, and the safety of this union, that our 17th article has been generally confessed to be formed upon principles, which ought not to exclude any from the Establishment, who, concurring upon all other points, differ only upon a question, on which, those who framed it, were themselves divided in opinion. The strenuousness with which both parties have laboured to prove that the article is on their side, is indeed, to impartial judges, a sufficient proof of its neutrality." P. 56.

We are aware that the authority of Bishop Burnet may be alleged as giving countenance to this insinuation, but it ought never to be forgotten that his Exposition of the Articles was written to serve the purpose of the comprehension at that time projected, and that it was considered by the Lower House of Convocation so injurious to the English Reformation, that they presented it to the Upper House as a book strongly meriting a public censure. Dr. Binks's Prefatory Examination of the Bishop's Work should always be read with it as an antidote to the loose notions respecting Subscription to which it gives currency. We should not then so frequently have to regret the utterance of the insinuation just cited from our author, against which, however, whatever may be the authority it claims for its support, our formal protest must be recorded. The sense of the article is the sense of those who compiled it; and we have the most abundant historical *proof* that these men were *not* Calvinists:—that they took especial care to reject Calvinistic doctrines from the formularies of our Church: and that they would not accept the proffered assistance of Calvin in compiling the articles, although they freely availed themselves of the aid of other learned foreigners. The limits of a Review will not permit us to enter into the proofs of our assertions; but if Mr. M. or any of our readers, would wish to see the whole matter placed in the clearest light, we refer them to an incomparable tract written about forty years ago by Dr. Winchester, and reprinted in the Churchman's Remembrancer. Let them read this with an impartial mind, and they will rise fully satisfied that our Reformers

Reformers were no Calvinists. In the mean time we will present them with a brief explanation of the 17th article; and this shall be done in the masterly language of Dr. Waterland.

"The article of *Predestination*," says he, "has been vainly enough urged in favour of the *Calvinistic tenets*. For not to mention the saving clause in the conclusion, or its saying nothing at all of *Reprobation*; and nothing in favour of *absolute Predestination* to life, there seems to be a plain distinction (as Plaifere has well observed) in the article itself of two kinds of *predestination*, one of which is recommended to us, the other condemned. *Predestination*, rightly and piously considered, (i. e. considered not *irrespectively*, not *absolutely*) but with respect to faith in *Christ*, faith *working* by love and persevering; such a predestination is a *sweet and comfortable doctrine*. But the sentence of God's predestination, (it is not here said in *Christ* as before) that sentence *simply* or *absolutely* considered (as *curious* and *carnal* persons are apt to consider it) is a most *dangerous downfall*, leading either to *security* or *desperation*, as having no respect to foreseen *faith* and a *good life*, nor *depending* upon it, but *antecedent* in order to it. The article then seems to speak of two subjects; first of predestination, *soberly understood* with respect to faith in *Christ*, which is wholesome doctrine; secondly of predestination *simply considered*, which is dangerous doctrine."—"It is not imaginable that any *true* and *sound* doctrine of the Gospel should of itself have any aptness to become a *downfall* even to *carnal* persons; but *carnal* persons are apt to *corrupt* a sound doctrine, and suit it to their own *lusts* and *passions*, thereby falsifying the truth. This doctrine, so *depraved* and *mistaken*, our Church condemns. That is, she condemns *absolute, irrespective* predestination, not the other\*."

We cannot, therefore, concede to Mr. M. that our Church is "neutral" upon Calvinistic points. Here we must make a stand, whatever may be our reluctance to excite controversy on such subjects. We agree indeed with him,

"That the legitimate object of studying these sublime mysteries is, that we may do the words of this law; and if we studied them with no other end, if we sought in doing so, not to condemn our neighbours' errors, but only to make our own calling and election sure, we might under the guidance of the Divine Spirit search all things, yea, the deep things of God, without fear of entrenching upon those secrets of his government, which he has declared to belong only to himself." P. 59.

But there is a *turn* in this sentence which we can not approve. It seems to intimate, that when we oppose the tenets of Calvin, we are actuated by a mere spirit of controversy. This is an unfair representation of the case. Our object in so doing is not to condemn our neighbours, but to defend the truth. We

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\* Waterland's Supplement to the Case of Arian Subscription. P. 57. Printed 1722.



do not presume to intrude upon the "secret things which belong to the Lord our God," but only to explain "what has been revealed," as the Scriptures have revealed it; and to liberate the minds of Christian people from fearful and pernicious opinions on points relating to their present and future happiness. Such is the object of a preacher of the Church of England in extricating religion from the errors of Calvin; and if he pursues this object with a Christian temper, he is performing a sacred duty.

Upon the whole it is very difficult to give a correct opinion of this discourse. It is in general well written, and contains many good observations; but we could earnestly wish that it had never been delivered from the university pulpit, nor indeed from any other. It is much more likely to create doubt, than to give satisfaction; and that part of it which insinuates that our Church is Calvinistic, or at least, that it is not worth while to defend her against the charge of Calvinism, is altogether unwarrantable.

The third Sermon on "the love of God and of our neighbour" contains nothing worthy of particular observation. We feel disposed to thank the author for it, as a plain, practical, and unexceptionable composition. The fourth Sermon is of an higher cast, and is indeed an excellent discourse. It treats "on the authority to retain or remit sins," and sets the subject in a very clear and satisfactory light. Mr. M. considers the extent and the utility of this commission granted by our Lord to his Apostles; and maintains, that it still continues for

"The confirmation of Christians in the faith and for the settlement and comfort of believers."—"Neither would the fact of its continuance probably have been disputed, any more than the perpetuity of the two sacraments, were it not, by some strange perversion of the authority to remit or to retain, supposed to convey a right to use it capriciously."

We would gladly make larger extracts from this Sermon, did we not remember that half the volume still remains to be examined.

As the eighth Sermon will demand more than ordinary attention, we are compelled to dismiss the 5th, 6th, and 7th, with very brief observations. The fifth is founded on that weighty inference of St. Paul, Rom. iii. 28. "Therefore we conclude that a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law." We are not prepared to accord with the author in every minute particular which he has advanced, but upon the whole we think that the doctrine \* is correctly stated. In the 6th Sermon he explains

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\* As great perplexity sometimes arises in the minds of conscientious men on the subject of justification, and as our limits will not permit

explains St. Paul's assertion that "Christ Jesus is made unto us wisdom and righteousness and sanctification and redemption." Some good observations will here be found respecting the difference between justification and sanctification; and the following passage, which occurs in the 170th page, appears to us sound and forcible. The preacher had been speaking of the scheme of salvation as flowing entirely from Divine goodness, and thus endeavours to guard against a misapprehension of this doctrine.

"Have we then (it is sometimes asked contemptuously) have we then no part to act in the great business of our salvation? Are we to be degraded into passive machines, on whom supernatural influence is to produce a saving effect? By no means. No such inference fairly results from the doctrine in question. Jesus Christ is indeed made of God unto us both wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption. But yet it is left to us to determine whether we will be wise and righteous and holy and redeemed. The grace of God that bringeth salvation hath appeared to all men, teaching us, that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously and godly, in the present world. But, though it bringeth salvation, it does not force it upon us; though it empowers, it does not compel, and, like the God who gives it, has no respect of persons."

The seventh Sermon is upon Christian perfection. It is shorter and less elaborate than the others; and the substance of it may be briefly represented by extracting the concluding passage.

"Perfection, however, (after all it must be confessed) is an awful word. Who may attain it with all his zeal? Who can hope for it with all his faith? In the next life, by the mercies of Christ, any man; in the present, none. What degree of shortness of that final end, provided it be attended with sincerity, the Almighty will accept and pardon; I suppose no one will presume to determine. No one can set limits to that all-encircling goodness, which has no where limited itself. But neither does the determination of this point concern us. Though the purpose of Providence is inscrutable, our duty is clear; and, while we are certain that the Almighty will not punish any man for missing of a perfection which was

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permit us, on the present occasion, to enter into the question, we lay before our readers the following passage from Dr. Waterland's treatise on the subject, as the most concise and solid exposition we remember to have seen. "We are justified by God the Father, considered as principal and first mover; by God the Son, as meritorious purchaser; by God the Holy Ghost, as immediate efficient; by Baptism, as the ordinary instrument of conveyance; by faith of such a kind as the ordinary instrument of reception; and lastly, by faith and holiness, as the necessary qualifications and conditions in adults, both for the first receiving, and for the perpetual preserving it. Such and so many are the concurring causes, operating in their order and degree, towards man's first or final justification." P. 56.

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placed beyond his grasp, the anger of God is revealed and determined against those who shroud their indolence under the plea of infirmity; who will not do what they can, because they cannot do what they would, and, because they despair of reaching, refuse to go on unto perfection."

The last Sermon in the volume is on Baptism; a subject which has been grievously misrepresented by Dissenters of various kinds, and more especially by those *professed* members of the Church of England who hold the errors of Calvin. Deeply, indeed, do we regret, that a preacher of Mr. M.'s knowledge and attainments should undertake, in the very heart of the university, to impugn the doctrine of our Church, by maintaining that Baptism and Regeneration are perfectly distinct. Mr. M. endeavours to deduce this opinion from a passage in St. Peter's 1st Epistle, where the preservation of Noah in the ark is represented as a figure of Baptism. The words selected by Mr. M. as the foundation of his discourse, are these, "The long-suffering of God waited in the days of Noah, while the ark was preparing, wherein few (that is eight) souls were saved by water; the like figure whereunto, even baptism, doth also now save us, not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience towards God." Now it appears to us that this passage, as it stands at the head of Mr. M.'s sermon, does not give the exact sense of the original. We will transcribe St. Peter's words at length, as they are written in the most correct and critical editions of the Greek Testament—"Ὅτε ἄπαξ, ἐξεδέχετο ἡ τῷ Θεῷ μακροθυμία ἐν ἡμέραις Νώε, κατασκευαζομένης κιβωτοῦ, εἰς ἣν ὀλίγοι (τετάρτιν ὀκτώ) ψυχαὶ διεσώθησαν δι' ὕδατος. Ὡς καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀντίτυπον νῦν σώζει βαπτισμα, (ἡ σαρκὸς ἀπιθοεῖς ῥύπην, ἀλλὰ συνειδήσεως ἀγαθῆς ἐπερώτημα εἰς Θεόν,) δι' ἀναστάσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ." These words are most correctly translated in our version, and the parenthesis (which Mr. M. has omitted) is there carefully preserved. The sense of the passage can not be better expressed than in Whitby's Paraphrase. "The antitype of which ark is baptism, which doth also now save us (not merely as it is the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but as it is the answer or stipulation of a good conscience towards God :) and this salvation it works for us by virtue of the resurrection of Jesus Christ."

The observation of Hooker upon the passage may also be worthy of our attention. He is speaking of the conditions required of those who come to the baptismal laver.

"The declaration of Justin Martyr \*," says he, "concerning baptism, sheweth how such as the Church, in those days, did baptize,

\* The passage alluded to is in the 1st Apology. "Ὅσοι ἀν' αἰσθήσει καὶ ἐκείνου ἀληθῶς τὰ πάντα τὰ ὑφ' ἡμῶν διδασκόμενα καὶ λογόμενα εἰσὶν, καὶ

life, made profession of Christian belief, and undertook to live accordingly. Neither do I think it a matter easy for any man to prove, that ever baptism did use to be administered without interrogatories of these two kinds. Whereunto St. Peter (as it may be thought) alluding, hath said, that the baptism which saveth us is not (as legal purifications were) a cleansing of the flesh from outward impurity, but *ἐπιρώτημα*, an interrogative trial of a good conscience towards God \*."

Another commentator on the words, says, "*Baptismus autem nos servat per resurrectionem Christi, quia Christi resurrectio quandam nobis formam exhibet resurgendi ad vitæ novitatem, ad quam in baptismo regeneramur* †."

But as the highest authority, we may send this gentleman without further ceremony to Bishop Bull, *Apol. pro Harm. Sect. iv. pericop. 9. p. 23.* to learn the meaning of this text of St. Peter. After citing it, he proceeds

"*Ubi συνιδίως ἀγαθῆς ἐπιρώτημα a doctis interpretibus optime vertitur, sponsio sive stipulatio bonæ conscientiæ, atque idem significat, quod συγκατάθεσις apud Basilium. Nimirum in Baptismo interrogabat Episcopus: ἀποράσῃ τῷ Σατανᾷ; respondebat baptizandus ἀποράσσομαι. Rursum interrogatus Σურάσῃ τῷ Χριστῷ; respondebat συντάσσομαι. Hanc sponsionem salutis vocat Tertullianus de Baptismo. Idem de Resur. carn. dixit, anima enim non lavatione, sed responsione sancitur. Cyprianus interrogationem Baptismi,*" vocat *Epist. 80 and 76.*

Mr. M. however understands St. Peter's language in a sense very different from the primitive Church, the fathers of the Reformation, or the Church of England. He affirms (p. 195), that it is "very clear, from the words of the Apostle, that the mere putting away of the filth of the flesh in baptism, does not include, produce, or convey the answer of a good conscience towards God. 'Baptism,' says he, 'doth now save us, but not the putting away of the filth of the flesh.'"—By this imperfect quotation, and by the dexterous insertion of the particle *but*, the drift of the Apostle's language is indeed totally changed. But even allowing that St. Peter's words *were* capable of such a construction (which we do not mean to concede) we should be still at a loss to conceive how Mr. M. could draw from them the conclusion at which he aims. "Baptism," he allows, "doth

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καὶ βίῃ ὅπως δύνασθαι ἐπισχωῦνται, εὐχισθαί τε καὶ αἰταῖν ἡγεύοντες παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ τῶν προσημαρτημένων ἁφισιν διδάσκονται.—ἰσμετα ἄγονται ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἰδὲ ἕως ἐς, καὶ τρόπον ἀναγινήσεως ὃν καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἀναγινώσκωμεν, ἀναγινώσκονται." *Apol. I. Sect. 79, P. 116, of the Oxford edition of 1700,*

\* Ecclesiastical Polity, Book v. 63.

† Estius.

now save us," but the "putting away the filth of the flesh doth not." "Now the putting away the filth of the flesh," he afterwards says, is "synonymous with the outward rite of baptism." Therefore baptism does save us, but the outward rite of baptism does not. To such absurdities are men reduced when they endeavour to explain away the sense of Scripture, and to modify it according to their own devices.

Mr. M. however, seems perfectly satisfied with his own reasoning, and coolly observes, that "it would be unnecessary to argue a point, which appears so obvious, had not attempts been made by venerated names to connect regeneration with baptism, as though the two, the washing and the renewing, the sign and the thing signified, always went together." The tone of confidence in which this sentence is written merits the strongest censure. An inexperienced young man, who listened attentively to this discourse, would naturally suppose that the identity of baptism and regeneration, instead of being, as it is, the doctrine of the Church from the days of the Apostles to the present moment, is, in fact, nothing better, than a fanciful opinion of some modern divines, who had weakly "*attempted*" to defend it. Soon afterwards the same doctrine is termed "an extraordinary position." Whatever Mr. M.'s opinions may be, he *ought to know* that the doctrine which he combats is uniformly maintained by the best writers of the primitive Church, by the leaders of the Protestant Reformation, and especially by the Church of England. If he *does* know this, he ought not to have used the language above quoted. If he does *not*, we would seriously recommend him to consult the writings of Wall, Sharp, Bull, Bingham, Whitby, Hooker, Clagett, and Waterland; and we would especially call his attention to Wall's Introduction to his History of Infant Baptism, and Dr. Waterland's Sermon on Regeneration. In the notes annexed to the latter, he will find ample references to ancient and modern writers; and in the sermon itself, such an explanation of the whole subject, as will be far more likely to correct his error than any thing we can offer.

His next step in the hopeful undertaking of disproving baptismal regeneration, is to *confute* those passages of Scripture, which, as he expresses it, "*look that way*." The first he selects is indeed an unfortunate one, for it is a decisive authority against him. It is that passage of St. Paul's Epistle to Titus (iii. 5.) on which Dr. Waterland's sermon above-mentioned is founded. Mr. M. very prudently does not come to close quarters with this text, but dismisses it with very little ceremony, saying, that "in fact baptism is here only alluded to." He then proceeds to St. Paul's *vith chap.* to the Romans; and to our Lord's declaration to Nicodemus,

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" 'Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom \* of God;' by which words," says he, "the advocates for regeneration by baptism think their argument completed, and they say, What God hath joined together let no man put asunder; and yet those who maintain the opposite opinion may fairly adopt the same language, acknowledging, as they needs must, that God hath often in practice as well as in the passage last read, and in the text, joined regeneration and baptism together, and devoutly wishing, that what he hath so joined, men would not, as they too often do, by their apostacy, disobedience, and carnal mind, put asunder. It is undoubtedly his will, who will have all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth, that all baptized persons, all, who receive the water, should be born of the Spirit; and it is man only who effects a divorce between them. The separation, however, in numerous or rather innumerable instances, is too certain. It is a matter of universal observation, and is exemplified in all to whom it has happened, according to the true proverb, The sow that was washed, is turned again to her wallowing in the mire."

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\* "By water and the Spirit," says Hooker, "we are in that place to understand, as some imagine, no more than if the Spirit alone had been mentioned, and water not spoken of. Which they think is plain, because elsewhere it is not improbable that the '*Holy Ghost and fire*' do but signify the Holy Ghost in operation resembling fire. Whereupon they conclude, that seeing fire in one place *may be*, therefore water in another place *is* but a metaphor; Spirit, the interpretation thereof; and so the words do only mean, *That unless a man be born again of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven.* I hold it for a most infallible rule in expositions of sacred Scripture, that where a literal construction will stand, the farthest from the letter is commonly the worst. There is nothing more dangerous than this licentious and deluding art, which changeth the meaning of words, as alchymy doth or would do the substance of metals; maketh of any thing what it listeth; and bringeth in the end all truth to nothing, or howsoever such voluntary exercise of wit might be borne with otherwise, yet in places, which usually serve, as this doth, concerning regeneration by water and the Holy Ghost, to be alledged for grounds and principles, less is permitted." Ecc. Pol. v. 59.

We beg to impress the advice of this venerable sage on Mr. M. and to recommend to his serious consideration, from the 57th to the 64th section inclusive of the 5th book of Ecclesiastical Polity. Let him give an honest answer to these questions in the 60th Section.

"Unless as the Spirit is a necessary inward cause, so water were a necessary outward mean to our regeneration, what construction should we give to those words wherein we are said to be  
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In this passage, the nature of baptism is strangely confounded with the subsequent conduct of a baptized person. But to pass over this inaccuracy, let us consider the doctrine which Mr. M. here openly avows. It is evident that in his opinion, baptism is *no sacrament*. He does *not believe* when repentance, faith, and obedience, have been promised in the name of an infant, and he has been solemnly dedicated to the service of the Holy Trinity, (according to our Lord's institution, Matt. xxviii. 19.) that he then becomes a "member of Christ, a child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven." It is strange indeed, that a man who holds this opinion, should not at once reject infant baptism; for if no inward and spiritual grace is conferred by it,—if, in innumerable instances, the sign and the thing signified are separated, for what purpose is the ordinance retained? It loses its sacramental character, and is indeed reduced to a beggarly element of religion, unworthy of a place in the Gospel dispensation. Such is the necessary consequence of Mr. M.'s doctrine. We see then how directly it tends to encourage fanaticism, and to give advantage to all those who decry and vilify the instituted means of grace.

Having thus virtually denied that baptism is a sacrament, and endeavoured to pervert the language of Scripture to his purpose, Mr. M. proceeds to defend his opinions on the authority of our Church! It is indeed a proof of the venerable character of the Church of England, that many of those who dissent from her, are yet anxious, if possible, to shelter themselves under her protection. Never perhaps was this attempt more absurdly made than in the present case. If there is any point on which our formularies are more explicit than another, it is upon the identity of baptism and regeneration. When the ceremony of baptism has been performed, the minister is directed to say, "Seeing now, dearly beloved, that this child is regenerate, let us give thanks unto Almighty God for this benefit." Is it not evident, that the new birth,—the translation from the natural state in Adam to the spiritual state in Christ, is supposed to have been effected by the rite just administered? "And yet even this inference," says Mr. M., "does not appear to be correct." It is astonishing that a man of understanding can hazard such an assertion. Mr. Simeon himself did not venture so far as this. He allowed, if we remember right, that in the opinion of our Reformers, "regeneration does accompany baptism," and that, consequently, divines of his own stamp cannot use the

new born, and that *is* *water*, even of water? Why are we taught that with water God doth purify and cleanse his Church? Wherefore do the Apostles of Christ term baptism a bath of regeneration? &c. &c."

liturgy without a "burthen upon their minds\*." This at least is ingenuous. But Mr. M., in spite of all her declarations to the contrary, will not allow the Church of England to profess her own tenets.—

"That our Church," says he, "does not absolutely identify regeneration with baptism, and consequently that she could not design the preceding description to be applied to all her members indifferently, though she did not herself feel entitled to make the discrimination, is proved by the prayers in the same service, that the infant, coming to God's holy baptism, may receive remission of his sins by spiritual regeneration, and that God would give his holy Spirit, which blessing is implored without even naming the water, that so he may be born again."

Mr. M.'s argument most effectually confutes himself. *At what time* do we pray that the infant coming to God's holy baptism, may receive remission of his sins by spiritual regeneration? Is it not when we stand before the laver of regeneration, in which he is about to be baptized? Do we not, in the same manner, and upon the same principle, immediately before we receive the other sacrament, implore the Almighty, that "we may so eat the flesh of his Son, and drink his blood, that we may be made clean by his body, and our souls washed through his most precious blood;" and again, that "we receiving his creatures of bread and wine, according to our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of his death and passion, may be partakers of his most blessed body and blood." The cases are precisely parallel. In both instances, an inward and spiritual grace is about to be conveyed through an outward and visible sign. But as the conveyance of this grace is an act of mercy on the part of God, it becomes his unworthy creatures to pray for it with all humility. Our Church, therefore, in using this prayer in her Baptismal Office, does not declare (as Mr. M. would have it,) that baptism is not regeneration, but merely prays that God will bestow a blessing on his own ordinance, and make it an effectual mean of grace and salvation. Mr. M.'s argument, therefore, is reduced to this:—*because* we pray that the inward grace, which by God's ordinance is annexed to a sacrament, may be duly imparted thereby, therefore the grace is not annexed to it; *because* we pray that the infant may, by his future conduct, improve the privileges now conferred upon him, to the purposes of his final salvation, therefore the privileges are not conferred.

We leave Mr. M. in full possession of all the benefit which can be derived from such an argument; well convinced

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\* See Article III. in the British Critic for March, 1814.



that all those who are inclined to give the subject a fair consideration, and to admit the plain meaning of language, will join with us in reprobating his unworthy treatment of the Church of England. The doctrine which she holds on the subject of baptism, is in direct opposition to the whole tenor of his discourse. She maintains that "water applied outwardly to the body, together with the grace of the Spirit applied inwardly to the soul, regenerates the man; or, in other words, the Holy Spirit, in and by the use of water baptism, causes the new birth." "This change carries with it many blessings and privileges; all of which may be forfeited, or finally lost, if the person revolts from God, either for a time, or for ever." If he persist in faith and obedience, these privileges remain in full force; if he rebel, they are suspended, with respect to their saving effects. If again he repent of his sins, and return to the path of duty, he will not in such case be *regenerated*, but *renewed* in the spirit of his mind. There is not a single passage of Scripture in which Christians are exhorted to become regenerate (for Nicodemus we must remember was a Jew); but they are perpetually called upon to be "transformed in the renewing of their mind,"—to be "renewed in the spirit of their mind." The inward man is "said to be renewed day by day." *Renovation* is constantly required throughout the course of the spiritual life; *regeneration* is the entrance into that life, when the first portion of sanctifying grace is conveyed through the medium of baptism.

Such is the doctrine of our Church, which Mr. M. so totally misrepresents in this laboured discourse. We have not time to unravel all the sophistry which remains unnoticed; but we cannot take our leave of the author, without addressing a brief word of expostulation to his conscience. We doubt not that he is a man of right feeling and integrity; who would not deliberately violate his plighted faith. Allowing him this merit, will he permit us to ask, whether he has not repeatedly subscribed to the Articles of the Church of England, and promised to conform to its Liturgy? Is he not conscious (we are persuaded he must be,) that if this Sermon had been published *before* he was ordained, it would have precluded him from ordination? For an honest witness could not then have affirmed, that, to the best of his knowledge, Mr. M. had never "written or maintained any thing contrary to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England." It is for him to settle these points with his own conscience; we are wholly at a loss to conceive under what plea he can stand acquitted.

We cannot too seriously express our regret, that this Sermon was ever delivered before an English university; or that its author has thought fit to proclaim his errors to the world. With himself

himself we have no more to do than as a preacher of unsound doctrine; but for the honour and interests of the University we are deeply concerned. Upon referring to the Oxford calendar, we are happy to find that Mr. M. no longer retains the station of a select preacher; and after this specimen of his theological opinions, we do trust that he will never again be permitted to fill that important post. He is indeed *competent* to perform its duties, but he is misled by false views of some fundamental articles of religion, and seems to be infected with the same spirit by which the most eminent of his fellow-labourers are distinguished.

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ART. II. *Poems by William Cowper, 3d Vol. by his Kinsman John Johnson, LL.D. Rivingtons. 1815.*

FEW poets have hitherto obtained so large a portion of posthumous fame from a numerous and peculiar class of admirers as Cowper: and there is scarcely any one whose genius during life was more frequently impelled to exertion, animated and cherished, as it generally was, by a society of amiable and devoted friends. With the exception of his Homer, there is not perhaps a single poem, written with an immediate view to public inspection, or even destined by its modest and trembling author to encounter either the applause or censure of the world, whose pursuits and opinions, and even whose very gaze he had habitually and sedulously avoided. He yielded, however, to the pressing remonstrances of his friends, who deemed the productions of his pen a novel and fit subject for the press: and towards the close of the last century the poetical world was presented with a variety of compositions, many of which indeed were of a light and sentimental nature, but a material part being of a satirical or contemplative kind, seemed to fix the basis upon which Cowper's fame was first to be raised, and upon which the applause or censure of the world was ultimately to be established. During the period which preceded the reception of his poetry, a change of feeling had manifested itself, and the public taste which had gradually recoiled from the keen and elegant couplets of Pope, and the brilliant *jeux d'esprit* of Prior, or had been excited for a time to an admiration of the pathetic and philosophical genius of Goldsmith, the ardent but unchastised spirit of Mason, the fairy fabric of the ingenious Warton, and the elaborate melodies of Gray's "deep and awful lyre," experienced a change favorable to a species of highly moral and religious sentiments conveyed through the medium of a satirical and didactic measure, and uttered in a language, which though too often flat and prosaic, still breathed a devout  
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and fervent strain unknown, and perhaps unfelt since the days of Milton. Cowper has been termed "original in strength and dignity" by a certain learned but anonymous writer: yet surely, however original he may be thought, strength and dignity are as foreign from his poetry as from his character. There were certain moments when he could express himself with considerable energy, but his strongest expressions of indignation were mixed with a species of colloquial familiarity, or dashed with a mixture of complaining petulance, which, if we consider him in the light of a satirist, leave a very small portion indeed of the force and majesty of a Juvenal, or a Dryden, a Boileau, or a Johnson. Cowper's forte was sensibility, a quality which is not merely to be found in his tender and delicate addresses upon any or every subject to his female friends, but tempers even the more energetic parts of his writings, and except where his indignation was excited, or a vein of irony was opened (a talent, however, in which he by no means excelled) is the predominant trait of his compositions. Another remarkable feature in Cowper's poems is the extreme facility which pervades the most elevated as well as the most languid effusions of his ever ductile muse, a quality peculiar to himself, and which needed not the slow and painful labour which Prior is said to have used in giving an easy and unembarrassed air to the most elaborate works of his playful genius.

*"Sponte suâ carmen numeros veniebat ad aptos."*

We will presently take a brief view of the opinions and sentiments of our poet, but must first take notice of the volume now before us, which contains his posthumous poetry, with a sketch of his life, collected by his kinsman Mr. Johnson: thus forming a companion to the two former volumes which the public have for some time possessed. We are informed in the preface that although by far the greater part of these miscellaneous verses have been already published by Mr. Hayley, a desire to have a fresh and *detached* collection of all his minor poems being expressed by his friends is the editor's principal motive for presenting them to the world. It would be ungenerous, perhaps, to censure in very severe terms the misguided fondness, and enthusiastic admiration which has induced Mr. Johnson thus scrupulously to collect the few scattered and remaining flowers which were hitherto wanting to complete the poet's garland: but we must be allowed to observe, that although the enraptured devotee may treasure up the obscurest relic of his favourite saint, it is not every floating feather, even of the noblest plumage even of the *Σπυρίδος θείου*, which is worth preserving; and the most affectionate as well as the most ardent of Cowper's

per's admirers will regret the appearance of a publication which may compel him to lower his estimate of the merits of a favourite writer, or prompt him at least to exclaim in the words of the poet—*Indignor quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus.*

It sometimes happens that a posthumous publication may exhibit many interesting specimens of an author's early genius, and may beam, like the portfolio of Gray, with a new store of thought and knowledge, the more delightful as it is the least expected, and calculated to excite such sentiments of admiration. But the present volume is most decidedly inferior to the former two, not as being utterly devoid of merit, but as positively deficient in a single long poem of thought and sustained interest, and filled partly with puny and second-rate translations of Horace and Virgil, and partly abounding with a strange far-rago of Epigrams and Sonnets, Latin and English Ænigmas, and extemporaneous effusions in the mock-heroic and stanzaic measures, not indeed without a due proportion of talent, but ill-recommended by the meanness of such subjects as the Heel of a Shoe, a Sparrow, a Needle, or a Pincushion. But though we cannot help lamenting what we conceive to be a degradation of an art which is formed to instruct as well as to please, and unworthy of the contemplative faculties and finely wrought mind of Cowper; there are two most beautiful pieces in this volume which breathe a spirit of the most exquisite tenderness, and address themselves in the most attractive and pathetic strain to the best feelings and sympathies of the female heart. The one is the well known Address to Mrs. Unwin, the other is the Ode to some fair Incognita, occasioned on the reading of a poem called the Prayer for Indifference.

What can be more beautiful than the three following stanzas of this latter poem, or the gentle insinuation of reproach with which it opens—

“ And dwells there in a female heart,  
By bounteous heav'n design'd  
The choicest raptures to impart,  
To feel the most refin'd—

“ Dwells there a wish in such a breast  
Its nature to forego,  
To smother in ignoble rest  
At once both bliss and woe?

“ Far be the thought, and far the strain,  
Which breathes the low desire,  
How sweet soe'er the verse complain,  
Tho' Phœbus string the lyre.” P. 23.

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What more attractive, and at the same time, so animating and pathetic, as the conclusion?

" ' Still may my melting bosom cleave  
To suff'rings not my own,  
And still the sigh responsive heave,  
Where'er is heard a groan.

" So Pity shall take Virtue's part,  
Her natural ally,  
And fashioning my soften'd heart,  
Prepare it for the sky.'

" This artless vow may heav'n receive,  
And you, fond maid, approve :  
So may your guiding angel give  
Whate'er you wish or love.

" So may the rosy-finger'd hours  
Lead on the various year,  
And ev'ry joy, which now is yours,  
Extend a larger sphere.

" And suns to come, as round they wheel,  
Your golden moments bless,  
With all a tender heart can feel,  
Or lively fancy guess." P. 27.

In the poem to Mary, we have an instance of the commonest employment of a good house-wife, metaphorically applied by the poet in the most elegant and touching expressions to the susceptible nature of his own heart.

" Thy needles, once a shining store,  
For my sake restless heretofore;  
Now rust disus'd, and shine no more,  
My Mary!

" For though thou gladly wouldst fulfil  
The same kind office for me still,  
Thy sight now seconds not thy will,  
My Mary!

" But well thou play'dst the housewife's part,  
And all thy threads with magic art  
Have wound themselves about this heart,  
My Mary!" P. 235.

Equally beautiful and replete with the most confirmed sentiments of unwearied affection are the following stanzas.

" Thy

" Thy silver locks, once auburn bright,  
Are still more lovely in my sight  
Than golden beams of orient light,  
My Mary!

" For could I view nor them nor thee,  
What sight worth seeing could I see?  
The sun would rise in vain for me,  
My Mary!

" Partakers of thy sad decline,  
Thy hands their little force resign;  
Yet gently prest, press gently mine,  
My Mary!

" Such feebleness of limbs thou prov'st,  
That now at every step thou mov'st  
Upheld by two, yet still thou lov'st,  
My Mary!

" And still to love, though prest with ill,  
In wint'ry age to feel no chill,  
With me is to be lovely still,  
My Mary!" P. 236.

The poem on Friendship which occurs in the second volume as well as the third, possesses some strong and pointed rules for the acquisition and preservation of this rare but sweetest of all human blessings. It is relieved also by an air of pleasantry which casts a grace over the sober maxims it inculcates; but while it charms us, as usual, with the representation of a virtue so fondly idolized by the amiable and excellent describer, it is nevertheless tarnished with the fault of a diction rather too common, and below the scale even of the humblest species of poetry, together with some metaphorical allusions of a mean and mechanical nature, and a general want of elevation which is too frequent a desideratum in our poet's compositions. The loss of the Royal George, a little ode consisting of a few stanzas, is written with spirit, though it is rather loose and careless. But one of the finest specimens of his lyric poetry is the Boadicea, a short but noble production in the second volume, which breathes a strain of indignant feeling, uttered in a high and majestic tone, well adapted to the grandeur of the subject, and a no unworthy companion to the bard of Gray. We need scarcely observe that the verses on Alexander Selkirk, and the history of John Gilpin have long enjoyed an abundant share of popular favour, but by no means greater than their very different style of excellence deserves: and it is no light proof of the versatility of a poet's genius, that the same able and dexterous

faculty was able to describe with equal ease and taste the elegant and sentimental stanzas of the weeping Rose, to draw forth at another time the sad effusions of a desolate Islander, and then caricature with such an incomparable vein of humour, the ludicrous adventures of a run-away citizen of the metropolis. But as the most material part of Cowper's fame is grounded upon the value annexed to his higher compositions, we shall briefly take a view of the sentiments and opinions he was known to profess, as well as the style of expression with which those sentiments were clothed, that we may be the better able to form a true estimate of the poet's genius, and decide whether greatness, or ardour, or any peculiar sentiment of enthusiasm be its predominant feature. Now the series of poems commencing with "Table Talk," and ending with "Retirement," as well as the six books of the "Task," being the longest and most finished productions of the author's time and thoughts, bear the stamp of a fervent but even disposition of mind, highly tinged with certain determined opinions of right and wrong, and while deeply imbued with the sacred love of our holy religion, disdaining to recommend the practice of virtue from any other examples than the purest characters in Holy Writ, or with any other motives less than a genuine Christian faith, or the reasonable hope of a Christian's immortality. With feelings so predominant as these, and with a mind keenly susceptible, and ardently fond of truth, it might have been expected perhaps, that some corresponding marks of a great and powerful genius would be traced in some part of these compositions, if not in his homely subjects, at least in the cause of "Truth," "Hope," and "Charity," whose battles he was the foremost to fight, like an able and undaunted champion, but not always in the most radiant panoply. Yet though the peculiar keenness of Cowper's judgment, and the general correctness of his observations must ever rescue the matter of his poetry from the imputation of dulness or poverty of sentiment, we confess that our appetite is inclined to a more highly seasoned fare, and a species of satire, either more brilliant, more uniformly sustained, or at all events with a less tendency to prosaic mediocrity. The examples of both ancient and modern satirists may safely be adduced in favour of our opinion. In few parts of Cowper shall we find traces of the playful and airy elegance of Horace or Pope, much less any traits that can remind us of the lofty characters of Juvenal, Dryden, or Churchill. We have before said, that he possessed a considerable share of energy, and we shall doubtless be reminded that an author is the best director of his own talents, and that Cowper exerted to the utmost the colloquial style of sarcasm in which he was formed to excel : but it

it is not from any blind admiration of the earlier poets, that we are tempted to look for a similar mode of thought and expression in their posterity, it is because one or other of these requisites appears to us indispensable in satire: a severity, capable of confounding vice with a single glance: or a keen and lively playfulness, which without any direct personality, can "lightly touch where most it wounds." These are the qualities which at once elevate and adorn this species of composition, nor is it necessary to attach any *malignity* to their use, a feeling which the gentle spirit of Cowper would be the last to have admitted: for if we once lay it down as a principle, that it is not the perpetrator, but the vice itself which is to be satirised: no jealousy, or envy can be exerted, where a stern and indignant hatred of the *crime* rather than of the *criminal*, is to be portrayed.

Let us now make a few remarks on our poet's opinions of men and manners. It is well-known that he passed the severest censures on the preachers of his day, pretty broadly asserting, that "we are no longer taught by monitors that mother church supplies:" he also drew the portrait of his *ideal* preacher, "such as Paul would own," furnished doubtless with every grave endowment for his sacred office, but unhappily, and we must add, *unfairly* introduced for the purpose of contrasting with it an offensive specimen of a modern, and we hope an *equally ideal* preacher: of one point however we are convinced, that if unfortunately the degenerate habits which tarnished the close of the last century can be said to excuse the sarcastic severity of Cowper, had he but lived to witness the signs of the present times, he would have found doubtless much to admire, and still more, we hope, to love and venerate in the cause of that pulpit which he had given up in despair and derision. At all events he would have been compelled to acknowledge that the sacred alarm has at length sounded in the ears both of the pastor and his flock, that corresponding exertions have been called forth in proportion to the exigencies of the occasion, and might have been inclined perhaps to have dreaded the danger of an overbearing fanaticism in the very shrine which sloth had too long dishonoured before.

We cannot quit this part of the subject without expressing our entire acquiescence in the truth of Mr. Johnson's remarks in defence of our poet's religious feelings. Cowper's unhappy malady is by no means to be imputed either to an overheated or a desponding state of visionary enthusiasm. His hypochondriacal disorder acting upon an afflicted and pious mind, might probably have conjured up a spectre of transient despondency which haunted him for a time. But his malady, not his faith, was the cause of his mental despondency. Those who knew him best, well know that his religion had a directly opposite tendency, it

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was ever the source of his consolation and hope, it was even instrumental in removing the cause of his frequent dejections of spirit: he ever had recourse to it, as to a sacred refuge whither, "as upon the wings of a dove, he could flee away and be at rest." If we add to this fervent disposition of Cowper's mind, the sympathy and attention with which his anxious and affectionate friends were always eager to treat this unhappy sufferer, with that inimitable delicacy which marks the female character; a more enviable combination of amiable tenderness, and virtuous friendship will not easily be found.

From our poet's view of the religious teachers of this age, pass we on to his satirical comments upon education. The *Tirocinium*, or Review of Schools, is the apparent vehicle of his opinions upon this important subject: against which we do not hesitate to enter our most earnest and decided protest. We do not now mean to commence an elaborate defence of the system of our southern public schools, which are too prosperous to require it, in spite even of all the exertions of our northern critics either to abolish them entirely, or bring them down to a level with their own; but we would simply ask such questions as these; when and where will a system be found better adapted to promote the views and interests of youth, inasmuch as a public school is always the most efficacious introduction, and sometimes a positive requisite to a university education? But our poet takes still larger ground, and fully sensible of the intimate connexion which the one bears to the other, opens his attack upon the universities themselves, and with a salvo which is not very intelligible, would not absolutely put them up to sale, but "would have them better managed or encouraged less." In other words, he would take from them the prosperity they have long been accustomed to enjoy, and withdraw the patronage which it is as much the interest for the state to bestow, as for the universities to receive. And for what? because they are not better managed. The charge is indeed an imposing one. But supposing it to be strictly true, is the consequence so just, that they are not to be encouraged? The argument would prove too much; as well might it be asserted, that neither Church or State are to be encouraged in case of mismanagement on the part of its spiritual and temporal rulers; and thus would a new fallacy be added to the link of unhappy causes which engender a spirit of revolutionary discord. Every lover of his country, every friend to humanity must deprecate so fatal a conclusion. It is not by withdrawing our patronage from great and important establishments, that we can improve the system of a state, or promote the cause of human happiness, it is by a prudent, temperate and judicious application of approved and well-timed remedies to the wounds which time or negligence may have occasioned.

casioned. These remedies have been applied with success, the wounds have been materially healed already, an improvement in discipline has been established, and the result is already such as to warrant yet further improvements. But we will pursue this subject no farther: those who would at all events erect a new edifice on the ruins of a long-established system will scarcely listen to us: those on the contrary to whom its preservation is dear, will readily acquiesce in our sentiments, without any further attempt on our parts to support them.

But though we can never approve the subject matter of these satires of Cowper, and lament the weak prejudice, or erroneous feelings which produced them, we can always bear testimony to his honest abhorrence of corruption in every shape, even when his zeal was the most misguided, and his discretion the least exerted. His love of virtue was fervent and unfeigned: the genius of his poetry was in unison with his feelings, it was seldom very highly exalted; but it always breathes an equal and amiable fervour of spirit, which if it does not excite our enthusiasm, possesses the more attractive power of winning our love. Add to these qualities the matchless delicacy which pervades the greater part of his compositions, and we need not wonder that he should have become a general favourite with the public, and the peculiar idol of the female sex.

But let not an excessive admiration of Cowper supersede or detract from the praise which ought ever to be given to the extraordinary excellence of our earlier poets. It is too much the fashion to depreciate the eminent talents of those great masters of poetry who embodied in their voluminous works every variety of genius, feeling, and talent. Those beauties which we deservedly admire in our modern poets, whether they are rapid or sustained, of a lively or a melancholy cast: in the pages of Scott or Byron: Campbell or Southey, are to be found in the works of Milton, not indeed so highly seasoned, and so carefully prepared to please our delicate taste, but uttered with a superior and more commanding genius, equally calculated to please, if we will but learn to be pleased. We do not now mean to enlarge on the superiority of Milton, much less to compare him with Cowper: but it is due to the pre-eminence of Milton, and every other great master of poetical excellence, to remind all true lovers of poetry at the conclusion of the present article, that if they are content to reverence the author of *Paradise Lost* only at a humble distance, like an image erected on the loftiest pillar of a heathen temple, they are altogether unworthy of the pleasure to be derived from a nearer approach, and a more intimate study of his perfections: but if through a blind admiration of the author of the *Task*, they are tempted

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to detract one tittle from the high fame of Milton, they may perhaps find a few who will coincide in their opinions, but the *just* merits of Cowper can receive no real accession of praise, and must inevitably lose by the comparison.

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ART. III. *Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. Richard Price, D. D. F. R. S.* By William Morgan, F. R. S. 8vo. 189 pp. Hunter. 1815.

NO great injury, we think, would have been done to the republic of letters, or to the interests of mankind, if the subject of these Memoirs had been suffered to rest in oblivion. Possessed, as he was, with a rooted antipathy to all establishments, ecclesiastical and civil; carried away with the wildest notions of reform; and even anxious to fall under the censure of the laws, that he might attain what he deemed a crown of martyrdom: there seems to be little in his character worth recording;—much, which real friendship would wish for ever to conceal.

Those persons, however, who inherit Dr. Price's sentiments, (which, we trust, for the honour and safety of our country, are entertained by a very small part of the community,) will probably be delighted with Mr. Morgan's tribute to the memory of his uncle. They have been accustomed to consider this singular man in the triple capacity of philosopher, politician, and divine; for in all these departments the Doctor would fain have been regarded as an oracle. But politics were his favourite pursuit; and the circumstances of his time were such, as to keep his restless spirit in a state of perpetual agitation: cherished and applauded by some of the factious leaders of his day, he seems to have considered himself as a great champion of the rights and liberties of mankind. The majority of his dissenting brethren, and the admirers of the French Revolution, regarded him perhaps with no less veneration than we feel towards a Clarendon, a Somers, or a Pitt. But whatever might have been the sentiments of many of his deluded contemporaries, very few, we believe, are now to be found, who worship this politico-theological Doctor as the god of their idolatry. The falshood of his speculations, and the danger of his principles, must be now evident to all men of reflection and discernment. Notwithstanding his sagacious predictions, the French Revolution, with all its delightful appendages of murder, sacrilege, and rapine, has not rendered the world more free or happy than before. It has taught them, indeed, an awful lesson of wisdom, which can

can never be forgotten by the latest posterity. It has proved, that when the contexture of a state has been once effectually torn in pieces, a fierce, unrelenting, and lawless despotism is the natural result; and it has sensibly warned us to turn aside with abhorrence from the advocates of anarchy and sedition.

The work before us is rather to be considered as a panegyric upon Dr. Price, than as a piece of biography. It is written, for the most part, in a correct and easy stile; but it contains very little matter that can, in any sense, be deemed interesting. The Doctor was born in Glamorganshire, in 1723, and received the rudiments of his education among the dissenting teachers of the neighbourhood. His father is represented as a rigid Calvinist; who bequeathed the bulk of his fortune to one son, leaving his widow, and six other children, in a state of comparative indigence. Richard, who was one of these, after studying under various preceptors in Wales, was removed by the assistance of his uncle to a dissenting academy near London. Here, in process of time, he became a minister, and officiated in different congregations, particularly at Dr. Chandler's meeting, in the Old Jewry. In the year 1756, he received an accession of fortune, and the following year he married a Miss Blundell. About the same time, he published a treatise on the "Foundation of Morals," in which he controverted some doctrines of Mr. Hume. After this, he turned his attention to philosophical subjects, and

"A proposal," says Mr. Morgan, "was made to him by the booksellers to publish a complete edition of all Sir Isaac Newton's works. But his diffidence of his own abilities, his want of spirits to engage in so arduous an undertaking, and possibly his former prejudices against devoting too much of his time and attention to subjects not immediately connected with his profession, determined him to decline a work, which has been since executed by a person who laboured under none of these difficulties." P. 29.

Dr. Price, we doubt not, had many good reasons for declining to become the editor of Newton; but this, we think, *might* have been expressed, without casting a severe and unprovoked reflection on the memory of Bishop Horsley. Mr. M. seems to have sought an occasion to calumniate that great man, and to insinuate, that *he* did not scruple to devote his time and attention to subjects unconnected with his profession. Whether this sarcastic blow was aimed at the Bishop alone, or at the whole body of English Clergy, is not perhaps quite clear; the former supposition is most probable, as the name of Horsley must for ever strike a panic into the admirers of Priestley and Price.

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About the year 1770, Dr. Price published a treatise on "Reversionary Payments;" and soon afterwards, an "Appeal to the Public on the National Debt." At length, on the breaking out of the American war, his political ardor was at once roused; and he was determined to stand forth as the champion of the rights of man. Accordingly he devoted the winter of 1775 to writing his "Observations on Civil Liberty, and the Justice and Policy of the War with America." This pamphlet, according to his biographer, was received with rapturous applause by the *friends of freedom*, and was attacked with equal warmth by the *bigoted and unenlightened*, among whom was that pany politician, and "very equivocal friend of liberty," Mr. Edmund Burke. (p. 59.) Dr. Price now seems to have attained one object of his ambition, for he observes, in a letter to an American friend, that "he was become so marked and obnoxious, that prudence required him to be very cautious; and that he avoided all correspondence, even with Dr. Franklin, though so near him as Paris." (p. 64.) His patriotic zeal, however, was not damped. "Whenever Government thought proper to proclaim a fast, he considered it more as a political than a religious ordinance, and always took an opportunity on that day, contrary to his invariable practice on other days of religious worship, to deliver his sentiments on the conduct of the war, and on the evil consequences which were likely to result from it." (p. 68.) So just and *enlightened* were the Doctor's notions of the religious duty of a fast.

In 1775, he was engaged in a philosophical controversy, with his friend, Dr. Joseph Priestley. "Of the purity of the motives," says Mr. Morgan, "which led each of these good men to engage in the controversy, there can be no doubt; nor is it possible not to admire the zeal and sincerity which they manifest throughout the whole of it in promoting the great cause of truth and virtue." (p. 91.) With the motives of these gentlemen we are not concerned; they must be examined before an higher tribunal. But we must express our firm conviction, that if all mankind had followed the advice of these illustrious teachers, neither sound laws, nor true religion, would now have existed upon earth.

Dr. Price's politics were so admirably adapted for the meridian of America, that he had already received a formal invitation from Congress to settle in that country. This he thought it expedient to decline; but still anxious to diffuse the benefit of his advice, he addressed a pamphlet to the United States, "containing Observations on the Importance of the American Revolution, and much valuable advice on the best means of securing

securing those liberties for which they had successfully contended." (p. 104.)

Our hero next appears in the character of a divine, and preaches a sermon at the opening of an academy of dissenters, which had been founded by "some of the principal friends of rational religion." (p. 118.) By this phrase, we presume, the author would insinuate, that *rational religion* is confined to persons of his own persuasion.

We next find Dr. Price engaged in correspondence with Mr. Pitt on the subject of finance. The language of the biographer on this occasion is really curious. One would imagine, from the tone he assumes, that Mr. Pitt had been an exciseman, and Dr. Price had been Mr. Pitt. The minister is represented as writing a note to Dr. P., and asking his opinion on a certain plan of finance. Whereupon, we are informed, that Dr. Price, in his infinite condescension, "instead of bestowing much time in exposing this ineffective and miserable plan, which would have disgraced any minister that had adopted it, sent three other plans for Mr. Pitt's perusal." One of these plans, according to Mr. Morgan's account was adopted, after undergoing great alterations.

"Nevertheless the plan, though crippled and mutilated in the first instance by Mr. Pitt, and still farther crippled by his successors, has produced the most beneficial effects, and entitled the author of it to the gratitude of the nation. I am far," adds Mr. M., "from denying his share of merit to the minister who had the discretion to adopt any measure of this kind.—But the friends of Dr. Price have reason to complain, that after enduring so much obloquy and abuse from his stupid opponents when he first proposed such a measure, and after a patient perseverance for fourteen years, having succeeded at last in convincing Government of the necessity of it, he should be deprived of the meagre boon of being noticed amidst the high sounding compliments which the minister bestowed upon himself in proposing the measure to Parliament. When he boasted of having raised a pillar to public credit, it would have been as well if he had proposed to have Dr. Price's name inscribed with his own upon the pedestal; but subsequent events have proved, that these names would have been ill associated in the same column." P. 124.

They would indeed! never did two men exist, whose principles and characters had less resemblance. The one, gifted with talents which have never been surpassed, moving in the highest sphere of life, adorned with every accomplishment that the most perfect education could bestow, seems to have been raised up by Providence, in times of unexampled danger, for the protection of legitimate Government and social order. The other,

possessing an understanding acute, but by no means extraordinary, educated in a desultory manner, and confined, during the greater part of his life to a narrow circle of acquaintance, would perhaps never have been known beyond the precincts of the Old Jewry and Newington Green, had he not taken part in the most turbulent politics of his day, and gained celebrity at the expence of his character as a British subject. Such was the difference between Mr. Pitt and Dr. Price. Most cordially do we agree with Mr. M., that their names would have been ill associated on the same column.

We now come to the last and most important passage of the Dr.'s life, when his visionary schemes of liberty, happiness, and equality, were almost realised. He seems at length to have arrived, in his own imagination, at those blissful seats,

— ἔνθα μακάρεων  
 Νᾶσον ὠκεανίδες  
 Αὔραι περιπνέουσιν ἄν-  
 δεμα δὲ χρυσῷ φλέγει,  
 Τὰ μὲν χερσὶθεν ἀπ' ἀ-  
 γλαῶν δενδρέων,  
 Ὑδωρ δ' ἄλλα φέρει·  
 Ὅρμοισι τῶν χέρας ἀνα-  
 πλέκοντι καὶ στεφάνοις.

Pind. Olymp. II, l. 125.

"Of all the events," says the biographer, "which distinguished Dr. Price's life, none interested or agitated him so much as the French Revolution. This, at the first moment of its explosion, raised his hopes to the highest point, and brightened all his prospects of the future improvement and happiness of mankind." (p. 148.) "Having never had the mortification to witness those sanguinary and atrocious deeds which disgraced and ultimately overturned the Revolution, the circumstances of his life can have no connection with them." P. 151.

The Doctor died before the murder of the king and the atrocities of Robespierre; and therefore, although an ardent promoter of the Revolution, he is innocent of its consequences. A man who assists in setting fire to a stately edifice, dies of an apoplexy before the flames have reached their height; the circumstances of his life therefore can have no connection with the loss and misery which are occasioned by the conflagration. We would recommend the principle of this argument to the gentlemen who practise at the Old Bailey; it might occasionally extricate their clients from a very disagreeable situation.

Innocent, however, as the Doctor might be, he was well informed of all that was going on at Paris by the assistance of a kindred

kindred spirit, Mr. Jefferson. At this juncture (the autumn of 1789) he was requested by the *friends of freedom* in this country to preach on the 4th of November, at the anniversary meeting of the Society for commemorating the Revolution in Great Britain. These gentlemen, it appears, (whether from ignorance, or from design, is not quite evident) thought proper to confound the principles of the English and the French Revolutions, than which two things can not be more radically\* opposite. The object of the one was to preserve, of the other to annihilate the constitution of the respective governments.

"The circumstances of our Revolution," says Mr. Burke, "and that of France, are just the reverse of each other in almost every particular, and in the whole spirit of the transaction. With us, it was the case of a legal monarch attempting arbitrary power—in France, it is the case of an arbitrary monarch, beginning, from whatever cause, to legalise his authority. The one was to be resisted, the other was to be managed and directed; but in neither case was the order of the state to be changed, lest government might be ruined, which ought only to be corrected and legalised. What we did was in truth, and substance, and in a constitutional light, a revolution, not made, but prevented. We took solid securities; we settled doubtful questions; we corrected anomalies in our law. In the stable fundamental parts of our constitution we made no revolution; nor any alteration at all. We did not impair the monarchy. Perhaps it might be shewn that we strengthened it very considerably. The nation kept the same ranks, the same orders, the same privileges, the same franchises, the same rules for property, the same subordinations; the same order in the law, in the revenue, and in the magistracy; the same Lords, the same Commons, the same corporations, the same electors. The Church was not impaired. Her estates, her majesty, her splendour, her orders and gradations continued the same. The Church and the State were the same after the Revolution that they were before, but better secured in every part." *Speech on the Army Estimates, 9th February, 1790.*

Confounding, however, these radical distinctions, Dr. Price and his friends must needs select the 4th of November as a day

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\* It was voted by both Houses of Parliament, 6th Feb. 1688, that "King James II. having endeavoured to *subvert* the constitution of the kingdom, by breaking the original contract between King and people; and having, by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons, *violated the fundamental laws*, and withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, has abdicated the government, and that the throne is thereby vacant." Here is no mention of beheading or cashiering kings.



for the celebration of their orgies ; the 29th of May would have been in reality as proper. The Doctor consented to preach before the patriotic band ; and on this occasion rendered himself more notorious than ever by the mischievous and inflammatory harangue which he delivered. Our readers are well acquainted with the notice which is taken of this sermon in Mr. Burke's " *Reflections on the Revolution in France.*" It would be endless to quote passages from that immortal work in illustration of the subject. The book is in every body's hand ; and to that we must refer our readers for a complete exposure and refutation of those destructive principles of anarchy, maintained by Dr. Price in the pulpit of the Old Jewry. Whatever may have been the errors of Mr. Burke's political life, his firm and manly conduct at the dreadful period of the French Revolution, will for ever secure him a high rank among the patriots of Britain. Here all party feelings were thrown aside ; and the whole force of his powerful and accomplished mind was exerted in defence of laws, liberty, and religion. His " *Reflections*" are perhaps the most perfect and useful piece of political writing now extant in the world. They display throughout the temper and dignity of a philosopher, the knowledge of a profound and experienced statesman, and that prophetic anticipation of consequences by which their great author was so eminently distinguished.

Mr. Burke's attack upon Dr. Price has of course excited the indignation of the biographer, which he accordingly pours forth in these temperate and judicious words—

" The principles laid down in the discourse which he had delivered at the Old Jewry in November, drew torrents of abuse upon him from Mr. Edmund Burke, who, as if possessed by some demon of the nether regions, had never ceased from the first moment of the revolution to declaim in a manner the most outrageous against it, and against all the friends and supporters of it. The phantoms which his own disordered imagination had raised to alarm and inflame the members of the House of Commons, unhappily succeeded too well in misleading the more timid and lukewarm friends of liberty."—Soon afterwards we are gravely informed, that the " rancorous invectives of Mr. Burke, which he had poured forth in a volume of 400 pages, neither disturbed the tranquillity of Dr. Price's mind, nor had any other effect than convincing him that the violent passions of the author had deranged his understanding." P. 164.

To such nonsense as this we will not condescend to reply. It carries with it its own confutation : and can excite nothing but contempt in the mind of any sensible man.

On the 14th of July, 1790, Dr. Price closed his public life, by serving the office of steward at a dinner in commemoration of the

the French Revolution. After this he went into the country, and returned to town in a declining state of health. "Some of his friends urged him to reply to Mr. Burke's late publication," which attempt he very prudently declined; and in the following spring he was seized with a complaint which quickly brought him to his grave. Here we would readily close our strictures upon him, not wishing to cast reproach upon his memory, or even to revive it. We abhor the principles of Dr. Price, but have no hostility to the man; nor would he have occupied one moment of our attention, had not this attempt been made to hold him up as an object of imitation and applause. Notwithstanding the best exertions of the Doctor and his friends, we still enjoy the blessings of the English Church and State; and his *liberal and enlightened* doctrines have not yet been generally received.

"We still fear God; we look up with awe to kings; with affection to parliaments; with duty to magistrates; with reverence to priests, and with respect to nobility. Why? because when such ideas are brought before our minds, it is natural to be so affected; because all other feelings are false and spurious, and tend to corrupt our minds, to vitiate our primary morals, to render us unfit for rational liberty; and by teaching us a servile, licentious, and abandoned insolence, to be our low sport for a few holidays, to make us perfectly fit for, and justly deserving of slavery, through the whole course of our lives." *Burke's Reflections*, p. 167.

ART. IV. *The History of the Church of Scotland, from the Establishment of the Reformation to the Revolution: illustrating a most interesting Period of the Political History of Britain.* By George Cook, D.D. Minister of Lawrencekirk. 3 vols. 8vo. Longman and Co. London; Constable and Co. Edinburgh. 1815.

THIS is a very able, and, upon the whole, a very candid work, embracing a great variety of most important facts relative to the religious and political state of Scotland, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Throughout his whole book, the author shews himself completely superior to all the narrow feelings of party spirit; incapable alike of concealing the errors and ferocity which distinguished the founders of his church, and of blaming their antagonists except where they were manifestly in the wrong. Aware of the powerful prejudices which actuated the leading characters, in those unhappy times to which his history refers, he never finds fault but with tenderness and moderation; and

and in every instance where he is compelled to disapprove, he seems more disposed to lament over the frailties of human nature, than to indulge in invective, or to multiply expressions of condemnation. In exhibiting the jealousies, the hatred, the crimes and follies of men who strove with one another even unto the death, and who, when they were in their turn invested with power, exercised against each other the very same violence and cruelties which both loudly and justly condemned only when they were forced to submit to them, Dr. Cook appears to have made it his object to impress upon his readers that strong passions uniformly blunt the moral feelings and pervert the judgment, rather than to impute to particular churches intolerant maxims or unchristian principles. Like a discerning historian and an upright man, he imputes to the times what the times really produced; he appreciates motives with candour and impartiality; he paints rebellion in its true colours; never justifies, under the specious pretext of religious liberty, an armed opposition to lawful government where conscience was respected; and he is never found to eulogize arbitrary measures, merely because they were resorted to in behalf of a particular faction.

These are high recommendations in a writer of church history, and they will infallibly carry down his name with applause to the latest generations; but it gives us pain to add, that such are not the qualities which will recommend his work to the patronage of his contemporaries. To succeed, in these days, an author must sacrifice every thing to party views; he must call the ferocious rebel an enlightened patriot, the intolerant bigot, an evangelical christian, and the hypocritical ambitious traitor, the true friend of his country. He must conceal facts when it does not suit his purpose to bring them forward; he must palliate notorious delinquencies; and play the sophist in support of a favourite class of political opinions or of ecclesiastical measures. In short, he must carry all the feelings which stimulate the factious, and characterize the lovers of innovation, into the detail of historical events, into the abstract discussions of moral science, and even into the fictions of poetry and romance. Some of Dr. Cook's countrymen understand all this better than he seems to do; and, at the same time, appear much more willing to comply with the prevailing taste, and to purchase present popularity on whatever terms it may be had.

As to the literary merits of the work before us, we have merely to say, that the language is in general classical and vigorous, never overloaded with ornament, and never deficient in the particular species of eloquence which is most suitable for narration. We marked indeed, in the course of reading, two or three scot-ticisms, as well as a few sentences violently inverted for the sake  
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of sound. We leave these trifles, however, to enter upon an analysis of the work itself; and in this we shall follow the train of events in the order of their chronology.

In the reign of James the Fifth, the more powerful barons of Scotland, who, under several of his predecessors, had successfully opposed themselves to the regal authority, began to prosecute measures for their own aggrandizement, with more concert and system than they had formerly observed. As the monarch united with the church in attempting to check the progress of the new opinions on the subject of religion, the nobles in subservience to their grand object, did not fail to encourage the reformers to propagate their tenets, and thus to weaken at once the influence of the hierarchy and of the crown. This view alone might perhaps account for the patronage which the preachers received from such of the nobility as had combined to limit the royal prerogative; and the prospects which very soon opened to them of deriving a great addition to their revenues from the patrimony of the Church, will sufficiently explain the eagerness with which some of them seconded every effort to strip and demolish the ancient priesthood. James was, in the mean while, counselled by those, who either were ignorant of the real state of public feeling, or were enemies of the church, to have recourse to a system of policy, which tended, in the most direct and summary manner, to undermine the power of the old establishment, and to surround with popular sympathy and respect, the cause of the reformers. He subjected to martyrdom several of their leaders; bringing thereby upon the clergy the odium and suspicion which never fail to be directed against excessive severity, and, at the same time, inducing the people to examine into those views of religion which could so powerfully elevate the mind as to defy death, or to triumph amid the most dreadful sufferings. At his premature decease, accordingly, he left the kingdom in a state of the most deplorable anarchy, and bequeathed to his unfortunate daughter an inheritance from which she was doomed to reap nothing but unmixed misery, calumny, and reproach.

Under the regency of Arran and of the queen-dowager, the protestants, amid various vicissitudes, continued to gain ground; and when Mary in person assumed the sovereignty, she found the reformation so far advanced as very soon to render it expedient to make a legal provision for the preachers. The attachment which she naturally felt for the form of religion in which she had been educated, and the ferocious and unchristian opposition which she experienced from Knox and the protestant lords, occasioned more than once a slight reaction on the part of her friends; but the artful and insidious conduct of her brother,

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afterwards earl of Murray, rendered ineffectual every plan that was adopted either to consolidate her throne, or to obtain for her the comforts of devotional exercises even in her private chapel. Her imprisonment at Lochleven too, and her subsequent flight into England, having in process of time secured for Murray the regency of the kingdom, he was thus enabled to give a kind of legal sanction and establishment to the reformation; and it is at this epoch, accordingly, that Dr. Cook takes up the history of the Church of Scotland\*. Indeed it is very clearly proved by the whole of their conduct, that the *congregation*, as they were called, uniformly identified their interests with those of the Regent, and it is on this account that they laboured so zealously to promote his ambitious views, by stirring up the people against their queen, and by arming their adherents to oppose her restoration. Murray, however, had more than one party to manage: the ministers, on the one hand, petitioned for the temporalities of the popish church, and the lords of the congregation were determined to hold fast the ample share of them which they had already appropriated: the latter, however, being the more powerful body, were favoured with the Regent's patronage, and obtained his sanction for their rapacious exactions. In his situation, perhaps, it would have proved a hazardous policy to attempt a transference of the immense patrimony of the Church to the popular and rebellious ministers; but Murray, although this was one of the conditions stipulated to gain their countenance to his measures, shewed no sincere wish to meet their views, and he allowed several years to elapse without making one effort to ameliorate their wretched condition. Even Knox seems to have been greatly irritated and disgusted by his hollow and temporizing conduct; for, in a letter written during this period, he complained to one of his friends, that "he was already dead to all civil affairs, and that his life to him was bitter." Still the dread of popery prevailed over all their other feelings, and the Regent was supported by the reformers, as the great antagonist of Mary, and bulwark of their cause.

At this epoch, the constitution of the Scottish Church was a species of episcopacy; the power, and some of the functions, of the episcopal order being vested in *superintendents* both lay and clerical; which superintendents, at the same time, were responsible for their conduct to the General Assemblies, and even to

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\* He published, some years ago, a history of the reformation in Scotland, with which we have no concern; but was reviewed by our predecessors, and praised by them for the same spirit and candour which is displayed in the work before us.

the inferior judicatories of the Church. An assembly, however, being held in 1568, the outlines were drawn up of a system for conducting their public business with greater decency and subordination, a law was passed, specifying who should in future be entitled to sit and vote in that supreme judicatory, and by whom they were to be elected. It was ordained, that none should have voice in these assemblies, but superintendents, visitors of churches, (who had the powers without the titles of superintendents), commissioners of shires and universities, and such ministers as the superintendents should choose in their dioceses and synods, being men of knowledge, and able to decide upon the subjects proposed for their consideration. This was an important step, observes Dr. Cook, towards the settlement of the Church. It marked out the constitution of the great organ of ecclesiastical law; it was admirably calculated to secure the assistance of the most intelligent of the ministry, while it gave a very powerful influence to the superintendents who would naturally make choice of such of their clergy as they had reason to believe were disposed to preserve the form of government which Knox had introduced.

Another law was passed which still further augmented the power of the superintendents. It was enacted, that nothing should be discussed in the General Assembly which the superintendents might or ought to determine in their synods; and thus the superintendent with his synod was entrusted with the same authority which was afterwards committed to presbyteries. At this early and unconfirmed state of their polity, however, they failed not to commence persecution. It was decreed by the same assembly, that papists continuing obstinate should be excommunicated, and Knox's form of excommunication was accordingly revised and sanctioned. Subsequent to this, nothing very material to the interests of the reformed took place, until the assassination of the Regent: which event is recorded by our author in the following manner.

"He had been frequently warned, that his enemies, unable to oppose him in honourable warfare, had resolved upon his death; but he listened with too much incredulity to these cautions, and he fell a sacrifice to his neglect of them. Hamilton, of Bothwellhaugh, followed him to Linlithgow, where he was to remain for a night; and next morning, when he was commencing his journey to Edinburgh, he was wounded by a bullet fired by Hamilton from the house \* of the Archbishop of St. Andrews,

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\* This expression may lead the unwary reader to suppose either that the Primate was then residing in Linlithgow, or that it was the place

Andrews, in which he had concealed himself. The Regent, on receiving the wound, dismounted, and returned on foot to his lodgings. Hopes were entertained upon the first examination of his wound, that it was not mortal; but the pain soon increasing, he prepared with unclouded serenity for his dissolution; and after expressing the most noble sentiments, and commending the protection of the king to those who, on this melancholy occasion, were listening to him, he expired. He had received intimation on the preceding day, that there was a design to assassinate him—even the house from which the deed was to be attempted was pointed out to him; but with wonderful disregard of his safety, he neither caused the house to be examined, nor took the other obvious precautions by which the villainous intention might have been defeated.”

There can but be one opinion as to the wickedness of the act by which the Earl of Murray lost his life: there is however more than one, in relation to his general character, and to the several decided steps which he took against his unhappy sister. We do not agree with Dr. Cook in the eulogy which he has bestowed on his conduct whether public or private, and we shall state in few words the ground of our dissent.

In the character which our author draws of Murray, that nobleman is said “never, even when he sunk patriotism in faction, to have betrayed the vital interests of Scotland, but anxiously to have cherished and carefully strengthened them.” This, however, is inconsistent with the whole tenor of his conduct from the age of seventeen, when he commenced that clandestine correspondence with Elizabeth and her minister, which he continued to the end of his life, and by which he at last reduced Scotland in reality, though not in name, to the state of a fief of England, then a foreign and almost hostile power. He was impelled to this conduct unquestionably by his own ambition—excited perhaps, and certainly cherished, by his mother, who persisted in calling herself the wife of James V. and her son, of course, the legitimate heir of the monarchy. That Murray had his eye on the crown so early as the year 1559, and that he expected to obtain it through his influence among the protestants in Scotland, supported by the power of Elizabeth, is proved by a letter from Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, the English ambassador, at that time in France, and even by the testimony of Elizabeth herself, in a paper still remaining in the Cottonian Library\*. If this

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place of his usual residence. It should have been denominated a house, not *the* house of the Archbishop; for he never occupied it, but when the court was kept at Linlithgow, nor always even then.

\* See the documents produced in *Tytler's Inquiry*, &c.

be admitted, the whole of Murray's conduct, his attempt to prevent the marriage of the queen, his proposal at the same time to have the crown entailed on himself and the house of Stuart, his flying into open rebellion when his views were blasted, his being in close concert with those who assassinated Rizzio in the presence of his sister and sovereign when in a state of pregnancy far advanced, his listening without resentment or even *emotion* to the horrid proposal made by Lethington to the queen at the castle of Creigmiller; his tergiversations when the famous *letters* were produced in different forms on different occasions; and indeed every subsequent action of his public life, may be easily accounted for; but on any other supposition his conduct is wholly unaccountable. That Scotland was indebted to him for valuable civil and religious blessings, may be true; but we cannot bring ourselves to believe, with our author, that the desire of conjoining with a pure faith the inestimable advantages of a steady, yet merciful government, was the motive of his conduct, which appears to us to have sprung from inordinate ambition, and to have been uniformly directed by the most unprincipled policy.

In this opinion we are supported by the testimony of Dr. Stuart, in his *History of the Reformation*. "The love of liberty," he observes, "was not in him (Murray) the effect of patriotism, but of pride: his zeal for religion was a political virtue; and under the appearance of openness and sincerity, he could conceal more securely his purposes. Power was the idol which he worshipped; and he was ready to acquire it by means the most criminal. He was bold, firm, and penetrating. His various mind fitted him alike for intrigue and for war. He was destined to flourish in the midst of difficulties. His sagacity enabled him to foresee dangers, his prudence to prepare for them, and his fortitude to surmount them. To his talents, his genius, and his resources, Scotland is indebted for the Reformation. But by this memorable achievement he meant nothing more than to advance himself in the road to greatness. To this point all his actions were directed. It gave the limits to his generosity which has been extolled as unbounded. His praise, his caresses, and his services, his dissimulation, his perfidiousness, and his enmities, were all sacrifices to ambition. And miscarriage, which has ravaged so many laurels from great men, did not tarnish his glory."—Even Dr. Robertson himself, no friend to the unfortunate queen and her adherents, draws a picture of Murray not more favourable than this by his great rival and opponent.

Under the regency of Lennox, who succeeded the Earl of Murray, the reformed clergy had still to struggle with poverty  
and



and a suspicion, not ill founded, on the part of the nobles, that they would employ the first acquisition of power to possess themselves of the ecclesiastical revenues. The friends of Mary, taking advantage of the turn of affairs which followed the death of the late Regent, became more active in promoting her interest; and the ministers, of course, exerted themselves with greater virulence in attacking her character, and in rousing popular animosity. The archbishop of St. Andrews, who had taken an active part in attempting the restoration of the queen, was brought to the scaffold, where he suffered the punishment allotted to the lowest and most depraved criminal, without having had an opportunity of legally establishing his innocence. This act of injustice and cruelty roused for a moment the adherents of her majesty; they entered the metropolis from which Knox was compelled to flee; and, seizing the castle, constituted themselves into an assembly of the estates of the kingdom. The ministers attempted negotiation, and the Queen of England interfered, with the view of adjusting matters between the contending parties. The factions however could not be reconciled, and the Regent with his adherents retired to Stirling; in which town they were all surprised in a night attack, concerted by the governor of Edinburgh Castle, when Lennox, by some means not well explained, was mortally wounded, and almost instantly died. The situation of Scotland at this time was indeed most deplorable. Torn by party spirit, which existed in its most shocking malignity, there was no confidence and no security. Even in domestic society, the nearest relations dared not to disclose to one another their most secret thoughts; the father and the son were opposed to each other; and a great part of the community were groaning under the evils which, in a nation torn by civil dissensions, blast prosperity and entail upon all the most lamentable wretchedness.

The Earl of Lennox was succeeded in the regency by the Earl of Marr. The ministers renewed their petitions for a share of the Church property, which they saw rapaciously seized by the Protestant lords; but still without success. They remonstrated very freely with the regent, and told him that anxious as they were to adhere to the king, they could not in conscience unite with the professed enemies of the Gospel; by which appellation they did not mean those who violently prevented its being preached, but such as directly and indirectly undermined the influence of its ministers. Nor did Knox neglect to stir up his brethren in this good work. On the brink of the grave he wrote to them to "gainsay with uprightness and strength in God, the merciless devourers of the patrimony of the Church," and he concludes by praying that the Lord would give them "wisdom  
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and stout courage in so just a cause," and himself a happy end. These claims, however equitable, were all disregarded, and an act of parliament was passed to legalize the acquisition of Church property, which had been forcibly made by the reforming nobles during the period of distraction which followed the demise of the fifth James. Their quiet behaviour under the insult and neglect which were now pointed against them, is almost the only instance of Christian and patriotic conduct which the ministers ever displayed in the prosecution of their views. There seemed, however, but one way to get possession of the Church revenues,—the restoration of episcopacy—and to this change matters were now fast hastening.

The regent, who seriously favoured the pretensions of the ministers, although he had been unable to gratify their wishes, and who was, at the same time, desirous to maintain the clerical estate in parliament, in order to prevent the possibility of challenging, at a future period, the validity of his public acts as the representative of a minor, prevailed upon the Scottish Church to revise its form of government, and to restore the order of bishops. To this measure a ready concurrence was given by those nobles who had enriched themselves by plundering the Church; imagining, not without reason, that men would be found to accept of the sees with only a portion of the original patrimony, and who would consent to convey, by formal statute, the remainder to the lay impropiator, by whom it had been seized. The ministers urged at once by a hopeless poverty, and by the idea that they had departed too far from the primitive constitution of the Church, readily yielded to the propriety of taking into consideration how far they could conscientiously meet the views of the regent and nobility, and accordingly agreed to name commissioners or representatives with full powers. In pursuance of this plan the convention met at Leith, 12th January 1572, and consisted of several noblemen, statesmen, superintendents, barons, commissioners of provinces, and ministers; and after several meetings and long deliberation the following regulations were approved.

"It is thought good, in consideration of the present state, 1st, That the names and titles of the archbishops and bishops be not altered, or the bounds of the dioceses confounded, but that they continue in time as they did before the reformation of religion, at least till the king's majesty's majority, or consent of parliament. 2d, That the archbishoprics and bishoprics vacant should be conferred on men endowed, as far as may be, with the qualities specified in the examples of Paul to Timothy and Titus. 3d, That to all archbishoprics and bishoprics that should become vacant, qualified persons should be presented within

within a year and a day after the vacancy took place, and those nominated to be thirty years of age at the least. 4th, That the spiritual jurisdiction should be exercised by the bishops in their dioceses. 5th, That abbots, priors, and inferior prelates, presented to benefices should be tried as to their qualification and their aptness to give voice in parliament, by the bishop or superintendent of the bounds, and upon their collation should be admitted to the benefice, but not otherwise. 6th, That the election of persons presented to bishoprics should be made by the chapters of the cathedral churches; and because the chapters of divers churches were possessed by men before his majesty's coronation, who bore no office in the Church, that a particular nomination of ministers should be made in every diocese, to supply their rooms until the benefices should fall void. 7th, That all benefices with cure, under prelaties, should be conferred on actual ministers, and on no others. 8th, That ministers should receive ordination from the bishop of the diocese, and, where no bishop was as yet placed, from the superintendent of the bounds. 9th, That the bishops and superintendents, at the ordination of ministers, should exact of them an oath for acknowledging his majesty's authority, and for obedience to their ordinary in all things."

A number of less important regulations were agreed upon with the view of defining the powers of the several orders of prelates; and it was expressly stated that the spiritual functions of the archbishops and bishops were not to exceed those formerly exercised by the superintendents; that they were to be subject to the Church; and that they were to consult some of the most learned of the chapter, not fewer than six, with regard to the admission of such as were to have function in the Church. This arrangement gave satisfaction even to Knox, who exhorted the clergy to petition the regent to have all vacant bishoprics filled with qualified persons within a year and a day after the vacancy may have taken place, according, he adds, "to the order taken at Leith." We may remark, however, in the words of our author, that the zealous Presbyterians of after times looked back with regret to this part of the ecclesiastical history of their country; and endeavoured very unnecessarily, and in express opposition to the language and proceedings of the Church, to represent the resolutions framed at Leith, as having been rashly made, as having been forced upon the ministers, and as having never received the explicit sanction of the General Assembly,—an effect of party zeal not uncommon, but which weakens the cause it was designed to support.

This year (1572) in the month of October died, while he was labouring to compose the animosities of his countrymen,  
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the third regent who had governed the kingdom in the name of James, and in despite of Mary; and on the 24th of November expired John Knox, by far the most distinguished and intrepid of the Scottish reformers. We will not enter upon his character farther than to say, that as a religionist he was firm but intolerant, as a subject he too often measured his obedience by his own notions of expediency, and on some occasions he shuddered not at open rebellion; but as a private individual there is every reason to believe that he was affectionate, dutiful, and pious. Like the men of his age, he was ferocious and unbending in his manners; but there are no proofs that he was covetous, ambitious, or deceitful.

The regency of the Earl of Morton now commenced, which for a time shed comfort and security on the people and on the Church; his avarice, however, becoming the guide of his public measures, alienated from him not only the affections of his majesty's subjects at large, but also the confidence and support of the clergy, whose interests he had originally affected to promote. In this moment of dissatisfaction the celebrated Andrew Melvil arrived in Scotland, to whose exertions and machinations is to be ascribed, in a great degree, the establishment of Presbytery as the form of Church-government in that kingdom. Almost immediately upon his arrival he instigated a minister, called Duric, to start some doubts in the Assembly as to the lawfulness of episcopacy in the abstract, when he, as if he had been ignorant that such a subject was to be discussed, urged the necessity of farther enquiry into the merits of the question; and in this first attempt he succeeded so well as to have a committee appointed to weigh the arguments on both sides, and to report to the House. No decisive step was taken in consequence of this report; but the tendency of it was to limit considerably the power of the bishops and superintendents, to bring them nearer to an equality with their brethren, and to render the concurrence or advice of the inferior clergy essential to the legality of their public deeds. During the few years that intervened between this event and the resignation of Morton, the Presbyterians continued to make encroachments on the Church-polity, which had been ratified by the agreement at Leith; and when James assumed the government in person, about the beginning of 1578, he found the question of an ecclesiastical establishment as hotly agitated as it had been at any former period.

The great object of Melvil and his party, in the Assemblies which were permitted by James, at the suggestion of his divided council, was to procure the revival of the book of discipline, originally drawn up by Knox, with such alterations as the circumstances of the Church seemed to require. The system of po-  
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lity thus prepared was submitted to his majesty, and a fast was ordained to be observed for a week "on account of the corruptions which prevailed among all classes of men—the bloody conclusions of that Roman beast, tending to the extermination of true religion,—and that God would put it into the heart of the king's highness and his government to establish such a polity and discipline in the Church as is craved in the word of God, and is conceived and penned already, to be presented to his highness and council." Their zeal, however, could not be restrained so as to await the tedious progress of legislative enactments; for in utter defiance of an existing law, and with a total disregard to the intentions of the civil power, the ministers took upon them to forbid all chapters to proceed in the election of bishops for a limited period, and, soon after, they extended this act to all time coming; while the bishops who were already recognized were ordered, under pain of excommunication, to submit themselves entirely to the General Assembly. They abolished the title of bishop in their records, and then summoned the Archbishop of Glasgow, whom they styled the commissioner of Kyle and Carrick, to appear before the Assembly and to suffer the corruptions of the episcopal character to be reformed in his person. This marked and insulting degradation roused his spirit, and he declined submission to their arbitrary and illegal jurisdiction in the following judicious and temperate speech: "I understand the name, office, and reverence given to a bishop to be lawful and allowable, and being elected by the Church and king to be Bishop of Glasgow, I esteem my office and calling lawful, and shall endeavour, with all my power, to perform the duties required, submitting myself to the judgment of the Church, if I shall be found to offend against what the Apostle has prescribed. As to the rent, living, and privileges granted to me and my successors, I think I may lawfully and with a good conscience enjoy the same, and for assisting the king with my best service in council and parliament, as my subjection ties me thereto; so I esteem it no hurt but a benefit to the Church that some of our number should be always present at the making of laws and statutes, wherein for myself, I neither intend nor by the grace of God shall ever do any thing but that which I believe may stand with the purity of the word of God and the good of the church and country."

Melvil being named in a commission which was appointed to receive the answers of the two archbishops relative to their submission, ceased not to importune the venerable prelate above-mentioned, threatening, if he did not comply, to inflict the severest censures of the Church. "In one of those moments of weakness," says Dr. Cook, "produced by the operation of a mortal disease,

disease, the archbishop affixed his signature. The recollection of this disturbed the serenity of his mind, but the representations of one of his clergy at length soothed his anguish, and with tranquillity he met dissolution. The ingratitude of Melvil powerfully affected him. He had been his friend and his patron; he had placed him in the University of Glasgow, and bestowed on him many favours; but although Melvil treated him in private with the utmost reverence, he in public reviled him; and he invaded his retirement when a feeling mind would have regarded that retirement as sacred."

Knox has no stain on his character similar to this, which blots the memory of Andrew Melvil. The former was violent, but he was honest; the latter joined to the desolating ferocity of his nature, an insidious and crafty disposition, a total want of feeling, and the blackest ingratitude. He even anticipated in plans of destruction the profligate and rebellious mob that seconded so many of his projects; for when he had suggested the demolition of the magnificent cathedral of Glasgow, and even obtained the consent of the magistrates to employ workmen for that purpose, the inhabitants ran to arms, and swore that whoever pulled down a stone should be buried under it. There were in Knox many qualities which every man will respect, in Melvil scarcely any thing that every man would not condemn.

The proceedings of the General Assembly were so directly opposed to all law and civil authority that the attention of government was forcibly drawn to them. At their next meeting, accordingly, a letter was addressed to this body by the king, requesting that a stop might be put to their innovations, and that they would maintain for some time the ecclesiastical establishment which still enjoyed the protection of the state. His majesty earnestly entreated that, during his minority, and at a period of so much difficulty, the Assembly would direct its efforts to preserve peace in the fear of the Lord, and that they would yield due subjection to the crown. This recommendation, at once so equitable and expedient, was very little attended to; and the neglect of it manifested by the ministers in their public proceedings, failed not to alienate the mind of the king from the Presbyterian cause. Amidst all this turbulence and defiance of law, however, the Assembly directed their attention to propagate religious knowledge, and to improve the morals of the people. A new translation of the bible, begun some time before, was now completed, and an ordinance was issued for the sanctifying of the Sabbath, and for the discontinuing, on that day, of all marketing and amusements.

At a meeting of the Assembly, in 1680, the ministers proceeded a step further than they had at any time advanced, sub-  
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sequent to the agreement at Leith, which has been repeatedly mentioned. They passed, says our author, the singular and decisive act which is now to be recorded. "Forasmuch as the office of a bishop, as it is now used and is commonly taken within this realm, has no sure warrant, authority, or good ground out of the Scriptures of God, but is brought in by the folly and corruption of man's invention, to the great overthrow of the Church of God, the whole Assembly of the Church, in one voice, after liberty given to all men to reason on this matter, none defending this pretended office, finds and declares the same pretended office used and termed as above-said, unlawful in itself, as having neither foundation, ground, nor warrant within the word of God; and ordains that all such persons as hold, or shall hold hereafter, the said office, shall be charged *simpliciter* to demit the same, as an office whereunto they are not called by God, and to desist and cease from all preaching, administration of the sacraments, or using any way the office of pastors, until they shall receive admission anew from the General Assembly, under the pain of excommunication, to be used against them if they be found disobedient, or contravene this act in any point." In pursuance of this measure they appointed certain days wherein the usurped bishops, as they chose to denominate those prelates who were the legal governors of the Church, should appear and give obedience to the said act of Assembly; thus taking, as Dr. Cook justly observes, the authority of the state into their own hands, setting parliament at defiance, and in fact dictating to the sovereign the line of conduct which he must follow. The archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, however, either from sharing the apprehensions which at this time prevailed relative to the introduction of popery, or from not conceiving it expedient to resist so powerful a body, entered into a negotiation with the Presbyterians, and made concessions so nearly approaching to the views of the ministers, that the other bishops were enjoined by the next Assembly to imitate the example of the primates.

In the following year an event occurred which clearly pointed out to his majesty how far the bold spirit of the Presbyterians would carry them in opposition to his wishes and to the law of the land. Montgomery, one of the ministers of Stirling, was raised to the see of Glasgow; but the Assembly affecting to be suspicious that the temporalities of the Church were sacrificed to the avarice of Lennox, now in favour with the king, would not permit the prelate elect either to leave his charge at Stirling, or to be consecrated archbishop. Montgomery was summoned to appear before the Synod of Lothian, to hear the sentence of suspension pronounced against him; and when the king pro-

bibited the Synod from interfering, and commanded the members to present themselves before his council, they solemnly protested that although they had appeared to testify their obedience to his majesty, they did not acknowledge him or his council as judges in a matter purely ecclesiastical. They boldly declared that they would excommunicate Montgomery; and when James said he would not permit them, they replied in the true style of enthusiasm and popish arrogance—we must obey God rather than men—one of them praying in the royal presence that the king might be delivered from the evil company with whom he was surrounded. The case was accordingly referred by the clergy to a General Assembly, and notwithstanding letters from the sovereign commanding them, under the pain of being held guilty of rebellion, not to proceed, they ordained that Montgomery should be deposed and excommunicated!

The Presbyterians acquired no small accession to their strength from the successful plot, concerted by some of the nobles, to seize and detain the person of the king. The danger of the Church was one of the ostensible motives upon which the insurgent lords vindicated their conduct, and while they were supported by the ministers they lent to them in return all the weight of their influence. Under the pretence of reforming the court, the same men who, on the occasion now alluded to, had treated their king as a prisoner and as a child, afterwards thrust themselves into his council; and in marked opposition to his views on the subject of Church-government, they encouraged Melvil in his audacity, and furthered, by all the means in their power, the cause of the popular leaders. The triumph which the ministers gained, on this memorable event, led them to a display of their influence upon popular feeling, very little calculated to secure the affections of the sovereign, or to conciliate his agitated mind to their insulting policy. When La Motte, one of the ambassadors whom the French king had sent to remonstrate against the dstraint of James's person, was about to return to his native country, the magistrates of Edinburgh were ordered, by royal authority, to invite him to a public entertainment. The ministers condemned the injunction, and admonished the magistrates not to obey it. Finding, however, that the entertainment was to take place, they appointed the day which had been fixed for it, as a day of humiliation, called the people to attend divine worship, and in their sermons insisted on the sinfulness of banquetting the ambassador. Banquetting, said one of them, is a sign of love; if therefore they be sincere, they seal up by this feast their fellowship and true love with the murderers of God's people (alluding to the mas-

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considerably the Presbyterian interest in Scotland. Love for his country suggested to the king the propriety of yielding, for a time, to the prejudices of the popular party, and as the polity recommended by the ministers seemed to be farther removed than even the modified episcopacy which then subsisted, from the practices of the Romish church, presbyterianism was regarded by the people as the surest defence against the return of papal tyranny and superstition. To this cause must be added the favourable impression made on the mind of his Majesty, by the loyal conduct of the preachers during his absence in Denmark, whither he had sailed to receive his youthful Queen. At all events he appears to have forgotten much of their harsh and insolent behaviour, or to have resolved to cajole them with hypocritical professions; for, in the Assembly of 1590, he made a speech expressive of his gratitude, which he concluded in the following words. "I praise God that I was born in such a time as in the time of the light of the Gospel—to such a place as to be king of such a kirk, the sincerest kirk of the world. The kirk of Geneva keep Pasch and Yule : What have they for them? They have no institution. As for our neighbour kirk in England, their service is an evil said mass in English,—they want nothing of the mass but the liftings. I charge you, my good people, ministers, doctors, elders, nobles, gentlemen and barons, to stand to your purity, and to exhort the people to do the same; and I, forsooth, so long as I brook my life and crown, shall maintain the same against all deadly." The ministers did not fail to profit by this new light which had dawned in the royal understanding; they ceased not, from time to time, to petition him with respect both to the patrimony of the Church and to the form of ecclesiastical government. In relation to the former, the king had now very little in his power, for the nobility, some years prior to this date, had obtained an act of parliament to legalize the fruits of their rapacity; but, as to the latter, he had much to grant, and all he could grant was bestowed;—it went the full length of substituting, by a formal statute, the presbyterian for the episcopal polity, in the National Church. This took place in the month of June, 1592, and it forms a remarkable epoch in the history of the kirk of Scotland. James lived deeply to repent his facility, as he afterwards termed it; but it must be admitted in his behalf, that the current of popular feeling had turned itself very powerfully against the order of bishops, as well from the remembrance of what they had seen, in the superstitious and immoral hierarchy of the ancient establishment, as from the danger, which they had continually before their eyes, that popish emissaries might again pervert the nation, and engraft upon a system of worship and discipline, in some points resembling their own,

all the mummerly and folly which the reformation had exploded. The nobles, too, at this date, would be led by their avarice to oppose the restoration of the episcopal order; for had archbishops and bishops been replaced in their sees, it would have become requisite to strip the lay impropiators of their ill-gotten booty, with the view of maintaining the superior clergy in the rank and style which became them.—We cannot enter into the reflections of our author on this important event, which are, in the spirit of all his remarks, just, impartial, and instructive. Perhaps his moderation, when speaking of Andrew Melvil, does not carry our concurrence along with it—but Dr. Cook is never swift to condemn; and, we believe, the more one reads history and studies human nature, the more disposed will one become to judge mercifully and to abstain from vehement upbraidings. We are therefore, we trust, as much inclined, generally speaking, as our author is, to make every allowance for the frailties inseparable from men; and, in the case before us, for the particular circumstances in which the leading characters were called into action. The reformation in Scotland having originated in jealousy of the crown, and being carried on through almost all its stages, in direct opposition to the wishes of the sovereign, it must necessarily follow that, in perusing the annals in which its progress is recorded, we shall have much difficulty in drawing the line between patriotism and rebellion—between what is due to the civil authorities and to an enlightened sense of public advantage. Nor are we inclined to deny that there was much sincerity displayed by several of the reformers, even when they were prosecuting their measures upon the most intolerant maxims. We only insist upon calling things by their own names, and, accordingly, to depict the men of the sixteenth century as being completely ignorant of the true principles of toleration, as rude and ferocious, and as never possessing power which they did not attempt to employ for the purpose of persecution. To this we will add, notwithstanding the eulogies which are now so lavishly poured forth on the worthies of those times, that some of the figuring men in the Scottish reformation were selfish and unprincipled, urged on by powerful antipathies, and, on various momentous occasions, much more attentive to the end than to the means which they employed to accomplish it. Besides, they appear to have derived an unnatural kind of pleasure from opposing the government even when opposition was unnecessary, and even when the purpose which they affected to have in view was, in their own estimation, not worth contending for. Nothing could illustrate more strikingly this view of their character than the fact which we are about to mention.

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The Act of 1592 is regarded, by all the historians of the Scottish Church, as having established, on a legal foundation, the presbyterian polity; and yet we find the General Assembly, in the following year, adopting, of their own accord, the leading principle of episcopacy, and actually proceeding to legislate upon it. While contending for that parity upon which their ecclesiastical government properly rests, the ministers had abolished the office of commissioner, the duties of which corresponded very nearly to those of a bishop, and were indeed usually discharged by men of the prelatical orders: but no sooner had they obtained a parliamentary sanction for their favourite measure, than they abandoned its fundamental, characteristic doctrine, and, with singular inconsistency, re-appointed commissioners "to visit and try the doctrine, life, conversation, diligence, and fidelity of the pastors in the presbyteries, and also to ascertain whether there be any of the beneficed ministers within the same not residing, who have no just cause of non-residence, &c."

Indeed it is very manifest that the great body of clergy, of that period, had no decided preference for presbyterianism, and that they ultimately allowed themselves to be carried to the extreme distance, at which the Church of Scotland now stands, from the primitive order of ecclesiastical polity, by their dread of popery, and by their opposition to the civil government.—The commotions excited by Huntly and the other popish lords, the intrigues of the Spanish court, and the suspicion that James was secretly attached to the persons of the rebellious nobles, roused the ministers to a high degree of indignation, and led the fiery spirits, who seconded their views, to the adoption of such councils as completely counteracted all his Majesty's plans relative to the Church, and even shook for a moment the stability of his throne. Upon discovering in the king an inclination, as they thought, to pardon the popish lords, the Assembly appointed a number of ministers to wait constantly upon the court, and to watch the measures of government; and when he was induced to recal these nobles from their temporary exile, commissioners were sent from all parts of the kingdom to protect the interests of the Church; who, immediately assuming to themselves the appropriate title of Ecclesiastical Council, began to act with as much freedom and independence as if they had been constituted by warrant from the crown. In the exercise of this unconstitutional authority, they summoned before them Seaton, one of the king's advisers, and President of the Court of Session, to answer for his conduct in having favoured the recal of the Earl of Huntly; and, in the course of their deliberations on this question, they gave as their judgment, that the king could not, contrary to God's word, and the decision of the estates, shew the banished lords any favour.

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The ministers, meantime, continued, in their public addresses to the people on Sundays, to criticise the political conduct of the sovereign and his council; and one of them at St. Andrew's, after abusing the king, the queen, and the lords of council and session, concluded his intemperate oration by branding the English queen as an atheist, or a woman of no religion. The ambassador of Elizabeth complaining of this insult, the offender was called before the privy council; upon which, the brethren at Edinburgh, in order to maintain what they call the preaching of the gospel, urged him to decline, by a formal deed, the jurisdiction of both the king and council. The declinature, as it was termed, was accordingly composed, and sent to the various presbyteries that the subscription of the whole Church might be obtained, the letter which accompanied it bearing this motto prefixed: "If we suffer with him we shall also reign with him." The king issued a proclamation, commanding the Ecclesiastical Council to break up and leave Edinburgh; but the ministers resolved "to obey God rather than men." A tumult at length ensued, when the cry raised by their adherents was, the "Sword of the Lord and Gideon;" and James found, from the most painful experience, that the "sincerest kirk in the world" would most willingly have hurled him from his throne, and persecuted the papists in their own way. Indeed it has been recorded, that "John Welsh, the son-in-law of Knox, a man who was revered as a prophet, who was considered as admitted to the most intimate communion with God, and who has ever been gravely held forth by some of his biographers as a worker of miracles, declared in his sermon that the king was possessed with a devil; that one devil having been put out, seven had entered in its place, and that the subjects might lawfully rise and take the sword out of his hand\*." It hardly requires to be mentioned, that such conduct, and the avowal of such sentiments, could not fail to be disagreeable to many of the more temperate ministers; yet the mere fact, that four hundred of their names were attached to the deed, by which was denied the power of the King and Council to check sedition and personal insult on the part of the preachers, goes a great

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\* Welsh spent eight hours of every day in prayer, or, as he expressed it, in wrestling with God, an exercise to him attended with vast bodily exertion; he uttered more predictions than any of the ancient prophets; and the particulars of his recovering a young man, apparently dead, are recorded, as if life was really restored in consequence of his intercession. It is difficult from the whole narration, highly laudatory as it is, not to draw the conclusion, that, with this good man, enthusiasm had already reached the point of insanity to which it so naturally tends. *Note by Dr. Cook.*

way to prove that their pretensions were of the most dangerous nature.

These violent measures, resorted to by the fanatical party, however, contributed not a little to weaken their own cause, while it materially strengthened that of the Court. Several of the more reasonable ministers joined the king, and a deputation of the citizens of Edinburgh was sent to make all the submission his majesty should require, and to exculpate the magistrates from all participation in the late tumult. James was thus enabled to gain two most important points. The ministers were made to subscribe a bond recognizing the authority of the king to punish in all cases of sedition and treason; and magistrates, barons, and every description of persons vested with power, were commanded to interrupt preachers uttering in the pulpit false and treasonable speeches.

Profiting by the influence thus obtained, James summoned an assembly to meet at Perth; and proposed to their consideration a few articles which he deemed necessary for the preservation of public harmony. We cannot specify the particular regulations which were sanctioned on this occasion: it may be remarked, however, that they secured to the king a considerable ascendancy in ecclesiastical affairs, and seemed to open a prospect, not very remote, of restoring the order of bishops in the Church. To effectuate this favourite object, no plan could have been suggested more likely to succeed than that which was adopted by his majesty. This was to raise the Clergy to their former rank, as one of the three estates of the kingdom. In a parliament held at Edinburgh, in December, 1597, he accordingly brought the subject under discussion; and an act was passed, ordaining that such pastors and ministers as his majesty should at any time please to invest with the office, place and dignity of a bishop, abbot or other prelate, should, at all time hereafter, have vote in parliament, in the same way as any prelate was accustomed to have, declaring that all bishoprics presently vacant, or which afterwards might become vacant, should be given by his majesty to actual preachers and ministers, or to persons qualified to become such, and who should pledge themselves that they would enter upon the ministry. Nor was this all, for at a meeting of Assembly in the spring of 1598, it was, after considerable altercation, decided by a majority, that "it is necessary and expedient for the good of the Church that the Ministry, as the third estate in this realm, in the name of Christ, have vote in parliament." A number of minor regulations were subsequently drawn up by the Clergy respecting the mode of electing their representatives, their title, and the duration of their appointment. It was resolved that the title of commissioner should be continued; but when

parliament met, the king invested the clerical members with the title of bishops, and they took their seats accordingly.

This great point was not carried without exciting considerable opposition on the part of the more rigid presbyterians; who never ceased to exclaim, that the matter would terminate in what they were pleased to call "Antichristian and Anglical episcopal dignities, offices and titles, flatly repugnant to the word of God." Indeed Dr. Cook is at some pains to shew that even the majority who sanctioned the measure in question preserved, notwithstanding, the fundamental maxims of that presbyterian polity to which they had ever been warmly attached; and that, although they consented that such pastors and ministers as his majesty should at any time be pleased to invest with the office, place, and dignity, of a bishop, abbot or other prelate, should represent their church in parliament, they, at the same time, shewed the utmost aversion to admit any essential distinction amongst ministers. If this be a correct view of their sentiments, it must be admitted that they acted with much inconsistency and very little sincerity; for when the assembly at Dundee, in March, 1598, gave their sanction to what, as Dr. Cook himself expresses it, would, not long before, have been considered as in direct opposition to the fundamental principles of presbyterian discipline, a motion made by one of the members for protesting against its decisions was unanimously rejected. The Doctor is seldom so unsuccessful in argument.

James was, no doubt, considerably aided in his public undertakings by the influence attached to his character as heir apparent of the English throne; for it has been remarked, that his friends in Scotland increased in number as the prospect of his succession became more certain. The flame of disaffection, however, among the determined presbyterians, was not extinguished. It was tolerably well suppressed indeed three or four years, with the exception of such sparks as occasionally broke forth in letters and votes from the friends of Melvil. One of them, in an epistle to the assembly, says, "Is it time for us of the ministry to be inveigled and blindfolded with pretence of preferment of a small number of our brethren, and that not to stand so much in the ordinance and election of the church as at the pleasure of the court; to have vote in parliament, to ride with fool mantles, to have the titles of prelacy, and so ourselves to prepare for that hierarchy which the papists intend with speed to enjoy."

Such was the state of ecclesiastical affairs in Scotland when James ascended the throne of England. Before he left Edinburgh, he delivered a speech in the High Church, making to his countrymen the strongest professions of his tender regard for  
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their happiness, and solemnly assuring them that he would not change the ecclesiastical polity to which he had given his sanction. He entered London on the 7th of May, 1603, and was received with the most gratifying testimonies of respect and attachment; and, in the following July, he and his queen were crowned with much solemnity by the Archbishop of Canterbury. —From this date the history of the Church of Scotland is in some measure connected with that of England; and the facts detailed by our author throw considerable light on the sentiments and occurrences which fill up the annals of those bad times, in which our Constitution, ecclesiastical and civil, was thrown down to the ground.

*ART. V. An Account of the most important recent Discoveries and Improvements in Chemistry and Mineralogy to the present Time; being an Appendix to their Dictionary of Chemistry and Mineralogy. By A. and C. R. Aikin. Arch. 1814.*

*Chemical Essays, principally relating to the Arts and Manufactures of the British Dominions. By Samuel Parkes, F. L. S. &c. Baldwin and Co.*

WE are sensible that we are greatly in arrears in respect of Chemical Science; and yet, so rapid and overturning has been the progress of discovery in these latter times, and so completely unsettled is the state of opinion among experimenters in relation both to fact and principle, that we have, even now, rather to exhibit a sketch of the new views which have been opened up, than to record any very decisive results, or to announce the triumph of any particular theory.

We begin with the consideration of the very important doctrines which respect affinity; by which term, we mean, both the power which carries bodies to enter into chemical combination, and also the law that regulates the operations of this power, particularly with regard to the proportions in which the particles of matter combine chemically.

Of the power by which bodies enter into chemical combination, nothing till very lately was supposed to be known. It was regarded as a primary and inexplicable fact in the economy of nature; in the same light as we continue to view that all-powerful energy to which Newton gave the name of universal attraction. In consequence, however, of the great improvement introduced by Sir Humphry Davy in the use of the galvanic apparatus

peratus, and of the astonishing power with which that instrument supplies the operator in the processes of decomposition; it has been fondly imagined that one step at least is gained. By the most skilful and fortunate experiments it has been discovered, that the chemical affinity of bodies is closely connected with their electrical states; or, in other words, that electricity is the agent employed by nature, in producing that species of action which results in chemical combination. If two bodies, the one positive and the other negative, be applied to each other, in circumstances not incompatible with the exertion of their respective properties, they will be found to combine chemically, and to exhibit qualities peculiar to substances in the neutral state. If, again, the two bodies be brought into the same electrical condition; that is, if both be rendered negative or both positive; they will not enter into chemical union; or if already combined, they will instantly separate from each other. To generalize the principle, it may be stated, that bodies, which have a chemical affinity for one another, are in an opposite electrical state, and, moreover, that the intensity of their affinity is in proportion to the degree in which their electrical states are different:—the more negative the one, in short, and the more positive the other, the greater their tendency to unite, and the greater the strength of their union. Oxygen and acids stand on one side, and hydrogen, earths, alkalis, and metals, on the other; the former being in the relation of negative, and, of consequence, exercising an affinity for the latter which are charged positively.

As a matter of science, the doctrine now stated may be regarded as very trivial, and as amounting perhaps to nothing more than the substitution of one term for another. It is, however, to this ingenious view of chemical attraction, that Sir H. Davy owes the splendid discoveries which he made relative to the metallic nature of the fixed alkalis and earths, and which have procured to him an immortal reputation. He justly conceived, that if the power by which bodies are maintained in chemical combination be electricity, it might be possible by applying a very intense electrical energy, to overcome the affinity which subsists between any two substances; and this energy he could increase by means of galvanism almost to any extent. The result proved the shrewdness and accuracy of this reasoning. He found potash and soda to be oxides of peculiar metals; and in like manner, in the prosecution of his researches, he decomposed the most refractory earths into oxygen and a metallic base. So far, then, the hypothesis seems to derive support, from facts brought to light by the application of its own principles; and the reasonings of several distinguished philosophers add no inconsiderable



considerable weight to the conclusions which have been thus legitimately formed.

But of all the supporters of Sir Humphry's doctrine, Berzelius is, perhaps, the most active and decided. According to this distinguished chemist, not only the affinity of bodies, but also their *acid* or *alkaline* nature depends upon the state of their electricity. If it be permanently negative, it is *acid*; if permanently positive, it is *alkaline*. Here, however, difficulties start up; and when he adds, that the same body may be positive with regard to one, and negative with regard to another body, he certainly does the utmost violence to the commonly received notions on electricity.

M. Oersted of Berlin, published some time ago, a work which he entitled, "Considerations on the Physical laws of Chemistry deduced from the new Phenomena." Like Davy and Berzelius he has adopted the electrical theory of affinity; but instead of imitating the cautious reserve of these philosophers, he has stretched their principles as far as they would go, and endeavoured to make his electrical hypothesis complete in all its parts. We give an abridged view of his leading doctrines, agreeably to the conception formed of them by Dr. Thomson in his *Annals of Philosophy*; not having had access to the work itself, and being rather unwilling to waste time in reading it.

Oersted considers the phenomena of electricity, galvanism, magnetism, light, heat, and chemical affinity, as all depending on the same forces; and he attempts to show, that the same cause which, in one case, produces electrical action, produces chemical action in another. These actions are produced by two forces; the one negative, the other positive: which forces, again, are opposite to each other, and by being made to act against each other, may mutually suspend or destroy one another. Heat is produced by the extinction of the two forces either in electrical or chemical processes; and we are given to understand that light is derived from the same cause.

Acids, he further teaches, which are attracted to the same pole as oxygen, possess the same force with that principle; while alkalies and combustible bodies which are attracted to the opposite pole, possess the opposite force. It should be mentioned too, that he arranges chemical substances under two series; the first, containing the products of combustion, the second, supporters of combustion and combustibles. He endeavours to distribute the bodies in these series, in a kind of arithmetical progression, beginning with the most combustible bodies; as hydrogen, ammonia, potassium, and going on to the least combustible, as platinum, rhodium, iridium, and arriving at last at  
a body

a body completely incombustible, which body, in the present state of our knowledge, is oxygen.

The products of combustion constitute a similar series, commencing at the most energetic alkalies, and passing to those which are more feeble, till we come to such bodies as have the alkaline property balanced by a countervailing acidity. Thus, each series is found to begin with a certain amount of its peculiar property, which diminishes in arithmetical progression, and terminates by leaving the bodies possessed of the opposite property.

Combustion sometimes gives us alkaline products, sometimes acid, and sometimes neutral ones. The alkaline product, by combining with oxygen, loses, either in part or entirely, its free positive force, and passes to the order of bodies of the second state. The same thing happens to the negative force of the oxygen.

M. Oersted ascribes the phenomenon of heat to an union between the two opposite electric forces; and the effect is so much the greater, that is, the heat is so much more intense, the greater the obstacles are which the electricity encounters, provided these obstacles may be overcome.

According to the same author, there are certain principal combinations between the electrical forces which are the same as the chemical forces. The first is the combination of these forces themselves; of which the result is the contraction or reduction of their volume with the disengagement of light and heat. The second is the combination of a product with a supporter; resulting likewise in condensation with the evolution of light and heat. The third principal combination is that of an acid with an alkali; and this is always accompanied with the disengagement of heat, but rarely with that of light.

We have only to add, that Oersted regards the forces which produce electrical and chemical action, as being the same as those by which the mechanical properties of bodies are produced. Impenetrability, for example, depends on the resistance which the expansive power of two forces opposes to a body endeavouring to penetrate the space already occupied by another body. Cohesion is the effect of the two forces, which attract each other. Universal attraction consists in the reciprocal action, at a distance, of the two forces, supposing the expansive power of each force not to extend beyond the surface of bodies\*.

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\* See Thomson's Annals, for January, 1815.

It must have struck the reader, that the simplicity of Sir Humphry's views is completely lost sight of, in the chemical metaphysics which we have just detailed; and we seriously apprehend, that the zeal of this Prussian ally will prove more hurtful to the cause which he has chosen to espouse, than if he had summoned all the science and logic of his nation, to oppose it by argument. The doctrine, however, seems to gain ground which holds the identity of chemical affinity and electrical attraction; and illustrated as it has been by the brilliant discoveries of Davy, it cannot fail to secure the attention of every philosophical chemist.

What has been said relates to the *power* or *energy* which impels bodies to enter into chemical union: we have next to consider the new doctrines relative to the *proportions* in which substances combine chemically.

The opinions hitherto best known on this subject are those of Berthollet. This ingenious and profound writer maintains, that it is the tendency of chemical attraction to combine bodies without any limits as to proportion; and that such limits, where they do present themselves, arise not from the nature of the thing itself, but from those external circumstances by which the exertion of the power in question is always modified. These circumstances are cohesion, elasticity, fluidity and others. Independently of these Berthollet asserts that bodies would unite in proportions absolutely indefinite, and that chemical attraction, in all cases, operates in a ratio made up of the affinity and the relative quantity of matter in the masses brought into contact.

An opinion diametrically opposite to this has been maintained by the most distinguished of modern chemists, Davy, Berzelius, Wollaston, Thomson and Dalton, namely, that substances unite in proportions which are rendered definite by the sole operation of their mutual affinity, and that all compounds of the same bodies are equally defined, as to the number or weight of their constituent particles. These particles are denominated *atoms*, whence has been derived the title of the Atomic theory; and in relation to the leading doctrine on which it rests, it is also denominated the theory of *definite proportions*.

It has been long known that certain substances enter into chemical union, in determinate proportions which never vary. Thus the common mineral called carbonate of lime is uniformly found to consist of 43.2 carbonic acid, and 57.8 lime. Sulphuric acid is always composed of three parts of oxygen and two parts of sulphur: and carbonic acid, of 2000 oxygen and 751 carbon. Several attempts at generalization had been made by foreign chemists, but it was reserved for our countryman Mr. Dalton to explain these interesting facts by referring them to a determinate

determinate law. After a most extensive and laborious induction of particulars, Mr. D. arrived at the following conclusion, which may be regarded as the rule or principle for chemical combination. When two bodies combine in different proportions, if the quantity of one of them be assumed as a fixed number, the proportions of the other uniting to it, are in the simplest possible ratio to each other, being produced by multiplying the lowest proportion by a simple integral number, as 2, 3, 4, &c. We shall now quote a few illustrations of this rule from Dr. Aikin's supplement.

"If a metal can combine chemically with different proportions of oxygen, if 100 of the metal take 9 of oxygen for the lowest degree of oxygenation, all the other degrees will be in the proportion of 100 of metal to twice 9 (18) of oxygen, or 100 of metal to three times 9 (27) of oxygen, or 100 of metal to four times 9 (36) of oxygen, &c. &c. A reason for this simplicity in the ratio of binary compounds, may be found in the general principle assumed by Mr. Dalton, which is, that in all cases, the simple elements of bodies are disposed to unite atom to atom singly, or, if either is in excess, it exceeds by a ratio, to be expressed by some simple multiple of the number of its atoms.

"Hence, from the relative weights of the constituent parts of a compound, Mr. Dalton infers the relative weights of the ultimate particles or atoms of each of these parts; and, this being found, the number of atoms of each constituent which enters into the formation of the compound particle is also deduced.

"Thus (taking a compound of two constituent parts A and B, as the simplest case,) if its elements are found by experiment to unite in the proportion of 5 of A to 7 of B, it is inferred by Mr. Dalton, that the numbers 5 and 7 express the comparative weight of an atom of A and B respectively. And these elements, though uniting in several proportions, will yet be found by experiment to be confined to either 5 A to 14, 21, 28, &c. of B, which is one atom of A to 2, 3, 4, &c. atoms of B; or, conversely, it will be 7 B to 10, 15, 20, &c. of A, which is one atom of B, to 2, 3, 4, &c. atoms of A. It is essential to the consistency of this system, therefore, that there should be no other proportions of combination between these two elements, unless indeed it be one that is expressed by an even sub-division of one of these proportions, as, for example, 5 of A, to 7,  $10\frac{1}{2}$ , 14, &c. of B; in which case, the  $10\frac{1}{2}$  being resolvable into three portions of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  each, the number expressing the relative weight of an atom of B, must be reduced to  $3\frac{1}{2}$  instead of 7, and consequently the several proportions of 7,  $10\frac{1}{2}$ , 14, and 21 of B, will be resolved respectively, into 2, 3, 4, and 6 atoms of B."

When a compound consists of two elements in which one atom of each is combined, the double atom is called *binary*.  
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The epithet *ternary*, is given to an atom which is composed of two elements, in the proportion of two atoms of the one element to one atom of the other: and when an atom is composed of three atoms of one element with one atom of the other, it is denominated *quaternary*. We shall subjoin a few facts abridged from Aikin's appendix, for the sake of illustrating more fully the chemical union of substances in definite proportions.

" If one measure of pure oxygen, and two measures of hydrogen, be mixed in a jar over mercury, and ignited by the electric spark, both the gases will disappear, and water will be produced. If two measures of each gas be used, water will be produced as before, but one measure of oxygen will remain. Hydrogen, therefore, in the composition of water, unites with oxygen in one exact proportion and no other.

" If a piece of well-burnt charcoal be confined in oxygen gas, and inflamed by a burning-glass, the volume of gas is not altered when again cooled, but the whole is converted into carbonic-acid-gas. If more oxygen be present than is necessary for the consumption of the charcoal, the product will be carbonic-acid-gas and an excess of oxygen; if there is less oxygen than will consume the charcoal, carbonic acid alone will be produced, and part of the charcoal will remain unconsumed.

" The combination of two elements, in several definite proportions, is very happily shown by the various compounds of hydrogen and azote. These are nitrous oxyde, nitrous gas, and nitrous-acid-gas.

" If two measures of *nitrous oxyde* and two measures of hydrogen are ignited by the electric spark, the product is water, and two measures of azote remain. Now, as water is produced by two measures of hydrogen and one of oxygen, the nitrous oxyde here employed must have consisted of two measures of azote with one of oxygen, condensed into the space of one measure.

" If charcoal is ignited in two measures of *nitrous gas*, the products are one measure of carbonic-acid-gas, and one measure of azote. Hence, as carbonic-acid-gas always occupies the same volume as the oxygen of which it is formed, nitrous gas consists of equal volumes of oxygen and of azote, not condensed by their union.

" If two measures of nitrous gas be mixed over water, with one measure of oxygen gas, both of them totally disappear, and a solution of nitrous-acid-gas in water is the result."

We cannot enter into the detail of Berzelius's numerous experiments, which were instituted, with the express view, of illustrating the important doctrine of definite proportions. We confine ourselves to one example, namely, the combination of *lead* and *oxygen*. Lead, it is well known, admits three degrees of

of oxygenation, denominated, the yellow, the red, and the brown.

For the yellow oxyde, some pure lead was dissolved in nitric acid, evaporated, and ignited; a hundred parts of metal thus gained 7.8 of oxygen. The red oxyde contains, to an hundred of metal, 11.07 of oxygen. The brown oxyd contains, to an hundred of metal, 15.6 of oxygen. Therefore, these portions of oxygen, viz. 7.8, 11.07, and 15.6, are respectively in the proportions of 1,  $1\frac{1}{2}$ , and 2.

This distinguished chemist has prosecuted a series of experiments on almost every substance which is susceptible of analysis; and from the uniformity of the results which he has obtained, he considers himself entitled to establish the two following propositions, as axioms or first truths in chemical science.

“ 1st. In all compounds of inorganic matter, one of the constituents is always in the state of a single atom. According to this axiom, no inorganic compound is ever made up of two atoms of A united with three atoms of B, or of three atoms of A united with four atoms of B; but always of one atom of A united with one, two, three, four, &c. atoms of B. This axiom, if it holds good, observes Dr. Thomson, greatly simplifies the doctrine of atomic combination, as far as inorganic bodies are concerned, and reduces the whole to a state of elementary facility.

“ 2d. When an acid unites with a base, the oxygen in the acid is always a multiple of the oxygen in the base, by a whole number, and generally by the number denoting the atoms of oxygen in the acid. Thus, sulphuric acid contains three atoms of oxygen: 100 parts of it contain 60 parts of oxygen, and 100 parts of sulphuric acid combine with and saturate a quantity of base which contains 20 parts of oxygen. Now 20 multiplied by three, the number of atoms of oxygen in sulphuric acid, makes 60, the quantity of oxygen in 100 parts of sulphuric acid.”

Perhaps the analyses achieved by the Swedish philosopher, hardly warrant a generalization, so extensive; still as no exceptions have been hitherto advanced, the axioms now stated seem justly entitled to the attention of experimenters. It must appear evident from what we have brought forward on the subject of *affinity*, that the leading principles of chemistry are, at this moment, greatly unsettled; and, as always happens on such occasions, we find men of genius giving full scope to their fancies, and supplying with theory and hypothesis, the want of established truths. Amid this overthrow and confusion, however, we are consoled by the important consideration, that, in these times, the love of theory does not obstruct the progress of knowledge, and that all the beauties and conveniency of the Lavoisierian

rian system itself have not dissuaded those even who were most smitten with its charms, from shaking its foundation. We allude to the new doctrines relative to the *acidifying principle*, suggested by the recent discoveries in France and England.

Ever since oxygen gas was made known, and its properties developed, by Priestley and Scheele, chemistry has maintained a systematic form; all the processes of combustion, and the formation of acids, being referred to the presence of that powerful agent alone. Nor was it till very lately that this doctrine was called in question, and the simplicity of view on which it is founded, boldly pronounced inconsistent with certain facts which the progress of the science had brought to light. In prosecuting some investigations relative to muriatic acid, Sir H. Davy was led to doubt the received opinions, as to the nature of this substance; and instead of regarding it as a simple body, he found reason to believe, that it is a compound of oxymuriatic acid and hydrogen. To the former, which, in place of being compounded of muriatic acid and oxygen, he asserts to be elementary; he has, with a reference to its colour, given the name of **CHLORINE**, and, in the course of his experiments, he has discovered, that in forming acids, and in other of its functions, this new-named agent is analogous to oxygen. We need hardly detail the circumstances which led to this opinion. It must be generally known, that it originated in certain facts with regard to the relation which muriatic acid bears to water. On submitting potassium to the action of muriatic-acid-gas, Sir Humphry found that a large quantity of hydrogen was produced, and, on applying heat, violent ignition was occasioned; muriate of potash was formed; the acid gas disappeared; and from one third to one fourth of its volume of hydrogen remained: from which he inferred, that muriatic-acid-gas must contain, at least, one eighth or one tenth of its weight of water, and that the water oxygenates, in the experiment, a quantity of potassium sufficient to absorb the whole of the acid.

From a great variety of experiments **THENARD** and **GAY-LUSSAC** imagined they had succeeded in proving that muriatic acid gas contains 0.25 of its weight and water; but all their efforts to separate it from the water, and present it in an insulated state were completely fruitless. It would appear, however, that a certain quantity of water, or of the elements of water, is necessary to its existence in a gaseous state, for solid potash, lime, dry muriate of lime, and extreme cold, were in vain applied to render it dry. They tried the metals on oxymuriatic acid, but they became oxydated and combined with the acid; they then employed sulphurets, but instead of muriatic acid, they obtained a particular compound of sulphur with muriatic

fic acid and oxygen. Phosphorus did not abstract the oxygen, but combined with the oxymuriatic acid, forming a liquor sitthilar to that which they had before discovered in distilling phosphorus with muriate of mercury. The last attempt thus made to decompose the oxymuriatic acid, was, by passing it over calcined charcoal at a red heat; and as charcoal exerts a strong attraction for oxygen, it was expected that the muriatic acid would be left in an insulated state. At first, from the residue of hydrogen evolved by the charcoal, the oxymuriatic acid was converted into muriatic; but as soon as the hydrogen was exhausted, the acid passed over unchanged, proving, in the most positive manner, that charcoal does not decompose it. Thus, were they carried to adopt the opinion stated above, that muriatic acid cannot exist in the gaseous state without a portion of combined water; and even to suggest the notion so ably maintained by Davy, that oxymuriatic acid is a simple body, and that muriatic acid is compounded of it and hydrogen.

All the experiments we have just recorded were gone over by Sir Humphrey; and others equally ingenious were instituted by him with the same views, but no approach was made to the decomposition of the oxymuriatic acid. Holding it, therefore, as an elementary body,

“May we not,” says he, “regard it as a peculiar acidifying principle, forming compounds with combustible bodies, analogous to acids containing oxygen, or to oxides in their properties and powers of combination, but differing from them in being for the most part decomposable in water? On this idea, muriatic acid may be considered as having hydrogen for its basis, and oxymuriatic acid for its acidifying principle. The substance formed by the action of oxymuriatic acid on phosphorus may be regarded in a similar point of view, the phosphorus being its base and the oxymuriatic acid its acidifying principle. And the combinations of oxymuriatic acid with metals would be considered as a class of bodies, related more to oxyds than acids in their power of attraction\*.”

Dr. Murray, of Edinburgh, as far as we know, is the most enlightened as well as the most determined antagonist that Sir Humphrey has had to encounter, on the ground of the new theory. We have no intention of following them through the various stages of the controversy which ensued upon the publication of the paper to which we have just referred; but in justice to the subject we shall state one or two of the arguments which Dr. M. urged against the notion of chlorine being a simple body.

In the first place, the Doctor maintains, that no conclusive

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\* See Philosophical Transactions, 1810.



proof has been brought-forward of Sir H. Davy's theory, as all the facts which he has stated admit of being explained with just as much facility on the common doctrine. This, he asserts, is the case with the leading experiment, of muriatic acid gas being formed without any sensible production of water, when oxymuriatic acid gas and hydrogen are submitted to mutual action. Sir Humphrey regards this as a direct combination of the two gases, oxymuriatic acid being supposed to be a simple body; but the result is equally well explained on the common doctrine, that oxymuriatic acid is a compound of muriatic acid and oxygen, and that its oxygen combines with the hydrogen forming water which the muriatic acid holds in combination. And the circumstance that this compound remains in the gaseous form, is of no importance, with regard to the conclusion; for it is just as probable *a priori*, that muriatic acid, combined with a certain quantity of water, should be gaseous, as that it should be liquid or solid.

Sir H. Davy argues, and we think conclusively, that there is no proof of the existence of oxygen in oxymuriatic acid, (or chlorine) or of water in muriatic acid gas, and every substance not proved to be a compound is, in the system of modern chemistry, held to be simple. Dr. Murray admits as a fact, that from the mutual action of oxymuriatic acid and hydrogen muriatic acid gas is formed; but that they are the elements of muriatic acid is, he says, a very different proposition, being only an inference which may turn out to be true or false, as shall be determined by further investigation.

"In the second place, there are facts," continues Dr. Murray, "explained by the common doctrine, which Sir Humphrey's hypothesis does not explain. A striking instance of this kind is that which Sir H. himself mentions as having first led him to doubt of the existence of oxygen in oxymuriatic acid,—namely, the non-action of oxymuriatic acid on charcoal, even at the most intense heat. What is singular enough," adds Dr. M. "this admits of no explanation on the hypothesis which it led him to adopt; for if oxymuriatic acid be a principle analogous to oxygen in its general relations, exerting, like it, attractions to inflammable bodies, and combining with them, why should it not combine with charcoal? In the decomposition of oxymuriatic acid, the muriatic acid must either become insulated, in which case a certain portion of water is necessary to its constitution, or it remains in combination with the oxydated product of the decomposing substance. Hydrogen effects its decomposition in the former mode, attracting its oxygen, and by combining with this forms the water which the muriatic acid requires. Metals, sulphur, and phosphorus, decompose it by the latter method, the substances formed by their oxydation combining with the real acid. But charcoal can act in neither mode, for it cannot supply the necessary portion of water to render insulated

lated the muriatic acid, nor does its oxydated product, whether oxyde or acid, exert any affinity to muriatic acid. Charcoal, therefore, is the only substance exerting an attraction to oxygen which is incapable of decomposing oxymuriatic acid; and thus," continues Dr. M. "not only is this apparent anomaly, which, on the one doctrine, has been stated as an ultimate fact, unacceptable of explanation, satisfactorily accounted for on the other, but it becomes a proof of its truth, an *instantia crutis*, a deduction from the theory corresponding with the fact; while in the opposite system, it is neither what ought to be looked for, nor is it by any additional hypothesis capable of being explained."

Dr. Murray further maintains,

"That according to the common opinion, the explanations connected with the result in question, are simple and conformable to analogous cases of chemical action, while on the opposite doctrine, they are complicate, and at variance with the most extensive and well established analogies. In the former, muriatic acid, like other acids, is held capable of combining with salifiable bases, and forming neutral compounds; the production of water which attends their formation is, like a similar production of water in the combinations of other acids with the same bases, considered as the liberation of the water with which the acid had been combined. Nor does the hypothesis of Sir H. Davy derive any support from its conformity to a general system, being adapted only to a very limited class of phenomena, those relating to muriatic acid alone. Were oxymuriatic acid an acidifying principle like oxygen, it ought to form acids when it combines with other inflammable bases; but, on the contrary, it exists in the composition of no acid but the muriatic, and forms no acid in the proper sense of the term, except in its supposed combination with hydrogen. There is, therefore," concludes Dr. M. "no generalization in this case, but rather an evident adaptation of an hypothesis to phenomena, which are at least equally explained in conformity with a general system\*."

Without taking notice of other objections brought forward by Berzelius, as well as by several correspondents in the periodical journals, we may simply observe, that the discovery of Iodine, a substance completely analogous in its properties to chlorine, has now placed beyond all doubt the opinion which has been fast gaining ground, that there are more than one acidifying and incombustible principle. This substance was discovered at Paris by M. Courtois, a practical chemist, at the close of 1813, and has been fully explained and made the subject of experiment, by the most competent analysers in France or Eng-

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\* See Dr. Murray's Supplement, and Nicholson's Journal.

land. We shall describe its properties hereafter ; meantime, we cannot help remarking, that it affords the strongest support to Sir H. Davy's reasoning in relation to chlorine. The prevailing opinion, too, among chemists at present, is, that the fluoric principle, or *fluorine*, is likewise a simple supporter of combustion, and capable of combining, like oxygen, with salifiable bases ; so that instead of one acidifying and incombustible substance, a doctrine which constitutes the very foundation of the Lavoisierian system, we have three or four such substances.

It remains that we give a short view of the combinations formed by chlorine and iodine with the metals and other bodies, and also of the new nomenclature which the progress of the science has rendered necessary. It is expedient, however, to mention, in the mean time, that when a metal combines with two doses of chlorine, these combinations are denoted by changing the termination of the Latin word, by which the metal is known, into *ane*, and *anea*. Thus the first compound of iron and chlorine is called *ferrane*, and the second *ferranea* \*.

1. Copper admits of two proportions of chlorine. *Cuprane*, the first of these, may be obtained by heating together two parts of oxy muriatic of mercury, and one part of copper filings. It is insoluble in water, effervesces in nitric acid, dissolves in muriatic acid, from which it is precipitated by water, in the state of white powder.

*Cuprane* is formed by heating cuprane in chlorine gas. It is a yellow powder, absorbs water from the air, is decomposed by a strong heat, and converted into *cuprane*, even when heated in chlorine gas.

2. Tin, like copper, forms two compounds with chlorine, *stannane* and *stannanea*. The first is of a grey colour, and of a resinous lustre and fracture. The second, long known as the liquor of Libavius, requires no description.

3. Iron likewise combines in two proportions, constituting, as mentioned above, *ferrane* and *ferranea*. The former is of a greyish colour and metallic splendour, dissolving easily in water ; the latter is a volatile substance, and dissolves in water, forming the red muriate of iron.

4. Manganese admits only one proportion of chlorine, and this combination is usually effected by evaporating to dryness the white muriate of that metal, and heating the residue to redness, in a glass tube with a very small orifice. It is a beautiful substance, and denominated, in the new nomenclature, *manganesane*.

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\* See Phil. Transactions, 1812.

5. The compound of chlorine and lead, *plumbane* is obtained by fusing the muriate of lead in a glass tube. Its properties are familiar to every one.

6. Chlorine and zinc combine in one proportion, forming *zincane*. This is a very deliquescent substance, and is incapable of standing the operation of so strong a heat as is necessary to sublime it. It melts before it is red hot, and on cooling becomes viscid.

7. The compound of chlorine and arsenic (*arsenicane*) was formerly called the fuming liquor of arsenic. It is obtained by burning arsenic in chlorine gas. It dissolves sulphur and phosphorus while hot, but deposits them as it cools.

8. *Antimoniane* is the new term for the substance compounded of antimony and chlorine. It is the "butter of antimony," of the shops, and requires no description.

9. Bismuth and chlorine unite in one proportion, and form *bismuthane*. It is got by distilling two parts of the oxy muriate of mercury and one part of bismuth. It is of a greyish white colour, opaque, uncrystallized, and of a granular texture\*.

Chlorine, however, is not confined in its combinations to the metals. It enters into union with oxygen in two different proportions, producing what are called by Gay-Lussac, *chlorous*, and *chloric acids*. The former of these is denominated by Davy, *enchlorine*. This gas is distinguished by the facility with which it explodes, not unfrequently on the mere transference from one vessel to another, and always on the application of a very gentle heat: hence the danger of operating on it in large quantities. By explosion in a close vessel, it is resolved into chlorine and oxygen. It is partially decomposed by water, and oxygen is set free: mercury produces a very slight decomposition.

Chlorine forms with azote a new and very striking compound, which will not fail to be celebrated as having cost an eye to M. Dulong, the discoverer, and as having nearly entailed on Sir H. Davy a similar sacrifice. From the memoirs of these chemists we learn, that azote and chlorine have no perceptible action on each other when in the gaseous form, but when the latter is passed through a solution of the nitrate of ammonia, it is rapidly absorbed, and a film collects on the surface, which is soon resolved into distinct drops of a yellowish oil, that sinks to the bottom of the liquid. This is the detonating substance in question. Its smell is excessively unpleasant, resembling that of the compound formed by carbonic oxide and chlorine. When it is merely brought in contact with certain combustible matters it

\* See *Annals of Philosophy*, 1813, and *Phil. Transactions*, 1812.

explodes violently, even without increasing the temperature. Its explosion is excessively violent when it touches phosphorus or phosphorised alcohol; but it has no effect on mariatic or sulphuric acid, on zinc, tinfoil, or sulphur. The danger attending every process of analysis or combination has, perhaps, occasioned some degree of obscurity as to several of its properties; there can be no doubt, however, that its constituent parts are chlorine and azote.

With carbonic oxide chlorine forms a peculiar compound to which Mr. John Davy has given the name of *phosgene gas*. When equal volumes of these substances, well dried, are mixed together in an exhausted gas receiver with a stop cock, and proper means used to exclude moisture, and thus exposed about a quarter of an hour to bright sunshine, the colour of the chlorine disappears; on opening the stop-cock over dry mercury, an absorption of one-half of the original bulk takes place, and the remaining gas is the compound mentioned above. It is extremely pungent and suffocating, and 100 cubic inches of it weigh 105.97 grains.

Chlorine also combines with sulphur when it is passed over what is called the "flowers of sulphur." This compound is also obtained by heating sulphur in a retort filled with chlorine. It is called by Sir H. Davy *sulphurane*, on the ground formerly alluded to. We have just time to add, that chlorine combines with phosphorus, and forms salts with sodium and potassium, the one the dry muriate of potash, and the other the muriate of soda.

We now come to iodine, on which we shall not long detain our readers. It has been already observed, that this is a substance very analogous to oxygen and chlorine, and that no method has yet succeeded for its decomposition. The following notices relative to it are abridged from the Philosophical Transactions for 1814.

"Iodine absorbs chlorine, and forms a solid volatile substance of a yellow colour. When this compound dissolves in water, it forms an acid, to which the name of *chlorionis acid* has been given.

"When heated in oxygen gas, or brought in contact with red-hot hyperoxymuriate of potash, iodine undergoes no change. When it is passed over hot potassium, that metal burns with a pale blue flame; no gas is given out, but a white substance is formed soluble in water, and fusible at a red heat.

"Iodine combines very readily with phosphorus, producing heat without light. When the iodine is in excess, a red volatile solid is produced: when the phosphorus is in excess, the compound is more fixed. An acid gas evolved during the combination, absorb-  
able

able by water and by mercury, is called *hydrionic acid*, as being a compound of iodine and hydrogen.

“ With potash and soda iodine readily combines, forming with each two saline compounds; the first, composed of oxygen, iodine, and the alkaline base, is analogous to the hyperoxymuriate of potash; the second is more soluble, and is a compound of iodine and the metallic base of the alkalies. Similar compounds are obtained of iodine and barytes, and probably of all the alkaline earths.

“ Iodine, when passed in the form of vapour over red-hot potash, expels oxygen. Chlorine, on the other hand, sets iodine free from almost all its compounds. In general, however, it is driven off from phosphorus and sulphur by oxygen.

“ When put into ammonia, iodine forms a black powder, which detonates when dry. This, according to Sir H. Davy, is a compound of iodine and azote. Mercury absorbs nearly three-fourths of its weight of iodine. The weight of an atom is about 11.75.”

As soon as the progress of discovery had led chemists to suspect that oxygen is not the only supporter of combustion, and the sole principle of acidity, it became requisite no longer to employ a language which involved in all its expressions a doctrine apparently inconsistent with facts. Sir H. Davy, as we have already mentioned, constructed a system of terms whereby to denote the combinations of chlorine with the metals, sulphur, phosphorus, and some others. The principle upon which he proceeded was to change the Latin termination of the substance combining with chlorine into *ane* when the combination was confined to one proportion, and to substitute the syllables *anea*, when it was intended to express the second state, or greater degree of acidity. Dr. Thomson objected to this view of a supplementary nomenclature, preferring the obvious method suggested by the present usage of the Lavoisierian school; and as chlorine is avowedly analogous in its properties to oxygen, we can see no good reason for departing from the principle on which these properties are so admirably denoted and graduated. Instead, therefore, of *phosphorane*, this ingenious writer recommends *chloride* of phosphorus, and instead of *argentane*, *chloride* of silver. When there are two proportions in the combination, Dr. T. makes use of the *prefixes* *pro* (for *proto*) and *per*: thus instead of *stannane* and *stannanea*, he says *prochloride* of tin and *perchloride* of tin. Nothing, however, is yet decidedly fixed on this important subject, and it cannot fail to be extremely puzzling to a beginner in the science to find the same thing under three or four different names. Thus common table salt will meet his eye, first as *muriate of soda*, next as *sodane*, and lastly as *chloride of sodium*; and, what is peculiarly unfortunate, every turn of expression here involves a theory.

From the brief sketch we have presented of the state of opi-

nion among chemists, it must be very evident, that the principles of their science are quite unbinged. The beautiful and compacted system of the French school has fallen down into a mass of disjointed facts. Chaos has returned; the light is again mingled with the darkness, and the work of the sixth day more than of the first, is without form and void. The doctrines which respected affinity and combustion were apparently the best established in the whole science: they were the pillars of the temple. Chemistry was regarded as a great work at unity in itself; it was named as a model for all other scientific pursuits. Physics could boast of nothing so complete in any other department. Astronomy has its comets; but chemistry seemed to have no anomaly, no eccentric phenomena. It was, in short, at once the best specimen of natural philosophy, and of a rational logic.

Amid the ruins of this fair system, however, let us repeat our satisfaction at the bold and unfettered spirit of liberty which every where pervades modern science. The influence of authority has passed away: and, in these times, we have seen a tower of strength fall to the earth in a moment, which, in the days of our forefathers would have imprisoned the human mind for ages. The truth of nature alone commands reverence now; and that alone is deemed fair and precious, which bears examination, and approves its consistency with fact.—Much remains to be done in this wide field, but the labourers are able, and their industry lacks not.

This recalls to our memory the labourers whose names stand at the head of this article.—It was impossible to enter upon a regular review of their books, for the one is the supplement to a dictionary, and the other treats of every thing that will help to fill up a page. We are aware that Mr. Parkes is a chemical manufacturer, and therefore can have no fault to find with him for making books on chemistry. If his essays sell, however, we must congratulate him on having found a more potent agent than the famed desideratum of the alchemists; he can turn paper into gold. Is it the love of science that produces such books! Pshaw!

ART. VI. *De la Littérature du Midi de l'Europe.* Par S. C. L. Simondé de Sismondi, &c. &c.

(Concluded from our last, page 49.)

THE origin of the tales recorded by the Romance writers, nay, the origin of the composition itself, which we now call *Romance*, must be deduced from the tournaments and jousts, which was, for a long

a long time, the favorite amusement of all the ancient knights; therefore, if, in any possible way, we can ascertain the origin of these military pastimes, we shall also fix that of the tales which they produced; but, unfortunately, at the very first starting of the question, we find ourselves lost in darkness, and the writers, who have pretended to develop the matter and lead us to the truth, have all gone very far astray from the right road. Instead of endeavouring to enlighten their reader, they seem desirous only to inspire him with the same *esprit de corps* by which they were animated; since the only object which, generally speaking, they all have had in view, has been to establish the pre-eminence of their respective nations. The French, in fact, pretend that the inventor of them was Godfrey II. a prince of their nation, and Lord of Preilly, who died in the year 1066; and from whom is descended the family of Vendomme. The Germans, on the contrary, assert, that the institution of the tournaments is due to Henry l'Oiseleur, who lived in the year 934; that is at least a century before the French Godfrey. Our own nation also puts in her claim, by referring the origin of the jousts to our celebrated king Arthur, who reigned in the year 493, nearly six centuries before the French Godfrey, and more than four before the German Henry. To complete the whole, M. Sismondi comes in with the rest, and, under the appellation of romance, he ascribes the whole credit to the Normans.

We shall not trouble either ourselves or our readers to analyze the opinion of M. Sismondi and ascertain its probability. As he has not thought proper to communicate any thing about the authority on which he has grounded his system, we shall leave him in the same darkness with which he has been pleased to surround himself. Consequently, we shall confine our observations to the pretensions of the French, German, and English, who all produce their arguments, their authorities, and their chronicles. All these nations severally call on the Italians, and endeavour to establish their respective claims on the authority of the best writers of that country. Thus the Italians, being made arbiters and judges, we may consider their opinion as a verdict; and though we shall acknowledge with Andres, Tiraboschi, and Crescimbeni, that they have received from the Germans the institution of tournaments, yet, upon the authority of the same writers, we shall assert, that to our king Arthur, or rather to his descendants, we must refer the origin of the round table; that is the very origin of these military establishments. The fact is, that very early after the year 1000, we find at the court of many princes of Europe different round tables instituted upon the same plan as that of King Arthur; and there is some ground to believe that



that this round table had its origin in England, but not before the ninth century. It is attributed to King Arthur, not because he was the real inventor of such an institution, but because being a prince of great reputation, he was considered by his posterity as the greatest protector of chivalry.

Had not the want of information put it out of our power to ascertain the real origin of tournaments and justs, we might perhaps trace them to the fights of the Roman gladiators, rendered less despicable, and, by degrees, more honorable. On the other hand, if we consider that these fights of the Roman gladiators were derived from nearly a similar institution of more ancient times, to cast to the wild beasts all those who had infringed the laws of the country, then the origin of justs and tournaments will be lost in the obscurity of time.

Why this institution should be called the Round Table of King Arthur is a matter of equal controversy. Lesly, in his history, asserts it to have been a real table, and gravely assures us that he has seen it at Winchester, with the names of many knights still engraved on its border. The celebrated Laurey relates the same thing as an historical fact; but Camden, with less credulity, and a great deal more of criticism, observes, that this round table of Winchester shewed a more modern taste than what we discover in the works of the seventh century; and the famous Papebrok has proved, with a great deal of erudition, that, before the tenth century, no one knew any thing about chivalry in Europe. To this we may add the authority of Jovius, who dates the establishment of the Round Table about the age of Frederic Barbarousse.

The fact is, we have received such an institution from the Arabians. Amongst them, as afterwards amongst us, the Round Table was a military exercise, a mere just of two knights, while, in tournaments, they fought in troops; and, as afterwards, they went to a banquet with the person who had given this entertainment, to avoid quarrel for precedency, the table was round.

These tournaments and justs gave occasion to the poets and to the prose writers, who flourished in Provence, to celebrate these knightly achievements. The poets especially, having recourse to memoirs of Arabian imagination, began to aggrandize these deeds of valour; and as these tournaments had originally been friendly meetings, on some great occasions, to shew the dexterity of the knights in gaining the highest reward which was bestowed on them by the hand of beauty, the poets described them as pitched battles between the warriors of one nation against those of another; and by intermixing with them monsters, giants, and enchantments, they gave origin to those fabulous books

books which we now mean under the name of Romances of Chivalry.

It is generally asserted, that the earliest romance that was ever written was a book of chronicle, or a history of the achievements of King Arthur, under the title of Round Table. It is generally attributed to Telesinus, who flourished about the year 540; and for this reason we are inclined to believe it to have been a production of later ages. For as it is demonstrated that the tournaments and justs, or rather the institution itself of the Round Table, did not take place before the ninth century; so we can with safety assert, that the book which treated of this institution could not have been written before the institution itself had been established. We find, in fact, among the MSS. which Queen Christina bequeathed to the Vatican Library, a romance of King Arthur, nearly five hundred years old, and written in the Provençal language. It is true that many authors, and M. Sismondi with the rest, pretend that this Provençal romance of King Arthur was a translation of that which had been written by Telesinus more than 300 years before; but as this opinion rests upon the slight basis of supposition, and no one has seen as yet this Chronicle of Telesinus, we may be allowed to stick to facts, and doubt the existence of the book altogether.

Besides, as this Provençal romance of King Arthur does not appear to be the original copy, would it not be more reasonable to suppose it to have been a transcript of a still older Provençal manuscript, without being a translation of that which was written by Telesinus? And, indeed, if we consider the little intercourse that then must have existed among distant nations, the ignorance of the times, on which account the cultivation of foreign languages was next to impossible, and the earliest date in which the Troubadours began to flourish, we shall be convinced that it is by far more reasonable to suppose this romance to have been written during the first part of the twelfth century, that is, about 200 years after the institution of justs and tournaments, which were the very subject of this chronicle.

As to the chronicle of the good Archbishop Turpin, all the world knows it to be a production of a monk of the thirteenth century. It is to be found in the *Schardii rerum Germanicarum quatuor vetustiores Chronographi*, Frankfort, 1556, in folio. So that even this table may be considered as it is, a production of the Troubadours.

Such is the fact concerning the origin of Romances of Chivalry, and, from this short but plain statement, the reader will be able to judge of the degree of credit which is due to the system which M. Sismondi has been pleased to lay down.

What he says concerning the origin of the sacred mysteries stands

stands on no better ground ; it does still more convince us, that, if our author had been acquainted with the classical works which the French possess, on the modern literature of their nation, he would perhaps have written less ; but he would have been less visionary, and by far more correct ; at all events, he would have altogether relinquished his system concerning the origin of Chivalry, Romance, and Mysteries.

“ Il appartenait aux Français de découvrir les premiers cette vie nouvelle qu'on pouvait donner aux ouvrages de l'esprit, par la représentation dramatique. Ils avaient défini la poésie et les beaux-arts, en les nommant des arts d'imitation ; tandis que les autres nations les considéraient comme une effusion des sentimens du cœur : ils avaient beaucoup plus cherché dans leurs récits, dans leurs romans, dans leurs fabliaux, à revêtir avec vérité le caractère d'autrui, qu'à se développer eux-mêmes. Ce furent eux encore qui, dans le temps où le théâtre des anciens était complètement oublié, inventèrent les premiers de mettre sous les yeux de spectateurs rassemblés, ou les grands événemens qui ont accompagné l'établissement de la religion chrétienne, ou les mystères dont elle ordonne la croyance, ou même les faits particuliers de la vie domestique, qui pouvaient appréter à rire, après des contemplations plus sérieuses. Avec le même genre de talent avec lequel ils avaient versifié une longue histoire dans le genre héroïque, ou une anecdote dans le genre bouffon, ils versifièrent encore des sujets de même nature, dans un mètre tout semblable, mais en faisant parler à son tour chaque interlocuteur ; et ils laissèrent, à ceux qui devaient réciter ces poésies dialoguées, le soin de leur donner l'accent de la vérité, et le prestige du spectacle.

“ Les premiers, qui éveillèrent l'attention du peuple par ces compositions à plusieurs personnages, furent des pèlerins revenant de la Terre-Sainte, qui mettaient ainsi sous les yeux de leurs compatriotes ce qu'ils avaient vu de leurs propres yeux, et que tout le monde désirait connaître. On croit que c'est dans le douzième, ou tout au moins dans le treizième siècle, qu'on vit les premières de ces représentations dramatiques, exécutées dans les carrefours. Mais ce fut seulement à la fin du quatorzième siècle qu'une compagnie de pèlerins, qui avaient solennisé, par un brillant spectacle, les noces de Charles VI. et d'Isabeau de Bavière, s'établit à Paris d'une manière stable, et entreprit d'amuser le public par des représentations régulières. On la nomma la Confrérie de la Passion, parce que la plus célèbre de leurs spectacles devoit représenter le Mystère de la Passion.

“ Ce mystère, le plus ancien de tous les ouvrages dramatiques, depuis le renouvellement de la civilisation, comprend l'histoire entière de Notre Seigneur, depuis son baptême jusqu'à sa mort. Il est trop long pour pouvoir être représenté en un seul jour ; mais continuait-on la représentation d'un jour à l'autre, et divisait-on le mystère entier en un certain nombre de journées, dont chacune comprenait

comprenait le travail ou la représentation d'un jour. Ce nom de journée pour les divisions des pièces de théâtre, qui a été abandonné en France avec les mystères, est demeuré dans la langue espagnole, où l'on a oublié son origine. Quatre-vingt-sept personnes paraissaient successivement dans le mystère de la Passion : parmi elles on voyait les trois personnes de la Trinité, six anges ou archanges, douze apôtres, six diables, Hérode avec toute sa cour, et beaucoup de personnages de l'invention du poète. Des machines hardies paraissent avoir été employées pour donner à la représentation toute la pompe qu'on réserve aujourd'hui aux opéras ; plusieurs scènes paraissent avoir été chantées ; il y a même des chœurs, et le mélange des vers semble indiquer une connaissance assez exacte de l'harmonie du langage. Quelques caractères sont bien tracés ; quelques scènes ont de la grandeur, de la rapidité, ou un effet tragique ; et quoique la pièce retombe souvent dans le langage le plus trivial et le plus trainant, qu'on y voie enchaînées les scènes les plus absurdes, on ne peut méconnaître un grand talent dans la conception de ce terrible drame, qui devançait tout les modèles, et qui, mettant sous les yeux des Chrétiens des excès auxquels se rattachaient alors toutes leurs pensées, devait les ébranler bien plus fortement que ne le font aujourd'hui les tragédies les plus artistement conduites." Tom. I. p. 329.

Now it is a well-known fact, that the Sacred Mysteries did not originate in France, nor were the French amongst the first who even adopted, on their stage, this foolish invention of the East. It is a melancholy fact to own, that such was the ignorance and the absurdity of the ages which succeeded that of Augustus, that any reading, except ecclesiastical, was considered vain, and the study of the classical writers most wicked and impious. Many popes, in writing to the different bishops, charged them to prevent the clergy from reading any production of the ancients ; and Gregory the Great actually forbade them by a Bull. Animated by the same spirit of predilection for ecclesiastical reading, and of intolerance towards every other species of writers, Gregory Nazianzen, about the middle of the fourth century, began to write holy tragedies, to supersede, as he thought, the wicked and impious theatre of the Greeks. Fortunately for the progress of the stage, these holy tragedies were not able to obtain ultimately their desired intent. Perhaps the many phrases and sentences of the ancients, which Gregory Nazianzen the first introduced in his new tragedies, was not the last of the reasons why the reading of the dramatic writers of antiquity was not laid aside altogether, though their dramas, for a long time, were not acted on the stage.

Among the moderns, it is certain that England, and not France, was the first to adopt this absurd notion of theatrical representation. We discover its first image even from the twelfth century,

century, when a monk of the name of Godfrey, who was afterwards Abbot of St. Alban's, having undertaken to educate a certain number of youths, made them represent, with great apparatus, a species of pious tragedies, or mysteries. The subject of the first were the miracles of Sainte Catharine. In France, they did not begin before the year 1398, that is more than two centuries after they had been adopted in England; and it was then that they were, for the first time, represented upon the stage of the Hotel of the Trinity, at Paris. As to the other nations of Europe, they were by no means more reasonable, or less absurd. Even to this day these holy tragedies or mysteries continue to be used in Spain, Lower Italy, and the South of France. From them the oratorios, which are still performed in this country during Lent, have derived their origin; and to them we owe the *Athalie* of Racine, and the sacred dramas of Metastasio.

But however striking these facts may be, M. Sismondi is resolved to deny them all; he pretends that the French have been the inventors of all branches of modern literature. To them he grants the credit of having been the first prose writers, the first lyric and epic poets, the first dramatic writers. He asserts that the Troubadours themselves, the Italians, the Spaniards, the whole of Europe in short, have received from the French the first idea of Romance, of Poetry, and Dramas. Till now, all the world has believed that the Arabians taught the Spaniards and the Troubadours; and for this reason we find Spain highly cultivated, while the rest of Europe was still barbarous, and the Spanish language and literature, under Alphonse and Isabella, brought to a degree of perfection which every other language and literature of Europe was far from enjoying. Till now, all the world has believed that the Troubadours and the Arabians taught the Italians, who, in their turn, became the masters of all the other nations of Europe. For this reason, we find Italy the first to emerge from the barbarism and ignorance which covered the whole of the west, and for this very reason we find the Germans, on account of the intercourse and political ties which they had with the Italians, to have been those who immediately after began to cultivate literature by imitating the Italians. Till now, all the world has believed that Dante, Petrarca, and Boccaccio, had been three mighty geniuses, who in renewing the ages of Pericles and Augustus prepared the success of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, from which latter we may date the beginning of our modern literature. But, alas, here comes M. Sismondi, and tells us that we know nothing of the matter. He describes the Arabians as madmen, the Troubadours as fools, the Italians copyists, the other nations of Europe barbarians, and the French alone the great teachers of the world.

“Now

" Nous allons suivre désormais l'histoire de la poésie italienne depuis ses commencemens jusqu'à nos jours ; mais là, nous retrouverons l'école des Trouvères dans les majestueuses allégories du Dante, qui, en dépassant mille fois le roman de la Rose, l'a cependant pris pour modèle. Nous retrouverons encore les Trouvères dans les Nouvelles de Boccace, qui, bien souvent, ne sont que d'anciens fabliaux ; nous les retrouverons aussi dans les poèmes de l'Arioste, et toutes les épopées chevaleresques, auxquelles les romans d'Adenez et de ses contemporains ont frayé la voie. Dans la poésie espagnole, nous retrouverons au dix-septième siècle les imitations des anciens mystères des trouvères ; Lope de Vega et Calderon nous rappelleront plus d'une fois la Confrérie de la Passion. Chez les Portugais mêmes, l'auteur d'*Amadis*, Vasco Lobeira, nous paraîtra formé à cette première école française. Ce n'est donc pas sans raison que, dans l'histoire de la littérature du Midi, nous nous sommes crus obligés à accorder quelque attention à la langue, à l'esprit et aux poésies de nos ancêtres." Tom. I. p. 343.

Alas ! poor Yorick.

However we own it with pleasure that the best part of this volume consists in the last two chapters. In them M. Sismond has given a very just idea of both Dante and Petrarca ; the criticism which he passes on them is very correct. Though we cannot agree with him concerning the origin of the conceits, for which he endeavours to account by a consequence of his system, yet upon the whole, had he written always so, he would have released us from the unpleasant task of censuring his absurdities. We will not therefore bear hard upon him for the translations he has made of a Canzone of Petrarca, and especially of the celebrated Count Ugolino, of Dante. We very much doubt whether Dante can be translated at all, but we are certain he cannot be translated into French. With the knowledge M. Sismondi seems to possess of the Italian language, we are astonished to find that he has not been struck with the impracticability of transferring to any other tablet the original touches of Dante.

" Padre, agraï ci fia men doglia  
Se tu mangi di noi ; tu ne vestisti  
Queste misere carni, e tu ne spoglia."

And again,

" Poscia più che il dolor poté il digiuno."

These and others of the same cast are passages that no man can read without a shudder, and he will shudder the more because the poet says but little, but means what no language can express in a translation, and no pencil can represent, unless it be handled by him who has originally conceived the terrific idea.

It

It is Aristodemo relating the murder of his daughter, and describing her ghost ; it is Othello lamenting over the memory of Desdemona.

The second volume opens with an abridgment of the life of Boccaccio. As it is literally extracted from Tiraboschi, it has been impossible for our author to have been wrong. But in wishing to be concise he has completely overlooked the question concerning the place of Boccaccio's birth, and without even acquainting his reader that the question is undetermined, M. Sismondi, with the utmost sang froid, assigns to his favourite nation the honour of having heard in Paris, i primè vagiti, of Boccaccio. This abridgment is followed by a tolerably fair criticism upon the works of this Italian classic, both in prose and in verse, in Latin as well as in Italian ; and the whole is concluded with a short extract from the same writer of la Storia della Letteratura Italiana on the obligations which modern literature owes both to Boccaccio and Petrarca.

“ Mais si la célébrité est attachée seulement aux poésies italiennes de Pétrarque et aux Nouvelles de Boccace, notre reconnaissance pour ces deux grands hommes doit être fondée sur de tous autres motifs ; ils ressentirent plus vivement que personne cet enthousiasme pour la belle antiquité, sans lequel on n'aurait point réussi à la bien connaître ; ils consacrèrent une vie longue et laborieuse, à l'étude et à la recherche des manuscrits. Les chefs-d'œuvre des anciens étaient ensevelis dans les archives de quelques couvens, épars à de grandes distances, incorrects et incomplets ; dépourvus de notes, de tables, de marginaux, de tous ces secours par lesquels l'art typographique a facilité pour nous la lecture des ouvrages avec lesquels nous ne sommes pas familiarisés, de tous ceux que donnent des études antérieures, où la comparaison des originaux entre eux. Il fallait une inconcevable force de tête pour retrouver dans un écrit de Cicéron, par exemple, sans titre ni commencement, tout ce qui indiquait l'auteur, la période de l'histoire où il avait été écrit, les circonstances qui l'avaient déterminé ; pour corriger les nombreuses erreurs des copistes ; pour reconnaître les lacunes qui, se présentant le plus souvent au commencement et à la fin, ne laissent subsister ni le titre, ni les divisions, ni la conclusion, ni rien de ce qui peut servir à diriger dans une lecture ; enfin, pour démêler comment un manuscrit retrouvé à Heidelberg pouvait suppléer à celui qu'on découvrait à Naples. En effet, c'était par de longs voyages que les savans s'instruisaient ; copier un manuscrit avec le degré d'exactitude nécessaire pour qu'il fit autorité, était une chose toujours fort longue et fort coûteuse ; aussi une bibliothèque de deux ou trois cents volumes passait-elle pour fort nombreuse, et fallait-il aller chercher bien loin la suite d'un livre qu'on avait commencé près de chez soi.

“ Pétrarque et Boccace, dans leur continuel voyage, copiaient et firent copier les classiques qu'ils trouvaient épars sur leur route.

route. Le premier s'était entre autres proposé de rassembler toutes les œuvres de Cicéron, et il n'y réussit qu'après de longues années; le second apprit aux Italiens à étudier le grec dans un but vraiment littéraire, non point pour des intérêts de commerce ou des traductions scientifiques, mais pour orner son esprit et étendre ses connaissances sur cette autre moitié de l'antiquité, qui jusqu'alors était demeurée voilée à ses compatriotes. Il fit fonder à Florence une chaire pour l'enseignement de la langue grecque; il y conduisit, il y installa lui-même un des plus savans grecs de Constantinople, Léonce Pilate; il le reçut dans sa maison, quoique ce fût un homme hargneux et désagréable; il le nourrit à sa table pendant tout le temps que ce professeur voulut bien rester à Florence; il s'inscrivit le premier parmi ses écoliers; il fit venir, à ses frais, de Grèce, tous les manuscrits grecs qui se répandirent dans Florence, et qui servirent aux leçons de Léonce Pilate; car l'enseignement se faisait alors surtout par la lecture à haute voix, avec des commentaires, et un livre dont on ne possédait le plus souvent qu'une seule copie, devait servir à plusieurs milliers d'écoliers." *Tom. II. p. 17.*

By this rather partial extract from Tiraboschi M. Sismondi seems to have followed more the general cry than philosophical criticism. He has considered the *Decameron* as a mere compilation of lascivious tales and idle jests, and he has judged Boccaccio with the same unfairness which the monks have shewn through prejudice and revenge. In the monks, however, it was natural that they should cast on the *Decameron* such a stigma. As Boccaccio had justly ridiculed the depravity of their morals, the bad use they made of their wealth, and the neglect of all the duties of their avocation, it is manifest that he never could have become a favourite author with a set of men whom he had so much exposed.

But the fact is we know no writer, who, like Boccaccio, possesses the real sublimity of pathos, sentiment, and sensibility; and if M. Sismondi had gone on with Tiraboschi he would have found a proper homage paid to the genius and merits of Boccaccio; he would have discovered some reasons by which he might have excused the freedom that occasionally reigns in the *Decameron* \*; and on the whole, though he should have been obliged

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\* Tiraboschi has published a passage of a letter of Boccaccio drawn from a MS. code existing in the university of Siena, which contains besides nine original Latin letters of Boccaccio, much interesting matter about him. By this passage it is evident that Boccaccio had begun to write the *Decameron* by the authority of some high personage. The classical reader will perhaps be pleased with the original, extracted from a letter which he writes to Certaldo Mag-



obliged to copy one page more from the Italian historian, he would have avoided the imputation that French criticism and German prejudices are by no means the surest guide to judge of a writer who shocks the one and defies the other. And, indeed, if M. Sismondi had read Boccaccio, his own taste would have shewn him the unfairness of his remarks.

After this account of Dante, Petrarca, and Boccaccio, M. Sismondi endeavours to ascertain the causes why Italian literature did not reap all the advantages which might have been expected from the impulse which these three great men had given to it, and in so doing he shews himself as he really is, the great historian of the Italian republic.

“ L'étude passionnée de l'antiquité dont Pétrarque et Boccace avaient donné l'exemple, suspendit cependant d'une manière très-extraordinaire le littérature italienne, et fit rétrograder la langue. L'Italie, après avoir produit ses trois premiers classiques, se reposa un siècle entier. Pendant ce temps, l'érudition fit des progrès surprenans, et les connaissances se répandirent d'une manière beaucoup plus générale, mais ce fut en restant toujours stériles. L'esprit avait conservé toute son activité, la gloire littéraire toute sa splendeur; mais l'étude constante des anciens avait ôté toute originalité aux écrivains. Au lieu de perfectionner une langue nouvelle, et de l'enrichir de chefs-d'œuvre qui fussent en rapport avec les mœurs et les idées modernes, on n'avait cherché qu'à copier servilement les anciens modèles. L'imitation trop scrupuleuse détruisait, de cette manière, tout esprit d'invention, et les plus célèbres érudits ne produisirent, pour pièces d'éloquence, que des amplifications de collège. Plus un homme était fait, par son rang, ou par ses talens, pour acquérir un nom dans les lettres plus il aurait rougi de cultiver sa langue maternelle; il s'efforçait presque de l'oublier pour ne pas s'exposer à gâter son latin, et le peuple, demeuré seul dépositaire de cette langue qui avait déjà brillé d'un si grand éclat, la corrompait et la faisait retourner vers la barbarie.

“ Le quinzième siècle, si pauvre pour la littérature italienne, fut cependant un siècle hautement littéraire; c'est celui de tous peut-être où l'ardeur pour l'étude fut le plus universelle, où elle fut le plus puissamment secondée par les princes et les peuples, où elle procura le plus de gloire à ceux qui s'y livraient; et où les monumens des langues anciennes, multipliés par l'imprimerie

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Maghinardo, Marshal of Sicily: “ *Existimabunt enim legentes me, spurgidum lenonem, incestuosum senem, impurum hominem, turpiloquum, maledicum, et alienorum scelorum avidum relatores. Non enim ubique est qui in excusationem meam consurgens dicat; juvenis scripsit, et majoris coactus imperio.*”—Boccaccio, Decamerone, Milano, 1809, tom. i. page lv.

qu'on

qu'on découvrit alors, eurent l'influence la plus forte et la plus durable sur tout le genre humain. Tous les souverains, à cette époque brillante, faisaient consister leur gloire dans la protection qu'ils accordaient aux lettres, souvent dans l'éducation classique qu'ils avaient reçue eux-mêmes, et dans leur profonde connaissance des langues grecque et latine. Les papes, qui dans les temps précédens avaient souvent tourné toute la puissance de la superstition contre les études, furent au contraire, dans le quinzième siècle, les zélés protecteurs, les rémunérateurs magnifiques des gens de lettres. Deux d'entre eux étaient eux-mêmes des savans d'une haute distinction; Thomas de Sarzane, depuis Nicolas v (1447 à 1455), et Æneas Sylvius, depuis Pie II (1458 à 1464), qui, après s'être fait un grand nom dans le monde littéraire par leur immense érudition, furent élevés, à cause de ce mérite même, sur la chaire de Saint-Pierre. Les ducs de Milan, ces mêmes hommes que l'histoire politique nous représente comme les perturbateurs et les tyrans de la Lombardie, Philippe-Marie, le dernier des Visconti, et François Sforza, le fondateur d'une monarchie tout guerrière, s'entourèrent dans leur capitale des savans les plus distingués, auxquels ils accordaient de généreuses récompenses et des emplois de confiance. La découverte d'un manuscrit classique était pour eux, comme pour leurs sujets, une occasion de réjouissances, et ils s'intéressaient aux questions d'antiquité, et aux quel-elles philologiques comme aux affaires d'Etat.

“ Deux familles souveraines moins puissantes, les marquis de Gonzague à Mantoue, et les marquis d'Este à Ferrare, s'efforçaient de suppléer à ce qui leur manquait de grandeur, par le zèle plus actif, la protection plus constante qu'elles accordaient aux lettres; elles cherchaient, elles appelaient les savans d'un bout à l'autre de l'Italie; elles se les disputaient comme à l'enchère par de plus riches récompenses ou des distinctions plus flatteuses; elles les chargeaient exclusivement de l'éducation de leurs enfans, et l'on cherchait vainement peut-être, dans nos plus doctes académies, des hommes qui écrivissent des vers grecs avec autant d'élégance et de pureté que plusieurs des princes de Mantoue et de Ferrare. A Florence, un riche négociant, Cosme de Médicis, qui ébranlait la constitution de l'Etat, et dont les enfans devaient bientôt substituer, dans leur patrie, le pouvoir d'un seul à celui du peuple; au milieu des vastes projets de sa politique et de son ambition, maître de tout le crédit monétaire de l'Europe, et l'égal des rois avec lesquels il traitait, accordait dans sa maison un asyle à tous les savans, à tous les artistes, changeait ses jardins en académie, et produisait une révolution dans la philosophie, en faisant substituer l'autorité de Platon à celle d'Aristote. En même temps ses comptoirs, répandus d'un bout à l'autre de l'Europe et des Etats musulmans, étaient consacrés aux lettres autant qu'au commerce; ses commis recueillaient des manuscrits et vendaient des épiceries; les vaisseaux qui arrivaient pour son compte de Constantinople, d'Alexandrie, de Smyrne, à tous les ports de l'Italie, apportaient de riches

riches récoltes de manuscrits grecs, syriaques, chaldéens, et Cosme de Médicis ouvrait en même temps des bibliothèques publiques à Venise et à Florence. Dans le midi de l'Italie, un roi aragonais Alphonse v, le disputait en amour pour les sciences aux souverains du Nord et aux princes de race italienne; ses secrétaires, ses amis, ses conseillers, étaient des hommes dont le nom est demeuré à jamais illustre dans la république des lettres, et son règne est lié à l'histoire littéraire de toute l'Italie. Les universités, qui deux siècles auparavant avaient paru si brillantes, demeuraient, il est vrai, engourdies par leur obstination à suivre d'anciennes méthodes, d'anciennes erreurs, et une ancienne philosophie scolastique qui éblouissait l'esprit et faussait l'entendement; mais tous les hommes qui avaient acquis un nom dans les lettres, ouvraient une école: c'était pour eux la carrière de la gloire, celle de la fortune, et même celle des emplois; car les souverains choisissaient souvent pour leur ambassadeur ou pour leur chancelier, le même homme qui dirigeait l'éducation de la jeunesse, qui commentait les anciens, et que ses fonctions publiques n'écartaient jamais que momentanément des fonctions non moins nobles de l'enseignement. La passion pour obtenir des livres, pour fonder des bibliothèques, le prix prodigieux qu'on attachait à une bonne copie d'un manuscrit, éveillèrent l'esprit d'invention pour les multiplier. L'imprimerie naquit au moment où elle fut nécessaire, justement parce qu'elle était nécessaire. Dans aucun autre siècle, même dans celui de la plus grande prospérité de la Grèce et de Rome, on n'avait senti un besoin si urgent, si universel, de multiplier les copies des livres; jamais on n'avait possédé un nombre aussi considérable de manuscrits qu'on découvrait en même temps, et qu'on voulait sauver de la destruction dont ils avaient paru menacés; dans aucun temps l'invention de l'imprimerie n'aurait pu être plus magnifiquement récompensée et plus rapidement propagée. Jean Gutenberg de Mayence, qui employa le premier les caractères mobiles, de 1450 à 1455, voulut, il est vrai, faire un secret de sa découverte pour en retirer plus de profit; mais en 1465 elle fut introduite en Italie, en 1469 à Paris, et en peu de temps, ces livres précieux, auxquels on ne pouvait atteindre qu'avec tant de travail et de peine, furent multipliés par milliers, et mis à la portée de tout le public. Tom. II. p. 23.

This is all very true, and the analysis which M. Sismondi gives of the different writers who flourished during this period from Boccaccio to Lorenzo de' Medici, that is, from the year 1360 to the year 1492, adds a fresh weight to the truth of the statement.

Not less philosophical nor less true is the account of the origin of the pastoral drama, and with pleasure we lay it before our readers since it has been a matter of dispute among the Italians.

"Le

" Le même Politien renouvela sur les théâtres modernes la tragédie des anciens, ou plutôt il créa le genre nouveau de la tragédie pastorale, que le Tasse n'a pas dédaigné. La fable d'Orphée (*favola di Orfeo*), de Politien, fut jouée à la cour de Mantoue en 1488, à l'occasion du retour du cardinal de Gonzague; elle avait été écrite en deux jours. Quels regrets ne dois pas exciter le beau génie de Politien: avant dix-neuf ans il fut capable de s'élever sans modèle et sans devancier, à l'épopée et à la tragédie, et il mérita notre admiration par des fragmens à peine ébauchés. Où serait-il parvenu, s'il n'avait pas alors même abandonné les muses italiennes pour n'écrire que des vers latins, ou des ouvrages de philosophie qu'on ne lit plus aujourd'hui?

" L'admiration universelle pour Virgile eut une influence décisive sur le nouvel art dramatique; les érudits étaient persuadés que ce poète chéri réunissait tous les genres de perfection; et comme ils créaient l'art dramatique avant d'avoir un théâtre, ils se figurèrent que le dialogue, et non l'action, était l'essence du drame. Les Bucoliques leur parurent des espèces de comédies ou de tragédies, moins animées il est vrai, mais plus poétiques que celles de Tarence et Sénèque, ou peut-être des Grecs. Ils s'efforcèrent cependant de réunir les deux genres, d'animer par une action la douce rêverie des bergers, et de conserver le charme pastoral aux émotions plus violentes de la vie. L'Orphée, quoique divisé en cinq actes, quoique mêlé de chœurs, quoique terminé par une catastrophe tragique, est beaucoup plutôt une églogue qu'un drame. L'amour d'Aristée pour Eurydice, la fuite et la mort de celle-ci, qui est pleurée par les Dryades, les lamentations d'Orphée, sa descente aux enfers et son supplice par les mains des Bacchantes, forment le sujet des cinq actes, ou plutôt de cinq petits tableaux enchaînés légèrement l'un à l'autre. Chaque acte n'est composé que de cinquante à cent vers; un court dialogue expose les événemens survenus d'un acte à l'autre, et il amène ainsi une ode, un chant, ou une lamentation, un morceau lyrique enfin, qui paraît avoir été le but principal de l'auteur et l'essence de sa poésie. Des mètres variés, la *rima terza*, l'octave, et même les couplets plus compliqués des *canzoni*, servent pour le dialogue, et les morceaux lyriques sont presque toujours relevés par un refrain. Rien ne ressemble moins, sans doute, à notre tragédie actuelle ou à celle de l'antiquité. Cependant L'Orphée de Politien fit une révolution dans la poésie; le charme des décorations uni à celui des vers, la musique soutenant la parole, la curiosité excitée en même temps que l'esprit était satisfait, toutes ces jouissances nouvelles enseignèrent à désirer la plus sublime de celles que la poésie peut procurer, et l'art dramatique commença à renaitre. Dans le même temps, l'imitation scrupuleuse de l'antiquité préparait par une autre voie la renaissance du théâtre. Après l'année 1470, l'académie des littérateurs et des poètes de Rome entreprit, pour faire mieux revivre les anciens, de représenter en latin quelques comédies de Plaute, cet exemple et celui de Poli-

tion furent bientôt suivis. Le goût du théâtre se renouvela avec d'autant plus de vivacité, qu'on le regardait comme une partie essentielle de l'antiquité classique; on n'avait point encore pensé à le soutenir par les rétributions des spectateurs; il était, comme à Rome et dans la Grèce, une partie des fêtes publiques, souvent des fêtes religieuses. Les souverains, qui à cette époque mettaient toute leur gloire à protéger les lettres et les arts, s'efforçaient de se surpasser les uns les autres, en élevant, pour quelque occasion solennelle, un théâtre qui ne devait servir que pour une seule représentation; les gens de lettres et les grands de la cour se disputaient les rôles dans la pièce qu'on devait représenter, et qui tantôt était traduite du grec ou du latin, tantôt était composée par quelque poète moderne à l'imitation des anciens maîtres. L'Italie était glorieuse, quand dans une seule année elle avait eu deux représentations théâtrales, l'une à Ferrare ou à Milan, l'autre à Rome ou à Naples. Tous les princes voisins y accouraient avec leur cour, de plusieurs journées à la ronde; la magnificence du spectacle, la dépense énorme qu'il occasionnait, et la reconnaissance pour un plaisir gratuit, empêchaient le public de se montrer sévère dans ses jugemens. Les chroniques de chaque ville, en nous conservant la mémoire de ces représentations, ne parlent jamais que de l'admiration universelle. Aussi ce n'était point le public que les poètes avaient en vue dans leurs compositions, mais l'antiquité; ils s'efforçaient de la copier le plus fidèlement possible, et l'imitation de Sénèque étant classique tout comme celle de Sophocle, plusieurs des premiers essais des poètes du quinzième siècle retracèrent tous les défauts du tragique latin: ce furent souvent des déclamations ampoulées qu'aucune action n'animait." Tom. II. p. 48.

To this we cordially assent, and we cannot help lamenting that M. Sismondi has not written always so. For this reason the strictures and the reflexions he makes on the Orlando Furioso, are extremely good, since they belong to the poem and to the poet, and not to the origin and nature of this species of poetry. In the whole of his account M. Sismondi has followed M. Ginguené, and we congratulate him on the good use he has made of his guide.

Preferring, however, Tasso to Ariosto, our author is desirous of justifying his partiality, and the description he gives of the Gerusalemme is luminous in the extreme. In his examination M. Sismondi has collected the materials from all quarters, and he has not even forgotten to give to Tasso the credit which M. Chateaubriand has so well established in his *Itinéraire*, of having been historically true in the whole of his locality, and almost in all his episodes. This still more convinces us of the truth of our assertion; that though M. Sismondi may be occasionally striking when he talks of literature, it is only on his favourite topic of history that he is sublime. The account of the persecution

persecution which literature suffered in Italy about the middle of the sixteenth century is drawn in a masterly style.

“ La ville de Rome avait voulu, à l'exemple des autres capitales, fonder une académie consacrée aux lettres et à l'étude de l'antiquité. Les pontifes savans, qui avaient été élevés dans le quinzième siècle, sur la chaire de Saint-Pierre, avaient vu avec plaisir ce zèle littéraire, et l'avaient encouragé. Un jeune homme, enfant illégitime de l'illustre maison San Severino, mais qui, au lieu d'en prendre le nom, se fit appeler, comme un Romain, Julius Pomponius Lætus, après avoir achevé ses études sous Laurent Valla, lui succéda, en 1457, dans la chaire d'éloquence latine. Il rassembla autour de lui tous ceux qui, à Rome, avaient ce goût passionné pour la littérature et la philosophie antiques, auquel le siècle devait son caractère : presque tous étaient jeunes, et dans leur enthousiasme pour l'antiquité, ils se donnèrent des noms grecs et latins, comme avait fait leur chef. Dans leurs assemblées ils osèrent, à ce qu'on assure, annoncer leur prédilection pour les mœurs, la législation, la philosophie, la religion même de l'antiquité, par opposition à celles de leur siècle. Le pape Paul II, qui régnoit alors, ne s'était point élevé par les lettres à sa haute dignité, comme plusieurs de ses prédécesseurs ; soupçonneux, jaloux et cruel, il s'était défié de bonne heure de l'esprit de recherche et d'examen qui caractérisait les nouveaux philosophes ; il avait senti combien le progrès rapide des lumières devait nuire à l'autorité de son église, et il avait considéré le zèle des savans pour l'antiquité comme une conjuration contre l'Etat et contre la foi en même temps. L'Académie, dont Pomponio Leto était le chef, lui parut mériter particulièrement ses rigueurs. Au milieu du carnaval de 1468, pendant que tout le peuple de Rome était dans les fêtes, il fit arrêter tous les membres de l'Académie qui se trouvaient alors dans la capitale. Pomponio Leto seul lui manquait ; il s'était retiré à Venise l'année après l'élévation de Paul II au pontificat, et il y vivait depuis trois ans ; mais comme il correspondait de là avec les savans de Rome, le pape le regardait comme chef de la conjuration ; il trouva moyen de se le faire livrer par le sénat de Venise. Tous les académiciens incarcérés furent soumis à d'horribles tortures ; l'un d'eux, Agostino Campano, jeune homme de grand espoir, mourut des tourmens de la question ; les autres, parmi lesquels était Pomponio lui-même, et Platina, l'historien des papes, souffrirent tous ces supplices sans qu'on pût tirer d'eux l'aveu d'aucun crime qui les motivât. Le pape, irrité de leur obstination, se rendit lui-même au château Saint-ANGE, et fit recommencer sous ses yeux les interrogatoires, non plus sur la conjuration prétendue, mais sur des questions de foi, afin de surprendre les académiciens dans quelque hérésie ; il ne put point y réussir. Il déclara cependant que quiconque prononcerait ou sérieusement, ou même en plaisantant, le nom d'Académie, serait désormais tenu pour hérétique ; il retint les malheureux captifs encore une année en prison ; et lorsqu'il les relâcha ensuite, ce fut sans reconnaître leur innocence. La mort de Paul II mit un  
terme

turne à la persécution : Sixte IV, son successeur, confia, à Platine, la garde de la bibliothèque du Vatican, et permit à Pomponio Leto de recommencer ses leçons publiques. Celui-ci réussit même à réunir son Académie dispersée ; il se faisait estimer par sa probité, sa simplicité, son austérité de mœurs ; il consacra sa vie à étudier les monumens de Rome, et c'est à lui surtout que nous devons la connaissance exacte de ses antiquités. Il mourut en 1498, et sa mort fut regardée comme une calamité publique : ses funérailles furent les plus pompeuses qu'on eût depuis long-temps accordées à aucun savant.

« La persécution de Paul II était une attaque directe contre les lettres ; les événemens qui vinrent ensuite, furent des calamités générales, qui frappèrent tout l'Italie, et qui atteignirent toutes les classes à la fois. Elles commencèrent en 1494, avec l'invasion de l'Italie par Charles VIII. Le pillage des villes, la défaite des armées, la misère ou la mort d'un grand nombre d'hommes distingués, malheurs toujours attachés au fléau de la guerre, ne furent point les seules conséquences funestes de cet événement ; il mit un terme à l'indépendance de l'Italie. Dès lors, et pendant un demi-siècle les Français, les Espagnols et les Allemands s'en disputèrent les provinces. Après des guerres ruineuses, après des calamités sans nombre, la fortune de Charles-Quint et de son fils l'emporta ; le Milanais et le royaume de Naples demeurèrent en toute souveraineté à la maison d'Autriche, et tous les autres Etats, qui semblaient conserver encore quelque indépendance, tremblèrent devant la puissance autrichienne, et n'osèrent rien refuser à ses impérieux ministres. Tout sentiment, tout orgueil national était opprimé, depuis qu'un souverain n'avait plus, dans ses propres Etats, le droit de donner un asyle au malheureux, né son sujet, qu'un vice-roi étranger persécutait. La face entière de l'Italie était changée ; au lieu des princes, amis des arts et des lettres, qui avaient régné long-temps à Milan et à Naples, un Espagnol déshant et cruel n'y prêtait l'oreille qu'à des espions et à des délateurs. Les Gonzague de Mantoue se plongeaient dans les plaisirs et les vices, pour oublier le danger de leur situation. Alfonso II, à Modène et Ferrare, s'efforçait, par une pompe vaine, de recouvrer l'apparence d'une grandeur qu'il avait perdue. Au lieu de la république florentine, cette Athènes du moyen âge, cette patrie de tous les arts et de toutes les sciences ; et au lieu des premiers Médicis, ces restaurateurs éclairés de la philosophie et de la littérature, on vit, dans le seizième siècle, trois tyrans se succéder en Toscane. Le féroce et voluptueux Alexandre, Cosme I<sup>er</sup>, fondateur de la seconde maison de Médicis, dont la profonde dissimulation et la cruauté égalèrent celles de Philippe II, son contemporain et son modèle ; et François I<sup>er</sup>, son fils, qui, par sa féroce soupçonneuse, porta le comble à l'oppression de ses Etats. Rome enfin qui, au commencement du siècle, avait eu, dans Léon X, un grand pontife, ami des lettres, et protecteur généreux des arts et de la poésie, devenue déshantée par les progrès de la réformation, ne s'occupait plus qu'à écraser tout l'essor

l'essor de l'esprit; et sous les pontificats de Paul IV, de Pie IV et de Pie V (1555-1572), qui s'étaient élevés par le crédit de l'inquisition, la persécution contre les lettres et les académies, recommença d'une manière régulière et systématique, pour ne plus s'arrêter." Tom. II. p. 183.

This historical account paves the way to the detail of the causes which contributed to the fall of literature from the end of the sixteenth to nearly the middle of the seventeenth century, from the imprisonment of Tasso to the literary appearance of Metastasio, from the year 1580 to the year 1730. In this detail M. Sismondi shews himself in his full force, and presents to the reader the most true picture of this unhappy period:

In the account of Metastasio our author, after having enumerated his merits and his faults, by way of illustration, analyses one of his dramas. But finding that in his general reflections he goes rather too far, he endeavours to prove their solidity by choosing the *Issipile*, which is by no means one of his best dramas, nor is it considered as such by the Italians, notwithstanding our author's assertion to the contrary. We consider this to be rather unfair. The *Issipile* may, undoubtedly, be regarded as a solitary instance of the absurdity of the Italian stage, but it can never establish the general principle that their whole theatre, or rather that all the dramas of Metastasio are of the same ludicrous cast. If M. Sismondi, instead of hinting at the *Clemenza di Tito*, and analyzing minutely the *Issipile*, had done quite the reverse, and had analyzed *Titus*, and hinted at the *Issipile*, he would have been more correct; at any rate more impartial.

There is no doubt that in the *Clemenza di Tito*, Metastasio has followed the *Cinna* of Corneille, as in the *Gioas* Re di Giuda he has the *Atalie* of Racine. But though *Atalie* be one of the first rate productions of the French theatre, we have not the least hesitation in asserting that *Gioas* is very superior. As to *Cinna*, we all know the criticism which the French themselves have passed on it, and how much even Voltaire has exposed its faults, notwithstanding all the veneration he felt towards Corneille, which caused him to protect even his niece. Indeed such are the faults of this tragedy that Voltaire, in reading la *Clemenza di Tito*, passed afterwards on Metastasio the celebrated judgment which compares him to Corneille and Racine together, in their best touches. And yet la *Clemenza di Tito* is by no means the very best drama of Metastasio. *Attilio Regolo*, in our opinion, is to be preferred. But after all, we agree with our author that the faults of Metastasio do not so much belong to the poet as to the *genre*, which is in itself faulty and absurd.

We are sorry at not being able to go on with M. Sismondi. Our limits will not allow us to analyse the remaining parts of his  
four



four volumes. But we feel the satisfaction of having it in our power to say that upon the general plan, we have nothing to urge against his statement. However, before we part with him altogether we must lay before our readers a few reflections on the Improvisatori, on whom M. Sismondi is extremely concise.

It is true, that according to the plan of the work which now lies before us, we did not expect to find a detailed account of the origin and progress of this extraordinary talent now so peculiar to the Italians, but formerly so prevalent amongst the poets of the whole of Europe; but since M. Sismondi could not avoid mentioning some of the best Improvisatori, we lament that he has not given us a more correct idea of a talent, of which we hear so much, and know so little. Our author speaks of these extraordinary poets, of their inspiration, of their enthusiasm, as of common characteristic traits of the Italians, but he forgets that this talent even now is not, and still less has it formerly been an exclusive privilege of the inhabitants of that country,

*“ Che appennin parte; il mar circonda, e l'Alpe.”*

To this day many poets are found in the East who sing extemporary verses, and Sir W. Jones, in treating of the inhabitants of this first nursery of population and learning mentions their extreme facility and general propensity to speak in verses. Their language is poetical, animated, metaphorical, harmonious; it is the effect of the beauty and fertility of their climate and of their situation. Surrounded by beautiful objects, enjoying a more perfect tranquillity, consecrating as if it were their leisure to a passion the most fit to inspire a poetical taste, they sing as they feel, and their songs are the most animated pictures of their sensations adorned by all the beauty of the nature which surrounds them, and in the effusions of their more tender sensations they burst forth with metaphors and images in the most eloquent and poetical strain.

From Asia this talent passed into Egypt where it has consecrated the very name of the primitive *Alme's*, and by the means of the Saracens it was imported into Spain. With the art of rhyming the Troubadours received this fashion from their masters, and in endeavouring to imitate the extemporary effusions of their muse, they spread this wonderful faculty through the whole of Europe. In the hands of the northern bards the lyre took the cast of their nature and their laws, and in celebrating the valour of their chiefs and the feuds of their clans, their songs, during the short time they cultivated this talent, were harsh,  
savage,

savage, and warlike, while the poets of the south, being animated by the sight of a smiling nature and inspired by sentiments more soft, continue to this day in their primitive effusions of brilliancy.

As far as respects the Italians we must divide the whole period of the history of the Improvisare into three different epochs. The first ends with the pontificate of Leo X., and presents very little to instruct or amuse the reader. The language which these poets employed was either the Provençal or the Latin, and this latter became the mistress of the field as soon as the Provençal was by degrees laid aside.

This second epoch reached the time of Cardinal Ottoboni, who was afterwards pope, under the name of Alexander VIII.; and during this period history records the names of many celebrated poets, who excelled in the art of singing extemporary verses, amongst them we find Bernardo Accolti, who, per antonomasiam, received the appellation of *Unico Arcino*, Aurelio Brandolini, surnamed the *Lippo*, and Andrea Marrone, who was perhaps the greatest of them all. By the abolition of the Provençal language, the Latin alone was considered the language for extempore poetry; and though we have every possible reason to believe that some of the poets had begun to employ the Italian language also, yet it is certain that no other metre was allowed besides the ottava rima.

The third epoch is the most remarkable of all. It was then that all the Improvisatori having laid aside any other language confined themselves to Italian only: and it was then that new rules and new laws were enacted to curb the fiery imagination of the poets, and the use of other metre was allowed besides the stanza of eight: it was then that the Italians, acquiring a greater refinement and a better taste, were no longer satisfied with beauty alone, they wished to encrease the difficulty, and granted their applause according to the different degrees of elegance and facility with which this difficulty was conquered. Such is the history of the Improvisare amongst the Italians.

To return to M. Sismondi, we have nothing to urge against the praises which he bestows on the merit of the Bandettini, Fantastici, and Mazzei. With pleasure we join in the chorus, for though we have not had the fortune of admiring the poetical effusion of their genius, yet their names have been too justly and too loudly celebrated not to reach even our *ultima Thule*. But we fear that our author being struck by the merit and perhaps personal accomplishments of the fair poetesses, has overlooked altogether, or has mentioned in a mass other poets, who, by the consent of their ages have long since been regarded as first rate men. Metastasio, Rolli, Vannini, and in our own  
time

time Quattromani, Trogades, and the famous Gasparino Mello, brother to the Duke of Lucignano, are amongst those who have been completely overlooked. While the celebrated Maria Maddalena Morelli, better known under her Arcadian name of Corilla Olimpica, has been hardly mentioned. Indeed we should not be able to find expressions, and even if we could, our readers would not be able to understand the enthusiasm which this extraordinary woman produced in her country by the learned and brilliant fluency of her improvisare. Like Petrarca, she saw on her head the laurel crown which had been intended for the brow of Tasso, but which had been bestowed on this prince of modern lyric. The reader, perhaps, though he may not be able to form an idea of her merit as an extemporary poet, may at least form a small idea of the extension and variety of her knowledge by casting his eyes over the different subjects, which, previous to her coronation at the capitol, had been proposed to her.

An account of the different subjects on various branches of literature and science proposed to Corilla in three several meetings held previous to her coronation by thirty Arcadian poets selected for the purpose, on all of which she sang.

I. Pastoral Poetry.—Subject, Whether the Country is to be preferred to the City.

II. Natural Philosophy.—Subject, The Properties of Light, and the Description of the Manner in which Images are formed in the Eye.

III. Eloquence.—Subject, The Decline of Eloquence after the Death of Cicero.

IV. Moral Philosophy.—Subject, There is no Virtue without Religion.

V. Music.—Subject, The property of harmony, which makes the same Tone productive of either Pleasure or Displeasure.

VI. Revelation.—Subject, Which was the first revealed Religion, and how was it revealed?

VII. Ecclesiastical History.—Subject, A Poetical Description of the Passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea.

VIII. Mythology.—Subject, Why is Love represented as blind, and at the same Time armed with a Bow and Arrows to wound his Victims?

IX. Jurisprudence.—Subject, The beneficent Effect of Laws.

X. Fine Arts.—Subject, Which of the Fine Arts is most useful and pleasing?

XI. Epic Poetry.—Subject, The Character of a Hero as a Specimen of the higher Species of Epic.

XII. Me.

XII. *Metaphysics.*—Subject, The moral and physical Proofs of the Immortality of the Soul.

Besides these twelve subjects, six more were proposed to the poetess by persons of distinction who were present.

I. The Death of Pyramis and Thisbe.

II. Whether the Fidelity of the Male or Female Sex be the stronger.

III. Complaints of a Shepherdess deserted by her Swain.

IV. An Invocation to the Deity to bless the Day.

V. The Injustice of the Notion that because the Christian Religion is founded on Humility, it is not fit to give a full Scope and Elevation to great Talents.

VI. A Comparison of the modern with ancient Philosophy.

We must now take our leave of M. Sismondi. In the present state of affairs we could not analyse the literature of Spain without noticing the miserable state of that wretched country; and our indignation would soon carry us from literature to politics, and instead of speaking of the Spanish poets, historians, and men of letters, we should waste our time and ink upon the bloody and tyrannical deeds of their bigotted monarch and worthless clergy and antichristian inquisition. But if want of limits prevent us now from calling the attention of our readers to a nation once so glorious and now so debased, it will not be long before we shall attempt to expose the imbecility and tyranny of a throne, which ever since the second Philip, has never been dignified by one worthy of the name of a man.

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ART. VII. *Liberty Civil and Religious.* By a Friend to Both. pp. 73. 3s. Hatchard. 1815.

IN every monthly list of publications, the instances are numerous, in which we are decoyed by splendid titles into the perusal of volumes, which subject us to a very unprofitable expenditure of our time; the exuberant promises which they hold out being followed by a very meagre execution. We are now and then made the dupes of the opposite species of deception, and giving every author credit for doing justice to himself, are betrayed into the passing over productions eminently deserving of notice, because a rare diffidence has sent them unacknowledged into the world, and completely destitute of exterior pretensions.

The Essay now before us illustrates this latter observation. It has come forth without a name, and bearing no other superscription

scription than a dry statement of the subjects to be discussed; and has in consequence experienced a neglect to which it is by no means entitled; for under the ambiguous title adopted, the author's object is to point out the true nature of *liberty*, and to draw a distinction between it and *licentiousness*, and his pages contain a very seasonable and well-considered investigation of this most interesting question, which the sons of confusion have at all times taken the greatest pains to sophisticate, and concerning which, therefore, it is obviously of the utmost consequence to the peace of nations, that clear and correct ideas should be promulgated and maintained.

The treatise opens with an animated panegyric on liberty, which the author justly characterises as "the idol of Englishmen." On the merits of this object of adoration, however, he deems it needless to expatiate, as we see, and know, and taste, and feel them. He therefore passes on to the misconceptions and abuses to which liberty is liable, alledging too truly, that, so generally enjoyed as it is, and so highly valued, it is still ill understood, and worse treated, by many of its votaries; who, as Milton (speaking from the experience of his own fanatical times) aptly describes them, love not liberty, but licence:

"They bawl for freedom in their senseless mood,  
And still revolt when truth should set them free;  
Licence they mean, when they cry liberty."

Here then is the distinction which our author takes; and from hence he defines liberty to be "not the being able to do *what we will*, but the being able to do, "*what we ought to will*." And after shewing that a freedom to do what we will is the freedom of the savage, or the wild beast, but that man being a rational being, and likewise intended to live in society, must submit to the laws of reason, and of the society in which he lives, he goes on to answer the objections which may be made by those who may deem such restraint little better than slavery, and to discriminate accurately between true and false freedom; pointing at this great truth, that "liberty is not only consistent with a submission to good laws, but cannot exist without them." It is not necessary to follow our author very accurately in this part of his course. He is a very sensible as well as agreeable companion, and carries us on pleasantly enough, till he arrives at a point which every true patriot will reach with pleasure—the praise of our own constitution. This indeed is rather indirectly alluded to, than plainly set forth. And we must own, that, however hacknied may be the subject, a short statement of the advantages which Britons enjoy, and a description of the manner in which liberty

liberty is fenced and secured by the laws, which at the same time prevent it from breaking out into extravagance, might have been introduced very seasonably with good effect. What a constitution should do, and what should be the conduct of a wise and good member of it, our author has set forth in general terms, but extremely well.

“ No man therefore is, or can be, absolutely free. It is not possible, nor if possible, would it be compatible with the happiness of others, that any man should be at liberty to do what he will. Hence the advantage of a limited over an absolute monarchy. Hence the necessity of laws to bind both prince and people. No human being is above all law. No one, either in public or private life, is fit to be trusted with absolute power : yet for the due preservation of order, without which there can be no peace nor happiness, it is necessary that some should be invested with a share of power ; and the highest of all earthly wisdom is to give to every one in authority the proper share ; such as will repress factious turbulence, without breaking the vigour of a people ; such as will call forth and support their spirit, but restrain it within due bounds ; such as will protect the weak, encourage the industrious, animate the brave, and give full but not improper scope to the enterprising ; such as will awaken genius, and bring into action all the great and good qualities of man ; while it curbs the base and evil passions, and punishes them if they break forth to the injury of any man's person, property, or character. In short, to make power *useful*, and not *oppressive*, this, I say, is the *highest* of all earthly wisdom ; to be regulated more by experience than by theory, and to be guided by the genius and habits of every people. Of this, in all its parts and bearings, no individual probably is capable of forming an accurate judgement.” P. 20.

The Author now proceeds to allege some instances in which a man's “ freedom must be restrained, and in which he is prevented from doing some things which he might innocently, perhaps usefully do,” and then goes on.

“ But no wise man will complain that he is forced to render back something to the state for the protection which he derives from it. He will rather rejoice that he becomes thus an useful and important member of it. He will acknowledge the advantage which arises from giving to every individual an interest in the public welfare ; and he will no more repine, as a citizen, at making some sacrifices of time, of fortune, of personal convenience, or personal safety, for the public good, than he will, as an individual, at making the same sacrifices for the sake of private friendship. Nay, though he will carefully watch every violation of the constitution, and every infringement of the rights and liberties of the subject, yet it will be with the generous vigilance of a friend, not with the restless  
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suspicious fear of a jealous lover. He will make all due allowance for the imperious calls of necessity. He will not magnify his own distresses, nor lend a willing ear to the complaints of the prodigal. The freedom and independence which he enjoys will set him equally above the necessity of courting the power of the sovereign, or flattering the passions of the people." P. 22.

Our author divides his tract into two parts, Civil Liberty, and Religious Liberty. We have already intimated, that we purposely pass over the former division hastily; partly, because we wish to dwell rather more at length upon the latter, which we deem by much the more important; and partly, because the propriety of curbing the desires of man in civil matters, is acknowledged by all persons, (except it be by the wildest of Jacobins) though they may not possibly enter with much thought or accuracy into the arguments upon which the restriction is founded. The arguments, however, as set forth by our author, are very simple; namely, that perfect liberty can consist only with perfect virtue, and perfect equality; that it is the first duty of every member of society, as such, to sacrifice his personal ease, or convenience, or safety, to the good of the community; and that, in point of fact, whatever be his disposition, or whatever his situation, some concessions must be made, some portion of liberty must be given up, to purchase happiness.

"One man is enslaved to forms and ceremonies, another is confined by the performance of certain duties. The sovereign is restrained in his choice of amusements and even of friends; the peasant is obliged to daily labour for his support. Even the silken chains of love and matrimony, though they may grace the wearer, deprive him of some personal liberty, well exchanged, as that is, for much solid and substantial comfort. No person, in short, is free to do what he will. Such freedom must be sought in the woods and wilds; and the possessor of it will excite little envy among his fellow-creatures." P. 16.

Thus much for Civil Liberty, of which the author may truly assert that he is the friend; especially by two maxims, which we could wish most earnestly to recommend to all who value the greatest of earthly blessings; namely, 1st. that in any well-framed constitution, liberty is not fettered and restrained by the laws, but upheld and established by them; and 2dly. that its surest safeguard is the virtue of the people. We should, however, deem it an unpardonable neglect, if we were to take our leave of this part of the tract, without presenting to our readers a passage which is truly admirable, both on account of the importance of the truth which it contains, and on account of the happy expressions in which it is delivered. It follows a passage quoted above,

in which the author is shewing, that in no situation in society is a man at liberty to follow his inclinations unrestrained.

" This part of the subject will well bear to be enlarged upon. A due consideration of the imperfection of all earthly things would correct many errors—prevent much disappointment. How many false hopes and extravagant expectations do we find, which would never be entertained, at least never encouraged, if those who receive them into their hearts would pause for a moment to reflect on the faults and defects of the natural and moral world! How would this consideration teach them to moderate their desires, to bear with the faults of others, and be humble at the recollection of their own! How would it inculcate mildness and condescension in prosperity; resignation in distress; and, above all, elevation of the thoughts and affections to things above! If the inhabitants of this world would be content to view it in its natural dimensions; and take it as it really is, a chequered scene of light and shade, a scene of trial, not enjoyment; they would more readily endure much which cannot be cured, and would partake with greater satisfaction and gratitude of those blessings which its gracious Maker has allowed to his unworthy creatures. But when they imagine a state of things which does not exist, they magnify both the inconveniences which they feel, and the advantages which they desire.

" ' Liberal, not lavish, is kind nature's hand,  
Nor was perfection made for man below;  
Yet all her schemes with nicest art are plann'd,  
Good counteracting ill, and gladness woe.'

" There is in this world much to be suffered, much to be enjoyed; and both sufferings and enjoyments are adapted to man's real state: the former such as will not overwhelm; the latter such as will not satisfy. Let man be sensible of this, and he will bear with cheerfulness the mitigated ill, and receive without discontent the imperfect good." P. 17.

We now pass to the other part of the subject—Religious Liberty. Whatever may be the cause, this does not appear to be so generally understood as the former. The necessity of restraints upon civil liberty, we should rather say licentiousness, touches us more nearly; it comes more closely home to us; we see it every day. So that every man of sense and worth is willing to have his own freedom circumscribed, that his neighbour may not go unfettered; he is willing sometimes to be prevented from innocently indulging his inclinations, if he can thereby subject to a wholesome coercion those persons whose desires and intentions are not innocent. But the same man, if he is questioned on the subject of religion, will perhaps see no necessity at all for any such restraint. The danger which arises from every person indulging



indulging his fancy in the choice of a form of religion, and a mode of worship, does not affect him. If thereby falsehood be sometimes propagated, truth may also make its way, and become better known. He does what he thinks right; and, for aught he knows, others have a right to do so too. At any rate, he cannot see that it can be wrong or dangerous for every person to worship God in the way which he most approves. Those, on the contrary, who take pains to enquire into the state of religious opinion in the country, and into the consequences of an indulgence of religious liberty, are convinced that error is always dangerous and mischievous; and that its mischievous tendency is increased by its having so plausible a ground to rest upon as the maxim just quoted—that every man is at liberty to worship God in his own way. They think that by this pretence all the ancient bonds of Christian unity are dissolved; the ancient safeguards of truth and sound principle are overthrown; and that as a general licence to do what we will in civil matters would subvert the very foundations of society, so a similar licence with regard to religion would turn the Church into a Babel, and by degrees destroy every vestige of Christianity:

This is the view which is taken of the subject by the author of the tract which is now before us. Defining liberty, as before, to be the power to do, not what we *will*, but what we *ought* to will; he proceeds to shew the extravagance and absurdity of the notion that every person may follow his own inclination on the subject of religion. Its absurdity and its danger consist in this, that truth and error are thereby confounded; and as when the just limits are transgressed, it is difficult to know where to stop, “the same spirit” which imagines there is a greater probability of discovering the truth, in proportion as there is a greater collision of opinions, “the same spirit become a little more romantic, will rejoice, not only in seeing various forms of the Christian religion, but various religions flourishing; not only a diversity in the forms of worshipping one object, but a diversity of objects likewise.”

“It may, however,” our author gravely remarks, “be reasonably doubted, whether the multiplying of divisions among the professors of religion will not rather tend to propagate falsehood, than to ascertain the truth. It may not be unreasonable to express a fear, that the natural effect of such divisions will be, to set the minds of religionists at variance with each other: and that a belief in the doctrines of religion, and a sincere performance of its duties, will be lost in obstinacy in defending, and zeal for propagating, the peculiar principles of each sect. If all religions and all creeds are to be encouraged, it must be on the assumption that all are equally true, an assumption which is clearly groundless; or, that though  
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some may be false or erroneous, yet all are harmless; an assumption which is equally hasty, and without foundation: for falsehood and error must always be pregnant with danger; and that danger cannot but be peculiarly great and alarming, when the subject is one of such superior interest as to affect the most important concerns of man, and to be the foundation of all the rules and laws of social life." P. 29.

And then in two or three sentences, which we cannot forbear to quote, he points out the danger of rashly invading the holy precincts of religion, and tearing its sacred fences.

"Religion cannot be safely trifled with—it is no matter for speculation or experiment. It is of too high and holy a character to be thus handled. It possesses, in common with all other blessings, this quality; (and, as the first of blessings, it possesses it in a higher degree than any other), that as it is in its true nature calculated to produce the real good of man, so when perverted or misapplied, it turns good to evil, blessings to curses, and where it should be a saviour, it becomes a destroyer." P. 30.

Religious *truth*, then, is likely to suffer by this indiscriminate regard to Christianity under all forms and denominations. And how then can religious *liberty* be a gainer by it? Does liberty consist in rejecting the truth, and choosing falsehood, if that happens to suit its taste? No: here is no thought of what *we ought to will*. "The moment liberty forsakes the paths of truth, and breaks the laws of reason, it loses its character, and degenerates into licentiousness." Or shall we say that religion being a matter of the heart, and a personal concern, is subject to no laws? This is unhappily a very plausible, and of course a very common pretext. It is asserted by many men of talents and fortune. It is echoed by very many who are possessed of neither the one nor the other. It is the constant reply which is made to those who would point out to their fellow-creatures and fellow-christians the danger of running into the paths of error:—Oh! religion is a personal concern. Tell a man of the guilt which he incurs by the neglect of public worship, and the ordinances of the Church:—Ah! religion is a matter of the heart. Explain the sinfulness and mischievous tendency of heresy, schism, and separation:—No! religion is a personal concern. In other words, every one is to be at liberty to follow his own course, and what the imaginations of his own heart may suggest; and where then is the necessity of pastors, guides, or teachers?

But are these things so? Surely not. The plea is only plausible, not solid. Though it may perplex at first, it will not bear investigation. To the question, *Is not religion wholly a personal concern?* It is answered, Certainly not.

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"Man in his religious, as well as his civil concerns, is a member of society. Whatever may be the articles of his faith, nay, whatever the object of his worship, he does not stand alone; he is united to others in certain connections and relations; he acknowledges some head; he is a member of some body."

To the plea that religion is a matter of the heart, that every man must judge for himself in his spiritual concerns, where is the code of laws to be found which bind a religious community? Or who has power to make or annul them? It is answered by a very simple question, "Where is the religious community that can exist without them?" Our author refers to the society of Quakers, who have laid aside all ordinances for the sake of being entirely spiritual. And what is the consequence? or what is their real state? that they are perfect slaves to forms in dress, and speech, and gesture.

We do not feel it necessary to give an abstract of even the short statement which our author has made, to show that ceremonies instead of being "so many incumbrances upon true piety," are "necessary aids of devotion, necessary parts of every religion." So it is, and so the general voice of every nation under heaven has shown it to be. And with good reason; for

"The principles of religion do not seize the mind with sufficient force, nor do its divine truths sufficiently elevate the affections above the present objects of sense, unless there be something visible, something tangible, something on which the attention may rest, something in which (as we have said) the spirit of devotion may be embodied;—an altar and a priesthood—a bloody or an unbloody sacrifice—initiatory mysteries and commemorative ordinances. As the spirit which is within us cannot act in this world but by means of the body, so the spirit of devotion must in this imperfect state be circumscribed, and confirmed by certain outward ceremonies, which, if they appear to cramp its energy, or to chill its fervour, in a few of more refined and elevated affections, yet are requisite to give consistency and uniformity to prayer, and even to preserve a sense of religion itself in persons of cool temperament and sluggish feelings." P. 37.

From arguing generally respecting every religion, our author proceeds to ask how the case stands with Christianity. And here he states that the Church is described under various figures, but always as a society; and as a society closely knit and united together. Upon the two most important emblems under which the Apostles represent it, those of a temple and a human body, he expatiates more at large, particularly on the latter. We shall request our readers to peruse an extract from his description of each

each of these, which (if we mistake not) they will thank us for laying before them. Speaking of the Church as a temple, he says,

“ This, though it be intended to reach unto heaven, yet is no tower of Babel, no scene of confusion. In this holy temple, every part is duly proportioned; every stone has its place assigned to it. It is a regular and stately, though simple, structure, worthy of its great architect—the divine master-builder. It was founded, as we have seen, upon the prophets and apostles, and is held together by that which supports the whole, that ‘ tried stone, that precious corner-stone,’ Jesus Christ. Like that magnificent structure at Jerusalem, the first which was dedicated to the honour of the true God, and the most splendid that the world ever saw; which was raised in solemn silence, no workman’s hammer being heard upon it; its royal builder being instructed by God, and the Deity being pleased to honour it by the symbol of his presence: so the goodly temple of the Christian Church, a building not made with hands, rose, as if by divine enchantment, rapidly, but as it were in silent progression; spreading its fair proportions to the east and west, to the north and south; on no side exhibiting disorder or confusion; but every where displaying the work of those who were heaven-taught, while it was inhabited and animated by the Spirit of God.” P. 41.

Again, in pointing out the nature of the Church, under the character of a human body.

“ Let us for a moment,” says he; “ indulge in contemplating man, as he came forth from the hand of his Maker; formed in the image of the Almighty, what sublime ideas may we not conceive of him? What may we not imagine, when the divine eye, upon surveying his work, pronounced it to be very good? In Adam were assembled all the beauties which were scattered through the creation. His body was ‘ godlike erect,’ composed of parts perfectly formed, finely proportioned, moving in order and harmony, and exquisitely adapted, each to its several use. It was a stately and magnificent structure; fit for the habitation of a pure and immortal soul. See here an emblem of the Church of Christ, as it was framed by its divine Author, while it preserved its original purity; when ‘ the multitude was of one heart and of one mind;’ when heresy had not corrupted its doctrine, nor dissention chilled its charity; when every voice was in unison; and the labours of all, as if it had been one man, were exerted to promote the great design of the Gospel, to procure ‘ glory to God in the highest, upon earth peace, and good-will towards men.’ Many ages have rolled away since such an union was to be seen amongst Christians: and until Christ shall visibly reign at the head of his Church for a thousand years, we can hardly venture to indulge the hope of its return. But those who take delight in reflecting on that primitive and apostolic peace and order, which were the best preservatives of true doctrine as well as

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legitimate

legitimate discipline, will not fail to pray, and according to their best labours to endeavour, 'that all who profess and call themselves Christians, may be led into the way of truth, and hold the faith in unity of Spirit, in the bond of peace, and in righteousness of life.' " P. 46.

The circumstance most striking in both of these illustrations, is that of union and compactness. And here our author might have observed that the Apostle has employed the same word in each case, to describe the close union and cohesion of the several parts; any one of which, if separated from its fellows, must be lost; a stone which is displaced will fall into the rubbish, and be thrown away; a limb severed from the body must perish. In the latter illustration, moreover, another circumstance is enforced by the Apostle; namely, the subjection of the inferior to the superior members. This, as our readers know, is frequently enjoined in express terms by the Apostles. And unless such obedience be exacted and practised, how does the Church any longer retain its character as a society? In the great body, the state, all the members are required to move in harmony, and in regular subordination, each to its superior. And if common sense, or the command of an Apostle, is to be our rule, such harmony and such subordination ought to exist in the Church.

Our readers will immediately see the line of argument adopted by the author; that religious liberty is that only which a man can exercise as *a member of the great society, the Church*. They may possibly in a merry mood be disposed to ask, what he has not asked, Does any limb acquire greater liberty upon being severed from the body? Or are the power and liberty of the other members improved by the loss of a brother? A member of the Church may fancy himself possessed of greater liberty by separating himself from it; but is he therefore really more free? A sheep (to use another Scriptural illustration) may think itself very happy at having escaped from the fold, or the meadow; but, alas! its wandering may chance to end in hunger or death.

The pleasure we have experienced in the perusal of this tract, has insensibly led us on in our review of it to an unreasonable length. We must therefore content ourselves with stating the line of our author's argument;—the different stages in his journey. His great object is to beat down the claim which is made by so many thoughtless people, to worship God, every one in the way best suited to his taste or judgment. He shews the unreasonableness of this claim, by stating that all modes of worship, like all modes of faith, can neither be right nor indifferent; that this false liberty has led its professors at various times into

the most criminal excesses; that it has no Scriptural ground to stand upon, either in the shape of a permission or injunction, from our blessed Lord, or his Apostles, or as being deduced from their practice: on the contrary, that it is directly in opposition to the practice of our Lord, in opposition to the most distinct and pointed injunctions of his Apostles, in opposition to the rules and ordinances of the Church, in opposition to the sentiments of Christians in all ages, of the Fathers in elder times, of the Presbyterians and Independents in later days. And here the opinions of Calvin and Baxter are seasonably introduced, together with a quotation from Milton, "the most illustrious name that ever adorned the cause of rebellion." So little has this spirit of false liberty to say for itself. "What then is true religious liberty? It is the being able to profess *a true faith*, and to practise *a right mode of worship*. It is the not being obliged to profess or to practise what is false or unsound."

"Whoever can safely believe and profess the true doctrines of the Gospel, enjoys liberty of faith: whoever can safely offer up his adorations in a manner pleasing to God, enjoys liberty of worship." P. 64.

The pointing out what is to be expected in a Church which allows its members the enjoyment of true religious liberty, and vindicating of the Church of England from the charge of being inimical to freedom, follow of course. But we must abstain from any farther extracts; and shall only observe shortly, that there are two remarks made by our author, in his concluding pages, which we could wish our readers, and very many who are not our readers, (but who would not be worse Christians for being so) to consider very attentively. The former is the subjection in which the people are held when united with the Dissenters; a subjection not only very different from that easy yoke which is so heavily complained of in the Church of England, but which (like that which obtains among the Papists) is pregnant with danger to the state, as well as to true religion. The other remark which we would recommend to the attention of our readers, is concerning the origin of this spirit of false liberty, and the course which it has run. Beginning in the low and loose divinity of Bishop Hoadley, it unsettled the minds of men, taught them to undervalue ordinances and sacraments, and to disregard the difference between right and wrong principles of religion. It has preserved the same character amidst the changes which have taken place during the last century, always disregarding the validity of ordinances, and indifferent as to the authority of those who administer them. It now assumes an appearance similar to that fatal philanthropy and universal benevolence which a few  
years

years ago wrought such wonders of devastation, and, unconcerned as to all forms and modes of faith or worship, embraces with equal cordiality the professors of the most opposite tenets, the Calvinist, Arminian, and Socinian. On this as well as on the former head we could wish to make some observations; but we have unhappily fallen into that which is the chief fault of the author before us, the being too diffuse; and must here therefore take our leave.

ART. VIII. *The Proofs of the Spirit, or Considerations on Revivalism. A Sermon, preached at St. Mary's Chapel, Penzance, by C. Val. Le Grice, M. A. Perpetual Curate of Penzance.* 8vo. pp. 36. 1s. Rivingtons.

NOTWITHSTANDING the enormous train of ills with which Methodism has been attended, as a system organised with the view of spreading and consolidating schism, by gathering churches out of the Established Religion; it is an opinion, occasionally broached by persons of genuine piety, that the evil has not been unaccompanied with good in the effect which has been produced in some of the less civilized districts, at a distance from the capital. The subject, which we proceed to lay before our readers, will, we trust, render this point problematical. By affording a satisfactory proof that the zeal of the established ministry is not abated even at the remotest extremity of the kingdom, it will sufficiently convince those who require proof of the fact, that the restless interference by which the Methodists persist in seducing the Members of the Established Church, does not possess even a local or partial utility: it will likewise display the deplorable effects which the fanaticism of those sectaries has upon the human mind, when it has its full operation, unrestrained by education, or unsubdued by reason.

The sermon, which we introduce to our readers' notice, was occasioned, as the author informs us in an advertisement prefixed to it, "by a Process, denominated a *Revival*, introduced into the town of Penzance by the people denominated Methodists." Of the origin of this process, which takes its name from being considered a *revival of religion* in the district where it prevails, we are enabled to lay before the reader the following account, sketched by an eye witness, for which we can answer, that it is by no means freely drawn, or highly coloured.

This extravagant species of fanaticism seems to have been first kindled in the mining district of Redruth, where it soon spread

spread so rapidly and generally, as to have nearly produced a suspension of the mining operations. At this place, it was no uncommon thing for men to remain in a posture of prayer for two days, without an interval of repose, or any kind of sustenance. From Redruth, the flame spread westward to Penzance, where it raged with unexampled fury for more than a week. The meetings of these people appear to be very similar to the camp meetings in America. Numbers suddenly fall down, slain by the sword of the spirit. They are at once convinced of all their sins, and groan with the load of them. During these paroxysms, the unhappy creatures stun the hearers with their piercing shrieks for mercy, and disgust them with the extravagance and sensuality of their expressions. Each of them is surrounded by a group of Preachers or Comforters, who pray over them; and, by the most rapturous sentences and inordinate gesticulations, inflame their enthusiasm, and excite the most frantic delirium. "Another struggle," said one, "and the kingdom of heaven is yours." "Another struggle, and the Saviour of the world will descend into the midst of us." "Raise your voices louder, and yet louder; he is not far off, and will soon arrive." These were the expressions to the very letter. Fourteen groupes of this description have been counted, uttering such a combination of sounds as was never heard before. At one spot, a young woman might be seen prostrate, surrounded by females who had just received an assurance of pardon, and who were exhorting her to flee to Jesus to save her soul from the flames of hell. In another spot, a boy, of scarcely fourteen years, pouring forth the most intemperate and incoherent rhapsodies. Besides those many more groupes might be seen: some rending the air with their shrieks, others weeping and sobbing; others again, singing and rejoicing that the Lord had just heard their cries, had pardoned their sins, and renewed them in love. After this assurance of God's pardon and mercy, all their distress had ceased, and they were calm and tranquil. At the door of the meeting might be seen exhausted crowds, hastening for fresh air, women in fainting fits, or in hysterical convulsions; while broken ejaculations issued from their faltering lips, and convulsive sobs from their almost exhausted breath. One of the females, adds our informant, was so alarmingly affected that her friends insisted upon her retiring: they dragged her, by force, from the meeting-house. But her delirium was not subdued. She burst from her friends, and fell on her knees in the midst of the street. In short, it is impossible, by any description, to convey an idea of the scene.

When enquiry was made into the nature and intention of this assembly; the answer was, that it was summoned by no human means



means—that the most profligate and profane had not been able to resist the energies of the Spirit—that they had felt the heinousness of their sins, and been pardoned of God, and were now rejoicing in the love of Jesus. “Their flinty hearts,” said one of the comforters, “have been broken in pieces by the hammer of love.”

It is not difficult to trace the effects thus wrought on the fancies of the deluded sufferers to physical causes. This peculiar state of the mind is worked up by the acclamations of the preacher, and the shrieks of the worshippers, and is propagated from one to another by a species of animal magnetism. Where the light of reason and education exist, the phantom cannot be raised; and, hence the necessity of drowning the little reason that may exist by the noisy violence of their ejaculations. With respect to the tranquillity felt after prayer, which they call a *feeling* of God's assurance of pardon, it may be an effect resulting from their previous state of excitement, nothing more or less than a state of natural exhaustion. It is worthy of notice, that the female sex is always most affected, and most violent in their expressions. The affection spreads like an hysteric by sympathy. One young woman was deprived of her senses for some time. Her parents had recourse to medical advice.

To check the growth of these evils the sermon of Mr. Le Grice was written, and published, at the request of his congregation. We are justified in speaking of it as most certainly not an *intolerant* discourse; as the following extract will abundantly testify, which we subjoin, as a specimen of the author's manner.

“God forbid, that the Sacred Assembly of the worshippers of His Holy Name should be made a school of controversy. My hearers for eight years will witness that I have been rigidly careful to avoid the least appearance of it; that I have, where an occasion offered itself, deprecated it. In so doing I obeyed the dictate of Christian charity, which believes that all may be saved; that Salvation is not limited within the pale of any particular Church. I obeyed the dictates of prudence, for I know full well, that opposition promotes, what it aims to suppress: but charity and prudence have their bounds, and there are occasions, when to be silent would be a dereliction of duty, and a desertion of office. From this pulpit of the Established Church, I lift my warning voice; because the danger is coming to our very doors. I have looked with complacency (who but a Pharisaical worshipper could do otherwise?) upon the various, and numerous devout families all seeking, though in different assemblies\*, the same end, namely, the salvation of their souls. I have looked upon them

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“\* Who could do otherwise, when we consider that our Chapel will not hold above one eighth of our population?”

with

with delight all uniting on the Sabbath to disengage their minds from the concerns of the world, and to enjoy, free from distractions, the Day sacred to divine love, to heavenly rest, and refreshment. But, if in our way to this house of prayer our ears are to be assailed by the shrieks of convulsive agonies ; if we are to hear that Name, which we dare not utter without awe, uttered aloud and frequent, and with a sensuality of phrase, and a grossness of familiarity, which to the calm mind must seem the very worst of profanation : if the little children, whom every parent delights to make inmates of the house of God, alluring them to piety, and leading them to Christ with a promise, that he will bless them ; if their tender hearts are to be alarmed with sounds, which strike terror into the firmest breast, or to be shocked with a view of frantic energies, which may leave a fatal impression for ever, then will our Sabbath not be a day of rest, and pious refreshment ; then will our path to the house of prayer cease to be the way of pleasantness ; and the day will be a day of terror and alarm. That peace and repose, which are now so universally proclaimed, and so joyfully welcomed, will not be ours\*.—At such a season how sad a thought !”

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ART. IX. *Ode on the Victory of Waterloo.* By Elizabeth Cobbold. Large 8vo. pp. 18. 1815.

IF Mrs. Cobbold has not equalled some of the writers who have celebrated the Victory of Waterloo, she has, at least, risen far above many of them ; and has produced a composition which is not quite unworthy of the glorious theme. Her poem is not deficient in elegance or spirit ; and the versification is musical. Perhaps too little of the battle is described. But it is not wonderful that a female should shrink from the task of describing the horrors of a field of blood. The opening of her Ode is well contrived, and she slides easily into her subject.

“ How lately, in delusive state,  
Bright Peace enthron'd in sunbeams sate,  
Her snowy banner wide unfurl'd,  
And seem'd to smile on all the world !

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“ \* Not even at the solemn hour of midnight ! Surely repose at Nature's “ own still hour ” is a civil right, in which the peaceable citizen may claim the protection of the Legislature. The pious Methodist would do well to consider, that by these nocturnal meetings *obloquies* (such as were cast upon the early Christians) are *actually renewed*, and can never be *satisfactorily* confuted. The early Christians assembled at night to avoid persecution : no modern sect can have any such plea.”

White

While Joy and Fancy round her head  
Bright wreaths of rainbow lustre spread,  
And every eye, and every breast,  
The beatific vision blest !  
We gaz'd upon the pageant fair,  
And, as we gaz'd, each vivid hue,  
Each floating form of grace withdrew,  
And all the fairy scene dissolv'd in air."

The second stanza, though animated, is confused and incoherent in its imagery, and the same fault may be found with the fourth. For this, however, Mrs. Cobbold soon atones. That it was not want of talent which induced her to hurry over the delineation of the conflict, the following quotation, alluding to the battle of Ligny, will sufficiently prove,

" As bursts the thunder from the cloud,  
As beats the hail-storm rattling loud,  
As sweeps the blast its raging course,  
So rush'd their battle's mingled force !  
As meets that storm the lofty rock,  
Firm Brandenburg receiv'd the shock :  
Rent trees and cliffs in ruins lie,  
The awful mass still frowns on high,  
In undiminish'd majesty !  
So undismay'd, so wildly grand  
Appear'd the Veteran's dauntless band :  
Though Havoc call'd her hosts from far,  
Though Gallia's overwhelming war  
With slaughter strew'd the plain,  
Still their rent ranks unyielding clos'd,  
Still battle's steady front oppos'd,  
And every warrior, ere he fell,  
Inscrib'd his valor's record well,  
In heaps of foemen slain."

There is still more energy in the picture of the ranks of a square, which, after having repelled the repeated charges of cavalry, had been mowed down by the murderous fire of grape-shot. Some German Stanzas, by Bruncker, bear a striking resemblance to it ; but it is highly probable that they are not known to Mrs. Cobbold.

" Even as they stood, in death they lay :  
The glazing eye, the livid brow,  
Still frown'd defiance on the foe ;  
Each breast high swol'n still seem'd to feel,  
Each stiffen'd hand still grasp'd the steel,  
In that same mute and horrible array."

The profits of this Ode are intended to be given to the Waterloo Subscription.

ART.

ART. X. *The Duel, a Satirical Poem, in Four Cantos, with other Poems.* By L. O. Shaw. Crown 8vo. 147 pp. 1815.

IT does not appear to us that Mr. Shaw is likely ever to attain any great share of reputation as a poet. He is, nevertheless, not without a portion of poetical talent. His "Duel" is a production which has excited our laughter. It is exceedingly incorrect, but it has much drollery and spirit. The Hudibrastic style seems to be that in which Mr. Shaw is most successful. The heroes of the piece are a Scotch actor and an Irish prompter, belonging to a company of strolling players; and their boastings and their fears are very ludicrously described. The seconds wisely prevent bloodshed, by the same trick as was practiced some years ago, in the case of a well-known poet and a Scotch reviewer. They load the pistols with paper pellets. The tale of "Harold" is full of improbability, and is often tame, and often turgid. It, however, contains several striking images, and a few passages which are not without merit. But in favour of the versification we can say nothing. The verse is blank verse, and very bad of the kind. It is neither flowing nor animated. It falls on the ear with all the monotony of a sledge hammer on an anvil. Mr. Shaw has made a blunder which numberless writers have made before him, and which, in spite of our frequent warnings, numberless others will make after him. He has taken it into his head that because, in writing blank verse, he is delivered from the trouble of finding similar endings, it is easier to write in blank verse than in rhyme. This is a lamentable mistake. How many times must critics repeat to these gentlemen, that prose cut into lengths, of ten syllables each, is not blank verse; that it is nothing more than prose disguised and spoiled. To write well in unrhymed metre, requires a nice ear, and a correct judgment.

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ART. XI. *Domestic Pleasures, or the Happy Fire-side. Illustrated by interesting Conversations.* By F. B. Vaux. 12mo. 255 pp. 4s. 6d. Darton and Harvey. 1816.

THE address to the reader prefixed to this little volume informs us, that it is the representation of domestic scenes which actually took place; that it is, in short, the transcript of the daily routine of the occupations of a family, in which the education of the younger members of it forms systematically the prominent

minent object of attention. The course of reading in which the children are engaged during the period which the tale embraces, is the Roman History; a sketch of which, given by the children, from the birth of Romulus to the suppression of the Regal power, forms the substance of the narrative. A great variety of incidents, such as usually occur in every domestic circle, interrupt, at proper intervals, this chief pursuit; but Mr. and Mrs. Bernard, the heads of the family, have the improvement of their children always uppermost in their thoughts, and nothing is suffered to escape the parents without having some moral or religious lesson extracted from it for the benefit of their children; who, without the distortion of natural character, certainly do great credit, by their remarks and conduct, to their assiduous instructors. If the REMAINS of some one or other of the many divines of the Church of England, who were conformable as well as pious, instead of those of the fanatical Mr. Cecil, had been selected for Mr. Bernard's table, and if the newly-revived lullaby of the Puritans, when they were preparing to extinguish the knowledge of the Lord, that the predicted period of its plenitude in the earth was fast approaching to its accomplishment, had not escaped the lips of Mrs. B., this interesting little work would have had our unqualified commendation: but we do not dwell upon these exceptions. In every other respect, the volume breathes the genuine spirit of the Church of England, and is admirably calculated to improve both the head and the heart. We infer from a distant hint or two which caught our attention, that the rising generation may possibly be benefited by more of these INTERESTING CONVERSATIONS, and if they are carried on with the same spirit as the specimen before us, we cannot but encourage the extension.

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## MONTHLY LIST OF PUBLICATIONS.

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#### ERRATA.

In our No. for Dec. p. 675, l. 8. for *The Lay of Mario*, by *Matilda Beatham*, read *The Lay of Marie*, by *Matilda Beatham.*

In our No. for Jan. p. 112, l. 21. for *Pratt's Work*, read *Pradt's Work.*

THE  
BRITISH CRITIC,  
FOR MARCH, 1816.

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ART. I. *An Enquiry into the Effect of Baptism, &c. in Answer to the Rev. Dr. Mant's two Tracts on Regeneration and Conversion. By the Rev. John Scott, M. A. Vicar of North Ferriby, &c. 1815.*

*Baptism a Seal of the Christian Covenant; or Remarks on Dr. Mant's Tract on Regeneration. By Thomas T. Bid-  
dolph, A. M. Minister of St. James's, Bristol, &c. 1816.*

THE subject of these treatises is of the utmost importance, and is rendered peculiarly interesting, at the present moment, by the zeal and exertions of a party to give currency to their own conceits and authority to their peculiar notions, by a confident appeal to Scripture and to the established doctrine of the Church of England. Their zeal, though not always according to knowledge, nor generally very consistent with candour or charity, is full of art and activity. Their exertions are very various, very extensive, and altogether unremitting. They seem frequently, indeed, in the haste and in the multiplicity of their labours, to "darken counsel by words without knowledge;" but it is evident, at the same time, that their confidence is daily assuming a higher note of accusation and defiance, and is gradually acquiring a firmer tone of assertion and assurance. They appear indeed to be well, and they have probably been long practised in the common arts of controversy; in the art *ad captandum vulgus* particularly.

On no questions in the wide field of theological enquiry do we find more inaccurate thinking, more incoherent speaking, and more incorrect and various writing, even from the same pen, than on those which respect the nature, the means, and the marks of regeneration and conversion. Language, the medium of all our knowledge, is so inadequate, and the powers of man

are so imperfect, as to render it perhaps impossible, (in matters so much beyond our ordinary experience, and our social relations, and naturally involving very various views, very difficult and mysterious circumstances,) so to express the truth, or our conception of the truth, as not to give occasion to misapprehension, and consequently, with men so artful and so zealous, to controversy. When we view such subjects in one light, (and their very nature, as well as the imperfection of our powers, renders it necessary that we should so view them,) when we are arguing the consequences and enforcing the duties which result from this view, and when we are guarding against the errors which have been attached to the part of the subject before us, we are apt to give occasion to prejudice, to mistake, and to artifice, to mistake our meaning. We may even seem to approach, or we may give a colour to the suspicion that we approve other errors equally great, which a full view of the subject and a candid estimate of our whole opinion, would at once shew that we not only reject but abhor. The force of the controversy at present consists, we think, entirely, in the advantage which has been taken by our assailants, (for they are originally unprovoked assailants,) of the difficulty which naturally belongs to the subject, increased as that difficulty greatly is by the inadequacy of language and the imperfection of man. They have largely declaimed on such inaccurate expressions, as they have found, or feigned, in the writings of their opponents, and they have collected with assiduous artifice, many insulated passages from approved authors, which thus detached, aided by their comments, seem to speak their sentiments, but which, in their proper place and connection, have no such meaning as they maintain.

The controversy thus conducted is idle, and it is endless. Within the last month we have reperused with high gratification the writings of various of our great divines, whose opinions on the subject before us Dr. Mant chiefly follows, and on the whole, in our judgment, very satisfactorily maintains. We have had special reference at the same time to the numerous authorities which they have adduced and elucidated, nor have we neglected the various efforts, apologies, illustrations and assertions of the various tribes of enthusiasts, within and without the Church. But what avail the labours, the learning, and the sagacity of our most illustrious divines against the noisy and incessant clamour of a restless party? We find the same prejudices pertinaciously urged, and the same errors zealously maintained, with a bundle of opposite authorities, hastily collected and artfully enforced, with scarce a reference to those confutations which have been before the public for a long series of years, and which have never yet met with a patient and a pertinent reply.

Dr.

Dr. Waterland's admirable Sermon on Regeneration is yet unanswered, and we believe unanswerable; nor do we deem the general positions of Dr. Mant in any danger from the rude attacks of Mr. Scott, who displays much readiness, some ability, and great artifice. Still less danger is to be apprehended from the Remarks of Mr. Biddulph, who is feeble and flimsy, and not by any means, we think, master of the merits of the subject. These gentlemen, however, fancy themselves invincible; the latter quite as much so as the former; and they both deal their blows and utter their complaints with becoming confidence and with great self-complacency. So far for the present are they safe in their fancied security; for it is not in the hasty pages of a Review that a formal answer can be furnished to two such collections of subtlety and declamation. Something useful, however, may even here perhaps be attained, by removing irrelevant matter, by lopping off redundancies, and by reducing the subject of dispute within its proper limits. In attempting this, we would avoid repetition as much as possible, and therefore we venture to refer the reader to the *British Critic* for July, 1814, Art. IV. and to recommend a serious perusal of the work therein considered, and of the authorities with which it so remarkably abounds. The question between Dr. Mant and his opponents is in effect the same, in many essential particulars, as Mr. Nolan has discussed with so much ability and elucidated with so much learning. The cause or ground of the whole dispute consists in the low estimation (see the Art. referred to, p. 55.) in which the Christian sacraments are held, and in the positive conviction entertained by Messrs. Scott, Biddulph, and Co. that they are not the necessary, nor even the common means of grace.

To remove at once one great source of declamation and controversy, let it be particularly noted that we speak only, and that we are entitled only to speak, of the Christian Church, and of those to whom the terms of Christian salvation are offered and are possible. We make this remark, because these gentlemen (Scott, p. 127, &c. and Biddulph, p. 110, &c.) rather rudely run riot in their declamations against their opponents, as if forsooth they consigned, without mercy, to eternal damnation, all those unfortunate persons, infants and adults, who are born, live, and die, WHERE BAPTISM MAY NOT BE HAD. The accusation is very grave, and wherever and to whomsoever these charitable declaimers shall be able with justice to affix the gross guilt of so horrible a judgment, the criminals merit their severest reprobation. But really, gentlemen, to the best of our knowledge and belief, the men whom you so rashly accuse are not guilty, nor do their real principles admit of the abominable inference.

In matters of revelation, we should keep strictly to our record. We have no right to meddle with any thing beyond it, nor to indulge in idle, perhaps impious, suppositions on either side, which we can never verify, and which are therefore impertinent, even if they are innocent. The Church bears evidence to the truth which she has received, and has no right to extend her enquiries, nor to give her judgment, beyond the limits to which by a direct revelation she is restricted. The Church of England has admirably marked her modesty and her moderation in this as in every other respect. She gives conditional assurance, and indicates her delegated judgment with respect to those that are within; but them that are without God judgeth (1 Cor. v. 13.). They are beyond the reach of her jurisdiction and prerogative. Perhaps we would all do well (even those who talk with so much assurance, and who claim so extensive an experience of spiritual influence,) to follow the example of our venerable mother. She assures us, that "it is certain by God's word, that children which are baptized, dying before they commit actual sin, are undoubtedly saved." Why, we have heard it often asked, does she limit God's mercy? She does not limit his mercy, which she testifies to be infinite and over all his works. Why then does she not extend her assurance to all children thus dying? Because the revelation has not been committed to her, and she were not a faithful witness, were she to amuse us with assertions and conclusions, however important and interesting we might be disposed to deem them, beyond the written record of which she is the keeper.

*The Confession of Faith*, compiled by the rebel divines of Westminster, and adopted as the confession of the Kirk of Scotland, enforces a much higher estimation of the sacrament of baptism than now obtains in that country; but it will, notwithstanding, particularly gratify our opponents here, inasmuch as it determines with decision that point, which they deem so important, and with which our own Church, as totally unauthorised, presumes not to meddle.

"Although it be a great sin to contemn or neglect this ordinance, yet grace and salvation are not so inseparably annexed unto it, as that no person can be regenerated or saved without it, or that all that are baptized are undoubtedly regenerated." *Conf. of Faith*, ch. xxviii. 5.

In spite of this *great* and *grave* authority, we respect, as becomes us, the modesty, and admire, as it merits, the moderation of our venerable Church, and, after her example, we think ourselves entitled to narrow the subject matter of the present dispute, by rejecting all unauthorised speculations and inferences;

ferences, and by confining our consideration to the terms of the Gospel and to the condition of those to whom these terms are distinctly offered. Secret things belong unto the Lord our God: but those things which are revealed, belong unto us and to our children for ever, that we may do all the words of this law. (Dent. xxix. 29.) Christianity is more likely to be spoiled than benefited, through philosophy and vain deceit, (Col. ii. 8.) and we are not without suspicion, that some of the principles and positions which we are combating, are derived from this delusive source, and are enforced, not by spiritual influence, but by carnal devices.

Mr. Scott says, p. 5.

“ It is well known, that, in early times, strong language came into use, in the Christian Church, concerning baptism, and the blessings connected with it. On what principles it was thus used may hereafter, in some degree, appear. It is likewise well known, that the Church of England has seen good to retain a portion [say all that is essential] of this language, particularly by speaking of every one whom she has admitted to baptism, as born again and regenerated by God’s Holy Spirit.”

This fact, however Mr. S. may choose to explain it, is in “ some degree” important, and is altogether unquestionable. It was called the sacrament of absolution and indulgence; and accordingly in the Nicene Creed we “ acknowledge one baptism for the remission of sins.” It was also called the *gift*—the *grace*,—the *unction*,—the *illumination*,—the *garment of immortality*—the *laver of regeneration*,—the *regeneration of the soul*,—the *water of life*,—the *Divine fountain*,—the *seal or character*—the *renewal*,—the *sanctification*,—and whatever else is precious or honourable. See particularly Bingham’s Works, vol. i. book xi. ch. 1, &c. Hey’s Norrisian Lectures, vol. iv. p. 279, and Wall’s History of Infant Baptism, Preface. This “ strong language” has descended to us from the earliest times, appears to be taken from Scripture, and is certainly adopted in all its essential parts by the Church of England. This adoption is so certain and so unpleasant to the partizan skirmishers, that even Mr. Simeon, a distinguished division general of the corps, acknowledges “ that a SLIGHT alteration, in two or three instances, would be an improvement, since it would take off a burthen from many minds, and supersede the necessity of LABOURED explanations.” The most common gifts, graces, or blessings, connected with the notion of baptism in the ancient Church, were regeneration and the remission of sins; and that this connection is preserved by the Church of England is unquestionable. Her words *may perhaps* bear a different meaning, if men will condescend to twist positive expressions by gratuitous assumptions and artful hypotheses;

hypotheses ; but that this is their natural import is certain ; nor can we conceive any good reason for opposing this connection, which most certainly was not unintentional, through the medium of *laboured explanations*.

The word regeneration was in common use among the Jews, and had an appropriate meaning when it was first used by our Saviour in his conversation with Nicodemus, John iii. 3, 5. " 'Tis abundantly evident (says Wall, *Infant Baptism, Introduction*, p. lviii.) that the common phrase of the Jews was to call the baptism of a proselyte, his *regeneration* or new birth ; and the Christians did in all ancient times continue the use of this name for baptism." See also *Waterland's* Sermon and references, new edition, p. 3. Mr. Biddulph, idly or ignorantly, doubts whether " the words of our Lord to Nicodemus have any reference whatever to the ordinance of baptism." He then concedes the point so far as to express his belief " that our great Teacher therein alluded, by anticipation, to that sacrament which he intended to ordain in his Church." Biddulph, p. 8. Now we believe that the word was used in reference to the ceremony with which Nicodemus was acquainted, and that it was intended to indicate to him a similar and a superior institution, about to be established in the Christian Church. There would have been no wonder whatever, nor any cause of censure, in the strange misapprehension of Nicodemus, unless the word had a reference to its common use among the Jews. Our Saviour was doubtless indicating, or preparing for, the introduction of something new ; but it was in language, and through the medium of analogy, which a master of Israel ought to have understood. Mr. Scott, p. 27, &c. admits that the expression " alludes to baptism, though by anticipation, since that sacrament was not yet ordained ; and I conceive (he adds) the same language might, without impropriety, have been used, had the appointment of baptism never been intended." This gentleman goes on, in the usual stile of his corps, to shew of what little consequence water baptism is. He does this indeed under the notion of exalting the Spirit, and he professes to preserve his reverence for both, though he expressly " attributes a less necessary efficacy to the former ;" as we should do, were we disposed rashly, and even with all the proper provisos and professions in like cases used, to put asunder what Christ hath joined together."

But is this union of Christ's appointment, and is it essential ? Mr. Scott, p. 31, &c. endeavours to throw some doubt upon the subject, by objecting to us the passage, " He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and WITH FIRE." Mr. Biddulph, p. 9, quotes the same text, and adds Saurin's explanation, i. e. " with spiritual fire ;" intimating that baptism

baptism is not sufficient, but "that a greater change must take place in us than that which water makes on the surface of our bodies." It were sufficient to remark, that water baptism has been continued from the apostolic age to the present, and that the universal practice of the Church is the best commentary on the sense of Scripture, and on the import and necessity of this ordinance. With respect to the Baptism by fire, we have no such example to guide us in our enquiries—whether it means "the cloven tongues like as of fire;" (for though Mr. S. peremptorily rejects this conclusion, it is by no means unlikely;) or martyrdom, (which Origen was wont to speak of under the name of Baptism by fire. See Bingham, 1, 432.) it is certainly of little moment for us to determine, or the means of determination would have been more easy. But it is really a pity, while these men were new furbishing this old objection, and probably at the very time that they were in earnest search of serviceable authorities, that they did not happen to light upon, or that they were pleased to overlook, the remarkable passage of Hooker, which they will find in our last Number, p. 123, and to which we again entreat, with little hope of advantage we confess, their most serious attention. Hooker is an invaluable and inimitable author, when the party even by a little artifice can quote him to their purpose; but he is no better than Dr. Waterland and Dr. Mant, when, as is frequently the case, his sound sense and stubborn reasoning are found to be altogether unserviceable.

We will not presume to question the sincerity of Messrs. S. B. and Co. but we may be permitted calmly to combat their opinions, and seriously to lament the nature and the consequences of their zeal. Their zeal, for what they call spiritual regeneration, seems to surround them with a mist so impervious, that they cannot perceive, what is so obvious to all who are beyond their circle, that they are really labouring to undermine the most sacred institutions of the Gospel, institutions essentially necessary not only to preserve the form, but to secure the substance. Mr. Simeon declares, in terms which might be very tolerable in the mouth of a Socinian or a Deist, but which, to say the least, are very unbecoming, if not scandalous, in the mouth of a Minister of the Church of England, that regeneration cannot be the same with baptism, since "baptism is an outward work of man upon the body, regeneration is an inward work of God upon the soul." *Skeleton Sermons*, vol. i. p. 369. This is sufficiently bold; but so far it is fair and honest; for it is the necessary result and the legitimate consequence of the principles of those men who distinguish regeneration from baptism. If the consequence were also just and true, we should have no hesitation in adding to it, *that bap-*



*tion ought in no wise to be retained in the Church; for a ceremony more useless, more insignificant, and we will add, more absurd and even blasphemous than baptism would then be, we think cannot be imagined.*

The fatal error into which these men have fallen, (for it is an error which would not have been tolerated in the better days of the Church,) is founded, we are convinced, in philosophy and vain deceit. Not that we consider Mr. Simeon, or Mr. Scott, or Mr. Biddulph, or any of those whom they lead or follow, as profound philosophers; but we certainly consider them as withheld from perceiving the truth, by false reasoning and carnal devices. Nay more, however harsh it may appear, we are seriously convinced that the principle, upon which they argue, carried to its legitimate length, will land them in absolute infidelity. These are very grave remarks, and we do not hazard them rashly. The Gospel is a spiritual institution, and its object is in the highest degree moral and pure and holy. The blessed Redeemer, knowing perfectly what is in man, adapted the heavenly system to the constitution of his creatures. Man without redemption is nothing. But even redemption, though it is an unmerited gratuity, implies means by which its immediate consequences may be applied and its ultimate blessings secured.

The Redeemer established the new covenant with the sacrifice of himself, and instructed his followers in the means by which the influence of the Holy Spirit which he thus purchased should be applied to the relief of our necessities and to the ultimate elevation and permanent happiness of our nature. As the ordinary means of grace and the necessary seals of the new covenant, he instituted the Sacraments of Baptism and of the Lord's supper. Regeneration, the remission of sin, and the promise of the Holy Spirit, are intimately, we will even add, are essentially connected with baptism in Scripture, in the testimony, writings, and practice, of the ancient Church, and in the creeds, articles, homilies, and practice, of the Church of England. Respecting this connection there would probably never have been any dispute, had men been content with the plain practical principles of the Gospel, and had they not attempted to be wise beyond what is written. Forsooth, they cannot imagine how grace should be attached to an outward ordinance, to an outward work of man, observe, upon the body. Then they are further persuaded that grace must be conferred before baptism, even when it is rightly received; and this grace can be nothing but regeneration, therefore, in effect, regeneration is independent of baptism. We have to add enquiries into predestination, resembling the fatalism of Pagan antiquity on the one hand, and the necessitarian theory of modern philosophy on

the other. We have also to consider the important fact, that we can discover no difference between a baptized infant and one unbaptized; and that a Quaker may be a better man than a member of the Church of England. Then we must submit to be alarmed with a lamentable cry of "danger to the souls of men;" see Biddulph, p. 118.—to be frightened with a fancied resemblance to Popery, with a revival of the *opus operatum*, and even with the accusation of Antinomianism. Ibid. p. 146. Scott, ch. v. also ch. xii. and note, p. 225. All this is indeed very serious and very alarming, if it were not, at the same time, very silly and very irrelevant. The Deist tells us, You pretend to prove the truth of Christianity by an appeal to prophecy and miracles. I do not see the force of the argument from prophecy. I do not understand the particulars. The application is not only doubtful, but it is various; nor do I think it worth my while to estimate the sum: if there is much virtue in it, it is made up of varying details, the sum can neither be accurate nor important. I reject miracles as an idle pretence, an odious imposition. I never saw a miracle. You never saw a miracle. The laws of nature are uniform. EXPERIENCE is against miracles, therefore no testimony can prove them. "The probability of the continuance of the laws of nature, is superior, in our estimation, to every other evidence, and to that of historical facts the best established." Edin. Rev. Np. xlv. p. 327. Therefore my experience being opposite to your history and convictions, I am right and you are wrong. We think we have made here no bad defence for the Deists, with the aid of a worthy Edinburgh reviewer of that *truly candid and enlightened* school. They probably will not thank us for our aid, for being already determined, they do not require it. It is of some value, however, and may still be useful, inasmuch as the same mode of argument, *mutatis mutandis*, is adopted by the party who deny the connection between baptism and regeneration. Experience especially is the grand criterion of judgment.

"But now, in point of fact, is any such striking difference of character to be generally or frequently traced between our children, who are baptized, and those children of dissenters, who grow up without baptism? Does any marked distinction between them appear, which we are warranted to ascribe to the enjoyment of baptism among one party, or the want of it in the other? or is it consistent with the avowed principles of Scripture to believe, that, among a number of persons, some 'are children of wrath,' and the others 'children of grace and heirs of eternal happiness,' while no perceptible difference can be pointed out in their spirit and character? Is this agreeable to the maxim, 'In Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but a new

new creature,' but 'faith which worketh by love?' Is this exhibiting God as 'no respecter of persons?' or rather is not this falling precisely into the errors which proved fatal to the Jews?"—Scott, p. 224.

We trust our statement will be found to be correct, and that it is evident that the experience of Mr. S. (applied in the same rambling and irregular manner as the experience of Deists is applied in reference to the evidence of miracles) is deemed sufficient to prove that there is no such connection between baptism and regeneration, as the Scriptures indicate and the Church asserts. Had the principles which we maintain any tendency to promote antinomianism, or to fix the confidence of our converts in the mere *opere operato*, an accusation which we shall do more than deny by and bye—still might we justly exhibit this rash use of experience as altogether inapplicable and delusive, and nothing were more easy than to shew that, as it has been applied to spiritual influence, it has led not accidentally but of necessity to the grossest errors in principle, and to the grossest immoralities in practice. In a note on the passage which we have quoted, Mr. S. asserts, that Dr. Mant's

"Doctrine respecting one Sacrament, a good deal resembles that of the Papists, respecting the other, or indeed respecting both.—First, as transubstantiation requires us to believe contrary to the evidence of our *senses*, so this doctrine, concerning the great and wonderful changes produced in the very nature of those who are baptized, requires us to believe contrary to *experience*: and in both cases, the demand seems to be made upon us, equally without authority of Scripture."

It does indeed strike us with no common astonishment, that Mr. S. does not perceive the immeasurable distance between the two things which he so confidently compares. The *senses* in the ordinary circumstances of perfect sanity cannot possibly deceive us. Their report is true as the voice of God; for the arrangement by which they convey to us the knowledge of external objects is his work. (See an admirable, and, we presume, a new argument against transubstantiation in the article *SUPPER of the Lord*, in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, third edition, written, we believe, by Bishop Gleig.) It betrays an almost incredible confusion of thought, to compare and consider as equivalent, the *senses* reporting on two pieces of bread or other matter; and the *experience* of Mr. Scott operating on, or examining two young persons, the one baptized and the other not; or any number of persons of any age, and presuming to determine from his observation which he calls experience, the spiritual influence to which they have been or are subject.

If the baptized youth, or other person has been neglected in  
him

his Christian education, or, through the force of temptation and of the seductions that are in the world, has fallen away from his Christian duty, his baptism, while he continues in that state, is of little value to him. It increases his guilt and his danger. But it is taking the subject matter in dispute for granted, to say that this person was never regenerated. It is, if possible, still more rash, and it is infinitely more unjust, on such a comparison as we can possibly make of two persons of regular lives, the one baptized and the other not; to venture to determine from our pretended experience how far either or both may or may not be subject to spiritual influence. The Gospel is at once plain and practical. He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved.—Faith and baptism infer of necessary obligation purity of heart, and propriety of conduct. It is better to teach this simple lesson, than to dote about questions, and strifes of words, whereof cometh envy, strife, railings, evil surmisings, perverse disputings, &c. 1 Tim. vi. 4. 5. Let us instruct the baptized to add to their faith, virtue, &c.: He that believeth not, and whom, therefore, in the natural course of things, we cannot expect to be baptized, shall be damned;—let us warn him of his danger; instruct him, if we have opportunity, in his duty, and bring him, if we can to faith, and to baptism. In this way we have a rational and a Christian ground of procedure; and in the humble exercise of our duty, have every reason to expect the aid and the blessing of Heaven; but the presumptuous questions and endless distinctions respecting spiritual and baptismal regeneration and experience are in effect nothing better than mere fables ministering questions, rather than godly edifying. How often do they operate on heated imaginations, producing a mere form of godliness; aye, truly, (by their own acknowledgement we have the frequent proof) a mere form of vain words and groundless imaginations? How often do such presumptuous men creep into houses, and under the false form of mere verbal holiness, lead captive silly women, laden with sins, led away with divers lusts, ever learning, and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth? 1 Tim. iii. 5, 6, 7.

After the passage respecting the *senses* and *experience*, Mr. Scott adds a dash of very unbecoming odium on the priestly presumption of his opponents, which is falsely applied, and has, really, nothing to do with the question at issue; and he finishes his note with the sneering regret “that the practice once prevalent, has not been retained, of deferring baptism till the very article of death; that the receiver of such inestimable benefits may not be allowed the opportunity of forfeiting them again.” We know no language sufficiently strong to reprove these unworthy, these scandalous arts of controversy. The  
best

best reproof, perhaps, is that his opponents have never given the slightest ground for his calumnious insinuations, nor any occasion whatever to his odious sneers.

"Those who in the primitive Church put off their baptism till the time of their death, *knew that baptism was a profession of holiness*, and an undertaking to keep the faith, and live according to the commandments of Jesus Christ; and that as soon as ever they were baptized, that is, as soon as ever they had made profession to be Christ's disciples, they were bound to keep all the laws of Christ: and therefore that they deferred their baptism, was so egregious a prevarication of their duty, that as in all reason it might ruin their hopes, so it proclaimed their folly to all the world. For as soon as ever they were convinced in their understanding, they were obliged in their consciences. And although baptism does publish the profession, and is like the forms and solemnities of law; yet a man is bound to live the life of a Christian, as soon as ever he believes the doctrine and commandments of Christianity; for indeed he is obliged, as soon as he can use reason, or hear reason." Jer. Taylor's *Ductor Dubitantium*, book 2, chap. 3, rule xvi.

How different is the language of this venerable Bishop, when contemplating and confuting the very error with which Mr. S. falsely reproaches his brethren, from the petulant flippancy of the modern ministers of spiritual religion.

We have not yet heard the worst:

"To extinguish all true and spiritual religion among us; to reduce Christianity to a system of external distinctions; and to substitute for its humble, holy, vital spirit, that compound of self-righteous pride and antinomian licentiousness, which characterised the Jewish Church, in its last and worst days; is to my apprehension, the direct tendency of such doctrines as we are contemplating." Scott, p. 226.

This humble, holy, and vital spirited man proceeds to address those members of our Establishment, whom he thus outrageously insults; and to exhibit to their view the Jewish Church in the period of her approaching and well-merited dissolution, as, "a beacon to us (to *them* he doubtless means) to warn us (*them*) against the fatal tendency" of a false confidence, like that which those doctrines tend to generate in us (*them*), with a long tirade to the same effect. We should have much more respect than we have for men and ministers of a *vital spirit*, did we remark more frequently in their character, conduct and writings, that charity which thinketh no evil, and some portion of that meekness and modesty which are meant to distinguish the children of God. Mr. Biddulph runs much the same course, not quite so riotously, with his condjutor; and he too remarks with singular modesty,

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—"The great day which is approaching, will show who are the true and best members of the orthodox apostolic Church of England." P. 137. The attack of Mr. Scott is rude, unchristian, calumnious to the most extravagant degree, and altogether without ground or provocation. The challenge of Mr. Biddulph is in the highest degree awful. We fear, and we deeply regret that it is not made in a Christian spirit.

It is indeed scarcely possible to consider it in any light, without feeling that the mind which conceived and uttered such an appeal in such circumstances was under the temporary dominion at least of very gross and carnal presumption. Serious conviction there should be; we respect it in all men; however much they may differ from ourselves. We are persuaded, however, that we see here combined with it a spirit of reproach, and something like the triumph of certain superiority; never unquestionably more miserably misplaced than at the period of issuing a challenge so solemn, which will be so certainly fulfilled, and so unalterably decisive. With sentiments of the most solemn awe, with all the seriousness and sincerity of which we are capable, but not without fear and trembling; we accept his challenge, first for ourselves, unworthy as we feel ourselves to be, secondly, for our calumniated brethren, for whom we feel the full glow of that Christian confidence which we dare not extend to ourselves, and lastly, for our principles, of the moral rectitude and Christian spirit of which we are certain. The meeting is indeed inevitable, even though Mr. B. had not entered his awful appeal.—We shall all meet together on the appointed day. Let us not in the mean time cherish an uncharitable spirit. Let us not enjoy, even in the most silent anticipation, the sentiments of a carnal triumph; the poor and paltry triumphs of party will have no place there. Such feelings we cannot carry with us into the awful presence to which Mr. B. has ventured to cite us, or we carry them thither to our eternal loss. It is right that we be confident in our principles. Let it be our constant care to repose our confidence rightly. However great it may be, and however securely fixed, it ought also to be humble and meek; and humility and meekness instead of leading us to anticipate a carnal triumph (of no value in time, impossible in eternity) in the day of final retribution over those with whom we have contended in this our day of trial, will lead us to adopt, as our own, with all the energy of Christian feeling, and with all the glow of Christian charity, the admirable prayer of the greatest Prelate and Divine of our day on a similar occasion, and with a similar reference to the awful period, when

"The last trumpet shall summon us to stand before our God  
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and King. That whatever of intemperate wrath, and carnal anger, hath mixed itself, on either side, with the zeal with which we have pursued our fierce contention, may then be forgiven to us both, is a prayer which I breathe from the bottom of my soul, and to which my antagonist, if he hath any part in the spirit of a Christian, upon his bended knees, will say, "AMEN. *Horsley's Tracts in Controversy with Priestley.*

That the venerable men, high churchmen we believe they are nick-named, whom we have revered with filial duty from our boyish days; from whose pious care we have derived the little knowledge which we possess; and from whose example we received a better lesson than we have been able to follow, should be thus insulted and accused of mere formality; that their principles should be exhibited, as substituting for the holy, humble, vital spirit of the Gospel, "that compound of self-righteous pride and antinomian licentiousness, which characterised the Jewish Church in its last and worst days;"—would indeed astonish us, could any thing do so in this degenerate age. For ourselves we say nothing, and care not in this matter much.—We will take the worst these men can say or insinuate, in good part, at least with indifference, perhaps with pity. But for our venerable fathers, for our learned instructors and pious friends, who would have adorned the Church in the purest times, we will raise the voice of expostulation, and enter the protest of sincerity and truth. Bold man, thou knowest not the spirit thou art of: thou callest fire from heaven; more happy for thee than for them, that it does not obey thy call, for it is a weapon which thou canst not wield: thou hast yet to learn the first principles of the doctrine of Christ. There can be no better proof of the ignorance here presumed, than the wild and wanton calumnies which thou hast vent up to utter against men, whom it is thy best apology that thou hast never known. Didst thou know them as we who trace these lines know them—couldst thou trace their principles in their conduct, and verify their conduct by their principles; if thou hast the feelings of a man, not to say the spirit of a Christian; thy pangs of remorse would indeed be poignant, when thou reflectest that thou hast accused such men and such principles, in the terms which we have quoted; that thou hast ventured to compare them even with the murderers of the Lord of Glory. Were it thy good fortune to meet with some such men as we have known; some of them gone to rest from their labours; some still in the course of their earthly pilgrimage, whose images now fill our mind's eye in vivid colours of Christian sanctity, and with emotions which language cannot describe—Nay, start not back in terror, sir—thou hast been deceived, and they know it; thou hast been unjust and calumnious.

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They pardon thee. Be not alarmed. Thou hast framed a frightful picture of pious and holy men; but it has no resemblance. It is utterly false; but they bear thee no malice. They pity thy rash and ignorant delusion. Thou art in no danger, even in their presence, for they never render evil for evil, nor railing for railing, but contrariwise blessing; and happy will they be (for charity is the distinguishing attribute of their heavenly character), if thou, too, shalt in mercy inherit that blessing, the divine Author of which has been the constant guide of their principles, and the hope of which has been at once the motive and the reward of their conduct. O! unhappy, unworthy, and unchristian spirit of controversy, that thus deludest the minds of men, who profess and call themselves Christians, and who while they thus outrage men, of whom the world is not worthy, pretend to no common gifts of that spirit, which was certainly intended to combat and to calm the angry passions of our carnal nature! The statement of principle in Messrs. S. and B. is altogether partial and erroneous; but being sincere it is not immoral. The passages which have occasioned this long digression, are altogether personal, though individuals are not indicated, and therefore infer in the writer not only great rashness, but great guilt.

There is not the shadow of ground for considering Dr. Mant's doctrine as a revival of the *opus operatum*, and as tending to self-righteous pride, and antinomian licentiousness. The accusation is rash and unwarrantable, indicating not the coolness and confidence of Christian controversy, but the passion of a partizan eager to retort, and not unwilling to revenge. It is true that the principles which Mr. S. defends, carried to extravagance, have been accused, and with unquestionable justice, of leading to delusion and enthusiasm in some instances, and to licentiousness in others. Dr. Mant, in his Tract on Conversion, fairly proves the truth of his accusations, by direct reference to the works of the founders of methodism. The proof is, indeed, superabundant, and may be increased to any extent, by detailed references to their numerous writings, and by various authentic facts, of more recent date. Mr. S. in his last chapter, gives a very cursory consideration to this subject, and he quotes, with high approbation, the defence which the Christian Observer has thought proper to set up for Messrs. Wesley and Whitfield. Their faults and errors are slightly lamented. It is, indeed, casually conceded, that they may have produced much evil, but the account is at once balanced by the assertion, that they certainly have effected much good; and the evil is, it seems, much more than balanced by their public acknowledgement of their errors and faults. Now, with the most perfect sincerity,  
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and with every possible disposition to candid and Christian judgement, we must say, that we estimate these acknowledgements very differently from the Christian Observer and Mr. S. They are of great value in two respects. First, they so far mark the candour and sincerity (or some portion of these virtues) of the parties at the time, and we are willing that their character derive all the benefit in its utmost extent. But, we maintain, secondly, that men, who were by their own serious acknowledgements, liable to such delusions, to such faults, errors, and extravagances, "mistaking nature for grace, imagination for revelation, and the fire of peculiar temper, for the pure and sacred flame of holy zeal, which cometh from God's altar," are not certainly to be trusted, merely because of such acknowledgement, unless a greater change than they ever testified had been operated in every part of their conduct. They continued their schism, and their enthusiastic influence, each, till the day of his death. They had numerous followers, and made much noise; but the breach which they both made in the Church was no good work, and we have yet to learn into what palpable particulars the great good which they effected is to be resolved. They had immense power, and wielded it to the last, with a very worldly energy. Their schisms, many of their delusions, much of their enthusiasm, and all the bitter animosities and controversies, which they commenced and occasioned, still continue. These are serious evils. The good, to the best of our knowledge and belief, if we may trust an experience of some extent, is null, at least it is problematical; certainly, it is not competent to balance the evils which are real and palpable.

We lament that our brethren in the Church, who support somewhat similar views, as they say, in a restricted sense, are so much more disposed to extend their charity and their candour, and to give the right hand of fellowship to those schismatics, and their followers and abettors, than to their brethren of the same household, many of whom (aye, the great mass of them) are exceeded in zeal and sincerity for true and undefiled religion by no class of men in the Church, or in the nation. We lament this especially, because we are confident that it has a tendency, and certain that it has the effect, to increase dissent from our Church. We lament this effect, because we are convinced that dissent from a Church so admirably constituted, and on the whole so well administered as our's, is not only hurtful to the State, but ruinous to individuals. We lament it, finally, in that history proves to us, that essential errors of doctrine, through various and quick gradations, down to the cold and comfortless speculations of Socinus, follow, in short succession, the full and final separation from the Church. Take notice, at the same time, while

while we lament these divisions, and reverence the Church, which they affect and afflict—reverence her with more than filial piety; that we are actuated by no angry passions, and feel no selfish views. Schism is a work of the flesh, and can never lead to good—as such only we deplore it. The Church establishment has nothing which we claim, or covet, or expect. Our respect is due, and our reverence is paid, to the institution of God, not to the patronage and arrangements of man.

The Church of the living God built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone, Eph. ii. 20.—the Church thus built and thus maintained is the pillar and ground of the truth, 1 Tim. iii. 15. The judgement of the Church, which is made up of fallible men, is not infallible, taken either partially or collectively. But there is something in the Divine foundation, in the original constitution, and above all in the sacred ordinances of the Church, which tends essentially by the Divine blessing to preserve the ground, to mark the evidence, and to support the efficacy of the truth. The Church of Rome has grossly erred—but we must perceive at once, with wonder and with gratitude, not to man, but to God, that even the Church of Rome, by the silent influence of her original constitution, has preserved the ground of the truth, chiefly by maintaining the ordinances, which in their uninterrupted course and constant succession are standing and palpable proofs of the fundamental facts of the original history. She has preserved to us the Scriptures, and she supplies to us in regular and uninterrupted succession, (to the force of which the constitution of the Church essentially contributes) the historical evidence by which the authenticity of the Scriptures is verified. She has thus happily furnished us with the very means by which her own errors are detected, and with the very weapons by which her gross perversions and superstitious absurdities are overthrown.

It were easy to shew, were it necessary to enter into such a detail, how vast an influence the original constitution, and the external ordinances of the Church have thus had in preserving evidence, and ultimately in elucidating and supporting the truth. It were easy to increase the force of our conclusions, by contrasting it with the endless heresies which have resulted from the rejection of Church order, and from the neglect or contempt of Church ordinances. We should have more than sufficient to serve our purpose, by restricting ourselves to the melancholy period of the Grand Rebellion, and by referring to the unquestionable evidence of a man who was himself no Churchman. See *Edwards's Gangræna*. The original constitution of the Church, and the external ordinances of the Gospel, of which the clergy are the regulated ministers, under a very awful responsibility, not the

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absolute and still less the arbitrary masters, have been rashly deemed, even by some good and zealous men, of comparatively little moment. The importance of the present controversy consists entirely in the tendency which the principles and the efforts of our opponents have to render the constitution and the authority of the Church of no importance, and the ordinances, of which she is the regulated guardian, trifling or nugatory. The experience, the impulses, the emotions, which form the proposed substitute, may be all very fine, and singularly gratifying to many minds. But in the best circumstances which we can imagine, we maintain that they are not sufficient. In the best circumstances which we can imagine, they are peculiarly calculated to mislead; and they are never in any circumstances of themselves sufficient to furnish the necessary evidence of our Christian condition. We are all agreed that we require Divine aid in the beginning, in the progress, and in the close of the Christian life; and it is indispensable that we possess some palpable evidence of the communication on which we may proceed with modest assurance, and rely with Christian confidence.

This evidence, by the ordinance of God, in his infinite mercy and condescension, is attached to the pious use, and to regular participation of the Christian sacraments. N. B. With extraordinary cases we have no concern; we enjoy no means of enquiry; we possess no certain criterion, and have in fact no right of judgment. Dr. Mant maintains that we are regenerated by baptism "rightly administered." Mr. Scott retorts that we cannot assert this, even with respect to infants, without future experience; and it is clear that he is of the same opinion with a worthy Doctor, who once told us, "You know that baptism *is and can be of no use* to the child. The scene, however, *may* have a beneficial influence on the parents and witnesses." What, we will venture to ask, was the intention of the Church, in selecting the interesting picture recorded in the Gospel, which stands in the office for Infant baptism? Shall we presume to say, that *that* was a vain ceremony? Shall we presume to infer, that no blessing was conveyed, because we do not know and cannot trace it? Yet we can confidently conclude, that when those infants left the Redeemer's arms, no human eye could detect any difference, no experience could mark any change, between them and the other infants of Judea. Is there nothing true, but that which we know as objects of sense, or that which we acquire by a prying and partial experience? Is no influence real but that which we feel, and of which consciousness enables us to calculate the commencement, the progress, and the close? Can those men, who affect to be such perfect judges of the nature, origin, and progress of spiritual influence—can they venture to

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assert, that they know the essential means and real influence, by which even our natural life is sustained? We know that we cannot sustain it ourselves, no, not even for a moment. We know that the means and influence are divine, and that they are ever essentially present. We learn the fact from Scripture, with the additional aid of our own reflection, and more than the general fact we know not—see particularly the 139th Psalm: The Church particularly and strikingly applies the Gospel, which she has selected, in the brief exhortation which follows it; she distinctly applies it to every particular case, and nothing can be more absurd in so precise a case, than the introduction of dotting questions about futurity. The Church does more than this, in the subsequent address to the sponsors. She distinctly indicates the blessings, and peremptorily applies the promises of our Lord Jesus Christ, made over to us in his Gospel—which promise, she positively affirms, that he for his “part will most surely keep and perform.” Is all this no more than mere words? and must we consult a vain philosophy, and enter into a various and vain strife of words, excited by science falsely so called, before we can yield our assent to language so distinct and decided? Mr. Scott imagines that he has made an important discovery, ch. vi. vii. viii. and ix. decisive of the controversy. He maintains particularly, and at length in ch. viii. that what he calls the hypothetical principle pervades the service of the Church; and in ch. ix. that the same principle is adopted in Scripture. He is much delighted with his discovery, which is acutely conceived and ably urged, and he is quite confident of its merits and efficacy. We have not time, and will not attempt to follow him. Perhaps he may be pleased to conclude that we are conscious of our inability. It may be so. We make him a present of this gratification without much anxiety.

If he means by his hypothetical principle, that the ultimate enjoyment of all the promises of the Gospel is conditional, and depends on the future conduct of those to whom they are made, we perfectly agree with him, and only wonder why we have been subjected to all this waste and war of words, since Mr. S. ought to know, that this is a first and fundamental principle of the men with whom he is pleased to contend. But we suspect (for we will not too minutely enquire) the worthy gentleman of some latent fallacy—and that our agreement is only apparent. The Church of England maintains the doctrine of universal redemption, on certain conditions, which she believes to be placed within the reach of all her members; if they are themselves disposed to yield to the obligations, under which, by the authority of God, she expressly lays them. She has no latent hypothesis, no secret meanings, to abrogate her promises, and nullify her blessings. Mr. S's.

hypothesis carries us silently forward to the inscrutable decrees of God. He is not satisfied with the plain and practical principle which is revealed, and which being revealed belongs unto us and to our children for ever, that we may do all the words of this law; but he is willing to dote a little upon those secret things, which belong only unto the Lord our God. If the infant or adult, who receives baptism, is now, or shall hereafter become, one of the elect, then, and in that case, Mr. S. is pleased to allow him all the positive benefit of our sacred forms; though the business being done before, or to be done hereafter altogether independently, that benefit will not be great. But if he is, or shall hereafter, become one of the reprobate, then, and in that case, by the aid of Mr. S's hypothesis, our sacred services are an absolute nullity. They do nothing, and they infer nothing.

It is deeply to be deplored that such enquiries have ever been indulged, and such difficulties ever started. The simple doctrine, and the easy practice (most urgently enforced by every interesting obligation, and by every alarming motive) of our Church, are sufficient, we trust, to protect us against this most dangerous downfall. In every baptized infant she teaches, and we believe, that the sacred seed is sown. They are, it is said, incapable of spiritual influence.—We have no *experience* that they are so changed. You know not what they are capable of, and the very nature of the case precludes your presumptuous enquiries, and all your vain experience. We sow the seeds of plants, and frequently they remain long covered in the ground from all human view, and investigation. We are profoundly ignorant of the nature and of the variety of the concealed operations. Yet do we certainly know that they are important and essential. Even when they become visible, our knowledge is very scanty, and altogether practical; and many are the conditions which enter into the case between the seed which we sow, and the fruit which we reap. See St. Mark iv. 26—30. The seed may be destroyed in the ground, and never even rise above it, but still in this case at least it will not be denied that it was originally sown. So also is the seed sown in baptized infants, whatever may be its future fate. Motives, at once more interesting and more awful, and a responsibility more tremendous, we cannot imagine, than those which attach to parents, sponsors, and ministers, to do their part in humble co-operation with the Spirit of God, the authority of the Church, and the ordinances of the Gospel, to bring the seed thus certainly sown, gradually, but surely, forward to maturity. It is obviously the opinion of Mr. S. and his friends, that where regeneration once is, its consequences will be infallible. We persist in rejecting these enquiries, and all the conclusions to which they lead. They are useless

useless at least, and carried to their legitimate length they are in the highest degree dangerous; they are mere subtleties of science falsely so called, and certainly they are not supported by the Church of England.

Witsius (*Economy of the Covenants*, book III. ch. 13. l. xxvi.) tells us that *it is certain that David was not cut off from Christ, even when he was guilty of adultery and murder.* It is a long and intricate story, to be sure, with the learned Dutchman's *finally and totally*, and "the spiritual life which incessantly flowed from Christ, exceedingly oppressed, and almost stifled with the poison of sin, coming in its appointed time powerfully to exert itself," &c. It is certainly to us, at least, neither very intelligible, nor very moral. But we believe it to be not uncommon doctrine among the friends of Mr. S. We had the following note of a sermon of a regular clergyman from a gentleman on whose veracity we can implicitly rely,—“But, my brethren, let not the most grievous sinner despair; let him cast his eyes upward, he will see the name of the adulterous murderer of Uriah, written in flaming letters of glory, on the gates of the New Jerusalem, let him read and gather comfort.” All this may be very well, and very proper. These men are so much in the secret, with their experience and their impulses, that it may be very salutary; but truly to the uninitiated, it seems neither very wise, nor strictly moral.

“It is most certain that David did steadfastly believe the promise that was made him touching the Messiah, who should come of him touching the flesh, and that by the same faith he was justified, and grafted in our Saviour Jesus Christ to come; and yet afterwards he fell horribly, committing most detestable adultery, and damnable murder; and yet as soon as he cried *Peccavi, I have sinned unto the Lord*, his sin being forgiven, he was received into favour again.” Homily of Repentance, Part 1st. 8vo. Ed. p. 453.

This seems sufficiently plain and perfectly practical, and from this no man will find much encouragement to sin, that grace may abound. David certainly enjoyed the peculiar blessing and favour of God. He as certainly lost both while he was under the gross guilt of *horrible adultery and damnable murder.*

The sacred seed is liable to numerous accidents, to serious dangers, and to absolute dissolution, not of its parts only, but of its substance. This is intelligible doctrine, and it is awfully alarming. But if we maintain, that regeneration comes we know not how, and obtains its final object infallibly; under what provisos soever we modify our doctrine, we give direct occasion to presumption in one class of men, and to despair in another.

We solemnly declare that we heard the following, or words equivalent,

equivalent, delivered in something that was called a *Christian sermon*,

"I see it plainly you will not hear—you are doomed to death and eternal damnation. But, O my brethren, hearken—O my friends, listen to me. Wretched as ye are, I have comfort for you, if you will only hear me. The Lord Jesus can wash away your sins. Aye, my brethren, if you were to commit murder, parricide, incest with your own mother (these horrible words we verify as they stand) to-day, and die to-morrow, and have faith in Christ, and call on the Lord Jesus, doubt not you will be saved."

Why do we mention these things? Because we are convinced that the questions agitated by the men whom we are now opposing, though in a restricted sense, have a direct tendency, and seem to have an increasing effect, to give currency to those wilder notions, which we are persuaded they abhor as much as we do. We have known the most abandoned felons, kept in a state of constant agitation, by regular and irregular clergymen, for upwards of a week, and exhibited to the world as fire-brands snatched from the fire, and as saints purified for heaven, by spiritual regeneration. We have heard the delusive dotings put into their minds, and agitated there by the convulsive circumstances of their situation, debited as marks of conversion, and proofs of the Spirit, and verified as such, by ministerial zeal. One could say, *O blessed gibbet, the gate of heaven*. Another, *See the sun shines upon us, a mark of the divine favour*. A third could go a step farther, and say, *I feel the Holy Ghost in my heart*:—And these ravings are noted in a book, and circulated with assiduity through the land. Such folly, delusions so dangerous to the souls of men, would never obtain half their present influence would we confine ourselves strictly to the simple doctrine, and admirable practice of the Church.

Mr. S. seems perfectly convinced, that every thing which we predicate of spiritual influence must be subject to our cognizance of consciousness, if it affect ourselves, of experience, if it affect others. Now from the analogy under which the communication is originally made, St. John iii. 8. we gather with certainty, that the influence of the Spirit is known only by its effects, and that we collect the proofs from reflection, combining the positive and moral works in one harmonious whole. "I will pray the Father," says the divine Redeemer, "and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you for ever; even the Spirit of truth, whom the world cannot receive, because it *SEETH* him not, neither *KNOWETH* him: but ye know him, for he dwelleth with you, and shall be in you." St. John

xiv. 16, 17. It is equally clear to our apprehension, that the influence here so interestingly announced is secret and invisible. Here is no indication of impulses and emotions which the world might see, and experience know ; but a secret and indwelling power, operating by means, and known by its fruits—known by a combination of evidence—not the object of mere sense, nor of mere consciousness.

Dr. Mant, in speaking of baptism, frequently uses the phrase, “rightly administered,” for which he is very severely reprovèd by Mr. S. This is one of the chief grounds of the accusation, that his doctrine revives the *opus operatum*. Now we do imagine that the most moderate share of candour, would have discovered, without being told, that this could not be Dr. M’s meaning, and that had it been his purpose to discuss the full and final consequences of baptism, he would not only have added, “rightly received,” in the case of adults, but he would have included the condition of effectual fulfilment in all who reach the years of discretion. This then being granted, as granted it must be, we demolish at once a large mass of incoherent and impertinent declamation in both the Pamphlets before us. They will, however, probably be disposed to conclude that we yield the point at issue. But, indeed, gentlemen, we do not yet at least feel ourselves under the necessity to make any change in our principles. They have long been made up, and nothing which you have said has had any tendency to alter them.

Well, then, in the case of adult baptism, let “rightly received,” be combined with “rightly administered,” and surely we shall agree that baptism and regeneration are the same. No, indeed, the matter is not yet of such easy decision. There are still enquiries to be made, and previous questions to be settled ; and then there are Scripture cases, as of Cornelius, St. Paul, the Jailor, &c. in superabundance. Repentance and faith are previously necessary in every adult person, who rightly receives baptism ; hence, says Mr. S. p. 210, every such person “has been previously ‘born of God,’ or regenerated. He must have been so, before that faith could exist in his mind, without which baptism could not be rightly received.” Now in this argument, which is delivered with a high tone of self-gratulation, will Mr. S. permit us to say that we see nothing but solemn trifling on one hand, and an absolute renunciation or contempt of the sacrament of baptism on the other ? According to the distinct declarations of Scripture, the practice of earliest antiquity, and the doctrine confirmed by the practice of the Church of England, no man in the ordinary circumstances of Christianity (and with extraordinary cases we repeat that we have no concern) is considered as regenerated until he is baptized. Regeneration is an inward principle of new life. It is so, and be assured that we mean not



to abate one iota of its spiritual import. But we maintain that in all ordinary cases (with which alone we have any concern, and of which alone we are any competent judges) baptism is an essential, an indispensable part of the proof. The catechumens of antiquity were long and painfully instructed, and possessed, we are persuaded, more Christian knowledge, better Christian principles, and a purer practice, than perhaps a large majority of modern Christians; but they were not in name nor in fact regenerated, in the Christian sense of that term, till they were baptized.

What do you say then of the adult hypocrite, who comes to baptism without repentance and without faith, and for mere secular purposes? We say not that the ceremony is insignificant and baptism nothing; for we are convinced that the Spirit of God is ever, specially though invisibly, present with the ordinance of his own institution, either effectually to bless, to alarm, or to condemn; and were we doomed to witness such a case, and enabled to detect such odious deceit, we would further say, not that we had been employed in a vain ceremony, but, "thou hast neither part nor lot in this matter: for thy heart is not right in the sight of God. Repent therefore of this thy wickedness, and pray God, if perhaps the thought of thine heart may be forgiven thee." Acts viii. 19, 20. Nothing is more easy in a matter of such difficulty and delicacy than to agitate questions which we cannot resolve, and to excite doubts which we cannot dissipate.

What do you say of those multitudes of infants who have been regularly baptized, and grow up to maturity without even knowing their duty, much less being able to perform it? We lament their unhappy condition, and shudder at the negligence to which it is owing, with at least as much feeling and sincerity as they who seem really to triumph in the supposed objection. Still do we maintain that the seed of a heavenly harvest was certainly sown, which has been unhappily retarded by careless cultivation, or perhaps finally lost by total negligence. If you cannot conceive any presence or agency of the Spirit which you do not feel, or which your experience cannot trace, and if further you cannot imagine any such presence and agency finally unsuccessful, really, gentlemen, we cannot help it, and we cannot consent to involve ourselves in a mass of questions which neither you nor we can resolve, and which, after all, have absolutely nothing to do with our character and conduct as ministers of Christ, nor with our faith and duty as simple members of his Church.

Baptism then, without controversy, is the commencement of the Christian life, and in the language of Scripture, of the purest antiquity, and of the Church of England, it is equivalent to a regeneration. Happy are those who, baptiz-  
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tized in unconscious infancy, are with the first dawn of reason effectually reared in the high and holy obligations of their spiritual condition. Happy too are those adults who, coming to baptism with hearty repentance and true faith, sincerely labour through life to perform the sacred obligations which they have voluntarily contracted. The grace of God, which is indispensable in every part of our progress, though not sensibly, is yet certainly attached, in all baptized persons, to the sincere and regular performance of private prayer and of public worship, and by more direct and especial promise to the pious participation of that holy ordinance of the Lord's Supper, which concentrates, as it were, in one gracious act of infinite condescension, and in one luminous point of divine comfort, the whole sum of Christian salvation, the motives of past and unspeakable mercy, and the motives of future and glorious hope.

Impulses are easily given, and emotions are easily excited, by the mere agitation of the animal spirits; and they really prove nothing of themselves, in whatever fine or fair forms they may for a time appear, but very warm affections or very violent perhaps and perverted passions. The sober and the serious member of the Church will find a better and an easier road distinctly traced out to him in the conditions and the consequences of that sacred ordinance by which he was happily regenerated. The promises, which are full of present consolation and brilliant in future prospects, are certain, if the conditions be fulfilled, and these conditions are rendered not only possible but comparatively easy, not by the vain words and ability of man, but by the word and Spirit of God, sealed and secured at every little interval by the sacred ordinances of his own institution. Unhappy is the constitution or the present state of that man's mind who leaves the track of duty so admirably traced, and the means of grace so happily supplied, by the Church, in quest of those great and swelling words of vanity and violence so often and so unjustly dignified with the name of sermons; words which never get beyond, and rarely reach the first principles of the doctrine of Christ. It is the facility granted and the countenance given, substantially furnished, to these delusions, in the conduct and the controversies of the party, which we lament and which we oppose. They mistake us completely, or they calumniate us most grossly, if they suppose or say that we renounce or lightly esteem vital religion in our attachment to forms. No, the substance, we know as well and feel as sincerely as they do, is pure and undefiled religion; but we also know and feel that in making up our estimate of effectual progress in the Christian life, the sacred ordinances, regularly celebrated, form an essential part of the proof; that part which, the moral conditions being fulfilled,  
adds,

adds, in merciful condescension to our infirmities, something like sense and certainty to our faith. We are perfectly aware of the questions which may be started, and of the difficulties which may be urged respecting the most sacred forms of instituted religion. Infidels will add to the number, and will kindly extend them to every part of the evidence, and to every principle and practice of the whole system. We bless God that our faith is sufficient to withstand the difficulties of such curious questions, not from carelessness but from conviction of their nullity; and to rely with confidence on the divine promise, through whatever mysterious medium it reach us, and with whatever apparent difficulties it may be accompanied, of which we neither seek nor expect the perfect solution in the natural obscurity of our present condition.

But what do you say to the case of Cornelius? We say seriously and distinctly that in our estimation it is one of the strongest cases on record of the importance, the necessity, and the regenerating nature of the sacrament of baptism. Cornelius was a good man; had renounced, in all probability, formally, the vain and idol gods of Rome, and worshipped, with sincerity, so far as he knew, the God of Israel. Of Christianity it is obvious that he knew nothing, till St. Peter, by divine command, appeared before him to instruct and convert him. The case was every way peculiar. St. Peter, down to that moment, suspected not the Gentile interest in the cross of Christ. When the centurion told his interesting story, and when the Apostle combined it with the import of the vision which preceded his journey, he discovered, for the first time, the important truth, that God is no respecter of persons, &c. But it is perfectly clear that till the Holy Ghost fell upon Cornelius and his company, the Apostle had no conception of the ultimate object of his mission to Cæsarea. Compare Acts x. 45. and xi. 16, 17. It appears then that this descent of the Spirit was altogether peculiar; that it was intended to give evidence to a fact, and effect to a conclusion of the utmost possible importance to the Gentile world; but so obstinately resisted by the Jews, that probably nothing could have convinced them of the divine intention except the same stupendous miracle which they experienced and witnessed in themselves on the day of Pentecost. Acts ii. 4. xi. 15. Remark too that this descent was verified by miraculous powers and external effects, for the very purpose of evidence; Acts xv. 7, 8, 9. When all these circumstances are duly considered, and that, in marked and immediate consequence of the Divine will thus unequivocally signified, the Apostle commanded Cornelius and his company to be baptized; we cannot, we presume, have a stronger proof of the absolute necessity of that sacrament,

sacrament; and we conclude, without hesitation, that this ordinance was indispensable to combine and complete the proof of Christian regeneration; to apply the sacred seal of that purity of heart by faith, of which the Spirit had, by anticipation as it were, given extraordinary witness. If baptism was not, in this instance, the mark and the means of grace, it was the most useless and insignificant ceremony which was ever performed.

We are told that baptism is merely the external mark of Church membership. In the case before us you will observe that this mark was unnecessary; and that in convincing the Jews of the mercy extended to the Gentiles it is never mentioned. The appeal is always to the miraculous evidence: therefore we conclude that baptism was not in this case necessary as a mark of Church membership, and that it never would have been commanded if it had not been indispensable for spiritual purposes of a much higher order than mere ecclesiastical fellowship and relation. The story of Cornelius occupies much of the attention of both our opponents. Mr. B. returns to it repeatedly. He writes about it and about it, and in the strange confusion of his ideas he does not perceive that it is really as strong a case as imagination can picture of the importance and authority of the apostolic character, and of the obligation and influence of the Christian sacraments. The case of Cornelius, we repeat, is every way peculiar. We cannot imagine a superior character in any circumstances. But human merit is not the mean of Christian salvation. This case proves that it is not. What is the highest Apostle in his earthly condition of humility, reproach, and suffering, to the power and the glory and the privileges of an angel? Yet did an angel from heaven not venture to interfere further than to direct Cornelius to those ordinary means already established in the Church (and not be interrupted even by a direct mission and special power from Heaven,) by which he might receive the instruction and be certified by sensible signs of the graces of the Gospel.

The case of St. Paul is strongly urged, and is considered as decisive by both our opponents. We agree with them in the opinion of its importance and of its decision; drawing, however, very opposite consequences, and somewhat astonished that they should not see them as clearly as we do. 1. St. Paul, before his conversion, was serious and sincere in his principles and moral in his conduct. He persecuted the Christian Church in ignorance and unbelief; but the principle on which he proceeded was very different from that of a modern persecutor. If the Christians were guilty, as he falsely presumed, of blasphemy, the law not only allowed but enforced their punishment. His zeal was erroneous, but it was sincere; therefore he found mercy. 2. St. Paul was miraculously converted, but not in the way that modern

modern zealots imagine. He was converted by evidence which at once shewed the falsehood of all his conclusions, and the gross injustice of all his zeal. 3. We throw aside all the idle declamation which we have read upon this subject, and remark the important fact of the mission of Ananias to complete his conversion by the necessary instruction; to be the minister of his baptism and of his receiving the Holy Ghost, and probably to be the medium at the same time of his ministerial commission, Acts ix. 17, 18, 19. As an Apostle, in the extraordinary part of that character, he was designed of Heaven, not of man, nor by man. But it appears to us unquestionable that he received the ordinary mission of a minister of Christ from Ananias; and we draw this conclusion from the fact of Ananias being the medium of his receiving the Holy Ghost; in that age the special though not the exclusive mark of ministerial power; and of his instruction before he preached Christ in the synagogues. 4. With the historical account of the transaction by St. Luke too, in ch. ix., we compare the declaration of St. Paul himself in his own words in ch. xxii. 12—17., and again, xxvi. 12—21. In the 16th verse of this last passage the Redeemer speaks his purpose; but all the passages combined prove to us that he effected it not personally but ministerially.

However this may be, there can be no doubt that Ananias was the minister of St. Paul's baptism and of his regeneration, in the highest and holiest sense of that term; for he tells us himself that that devout man, after pointing out the purpose of his miraculous selection, said, Acts xxii. 16. "And now why tarriest thou? arise, and be baptized, and wash away thy sins, calling on the name of the Lord." Mr. B. p. 12, &c. and Mr. S. p. 56. evade the force of this testimony in this as in every other instance, by maintaining that St. Paul was a believer, and therefore regenerate before he was baptized, and that his baptism was nothing, and conveyed nothing, but an outward evidence to the Church of his Christian condition. Now truly we presume that his miraculous conversion and his acknowledged apostolical powers would furnish much more effectually such evidence than the simple ceremony of baptism probably very privately performed.

Nothing appears to us more contemptibly trifling than the verbiage about previous faith, conversion, a renewed heart, forgiveness, and obedience, while we consider the remark of Mr. S. p. 57. about "an unconverted, unrenewed Jew hypocritically receiving baptism," introduced to obscure the question, as utterly unworthy of all serious and honourable controversy. Here stands the record, the testimony of St. Paul himself. You will not receive it. You have previous enquiries to make. You have possible hypocrisy not in this case but in that of others to object, and therefore you find yourselves at liberty to conclude, in direct op-  
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position to the Apostle's own declaration, that the sins of St. Paul were not washed away in baptism. We must confess that all this appears to us more than astonishing. We may be stupid, and we may be prejudiced; while you are endowed with all that is wise, and decorated with all that is candid. We cannot help it. Here stands the record, and we believe it. We cannot admit of your previous enquiries. We cannot yield your gratuitous suppositions. We take the fact as it stands recorded in the plainest terms of which language is capable, and we again refer you to our quotation from Hooker.

We consider the story of the jailor, Acts xvi. 29—34. as equally striking and equally decisive, but it is needless to discuss or dwell upon it. The very remarkable passage, Acts ii. 38—42, which, as forming a part of the first Christian sermon which was ever preached, is primary and fundamental, is rendered nugatory by Mr. B. p. 48. because repentance is to be "a pre-requisite to baptism," and Mr. S. p. 56. demolishes it by a single question, "Does it follow, that every one who is baptized is regenerated and pardoned, whether he repent or not?" Truly in this way it were very easy to *make of any thing what we list*, and if we set no bounds to our presumption and prescribe no limit to our subtilties to *bring in the end all truth to nothing*. Mr. B. p. 20. considers the case of Apollos, Acts xviii. as also to his purpose; though how, we are really at no small loss even to conjecture, for most certainly he was not then a Christian. He preached, at the period referred to, the preparatory repentance of St. John the baptist, with which only he was acquainted, and he was afterwards instructed, baptized, and apparently commissioned as a Christian minister, by the brethren at Ephesus. All this is not indeed distinctly announced in the xvth chapter, but the inference is inevitable when we read the first seven verses of the xixth. The case of Apollos therefore is as remote from Mr. B's purpose, and appears as conclusive evidence against it, as any case in the Scriptures, though most unaccountably he does not perceive it either with respect to him or to the certain disciples converted to Christianity and baptized, in the xixth chapter. Were we to reason as Mr. B. on the case of those disciples, p. 19. we should certainly conclude that the preparatory doctrine of the Baptist was perfectly equivalent to the full effulgence of the Gospel. Such trifling is really pitiable, and such conceits are really derogatory to the supremacy of Gospel truth and of Christian redemption. But Mr. S. informs us, p. 83. see also Mr. B. p. 36. that "St. Paul speaks, 1 Cor. i. 14—17. of baptizing as a very secondary and inferior employment with preaching the Gospel." Indeed, good sirs, you are mistaken. The Apostle does not speak slightly of baptism.

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He only asserts that it did not form a prominent part of his commission; and he rejoices that it did not, lest he should be suspected of having given cause to those divisions with which he reproaches the Corinthians, and of having baptized not in the name of Christ, but in his own.

We have still another text, however, Ephes. v. 25—27. which Mr. B. is pleased, p. 47., to consider *as a death-blow to Dr. M.'s cause*, in which opinion Mr. S. p. 52. condescends to agree with him, and he quotes, p. 53., the Homily on the Sacrament, “wash yourselves with the living waters of God’s word.” Now it might have been worth the while of both these gentlemen to consider, if it had been only to refute, for our benefit, the ancient opinion distinctly stated by St. Chrysostom, that by the word is here meant the sacred form of words by which baptism is administered. We certainly think a reference to this reasonable and likely, and the more so, in that the sacred form bequeathed to his Church by the Divine word together with the vow and conditions of the Baptismal covenant distinctly comprehend, and directly infer, all that is essential in the *word of God* towards the faith and salvation of Christian converts. But without insisting upon this, we would only venture modestly to insinuate that the word in the text and “the living waters of God’s word” in the Homily, do not, in any event, of necessity mean the **PREACHING** of Messrs. B. S. and Co.

The preaching of the Apostles in authority, power, and substance, was a very different thing from that of any ordinary Christian minister, whether bishop, priest, or deacon, in any subsequent age. *That* preaching was to all intents and purposes the word of God, and carried with it the demonstration of the Spirit and of power; but the latter, be the preacher who or what he may, is the word of man. It may be vain and it may be erroneous, but even when it is just and true as the most sacred truths of the Gospel, being, as of course we presume, in strict conformity with them, we must distinguish between it and the word of God, we must distinguish between it and the preaching of the Apostles. Not only is fallen and fallible man the object of such preaching, but fallen and fallible men are the preachers. They have no pretence, or it is a vain and impious pretence, to the demonstration of the Spirit and of power which attached to the holy men who founded the Christian Church. Their power consists, or should consist, in sober learning and serious zeal; and it is generally aided, where sincerity leads it, by the combined influence of an ordinary Providence, of the moral motives with which the Gospel abounds, and of the services and sacraments of the Church. We know no more dangerous delusion than that which leads men to dignify, with the high and sacred appellation of the word of God, what

what may be the mere ravings of presumptuous ignorance, or the idle vanities of absolute enthusiasm. Place the matter on its fairest footing; grant that the preacher utters only the truth, the error is a gross one which gives to the word of man the sanctity and the power which belong only to the word of God; his written word; the only word of God which the Church now possesses.

We mean neither to deny nor to dissemble the importance of preaching. We mean neither to deny nor to question the awful obligation which lies upon all the ministers of Christ to preach the truth, the whole truth as it is in Jesus. But we solemnly protest against elevating this work of man, ordained indeed of God, but still unquestionably, and from its very nature essentially the work of fallible man, beyond the instituted services and sacraments of salvation. The danger of delusion, of pride, conceit, and presumption, is here prodigious, and has been verified in numerous and painful examples of men, who, while they pretend to preach Christ, actually preach themselves, and who rely with the most carnal vanity on the breath of popular applause for their very existence. We abhor calumny, and we make no invidious application. The general truth which we assert is notorious and undeniable. We too are accused, we are repeatedly accused, by both the authors under review of presumption, of priestly presumption, and of arrogating to ourselves a power which is almost divine. They know, however, or they ought to know, that we maintain the importance; *aye*, the sacred importance; *aye*, the divine efficacy; of the sacraments, not because *we* are the ministers; the humble medium of their administration; but because *they* are God's institution, and that our folly or our faults cannot seriously affect nor materially injure their well-defined administration. They know, or they ought to know, that we arrogate to the priestly office no arbitrary power, but a delegated and a regulated ministry; which may be abused, as we readily acknowledge it often has been. What is there connected with human conduct which has not been abused! They know, or they ought to know, that we derive all the efficiency which we believe and assert from nothing in ourselves, but from the power and the promise of God. They know, or if prejudice have hitherto obscured their vision, a little easy enquiry will enable them to ascertain the fact, that, neither in pretensions nor in practice have the clergy, whom they represent as so high and haughty, ever claimed a higher character than that of humble ministers—of servants subjected to a strict rule—never of masters, of the grace of Christ. Their office indeed they sometimes magnify, themselves never—no never. Preaching, even our opponents will grant, if it were only to apply the inference to us, may be very erroneous, and the vehicle of much vanity



vanity; but in performing the various services and in administering the various ordinances of the Church, error is impossible, if we abide, as we are bound, by the forms prescribed and the rule laid down; and vanity, we think, having no ground whatever to rely on, were mere madness. It is indeed astonishing that men who treat the sacraments, the divinely instituted means of grace, as these men do, should yet presume to decorate preaching, the preaching of mere men, with the high and heavenly attributes which they attach to it; that they should denominate baptism an outward work of man upon the body with which regeneration has no connection, and should yet attach that essential grace to the preaching of a mere mortal. Were preaching the only institution established and regarded in the Church, we are perfectly convinced that the Gospel would soon cease to be the religion of the nation. It is by the services, by the reading of the Scriptures, by catechising, and by the administration of the Sacraments, that the form and the substance of true religion are preserved amongst us. The fundamental truths and mysteries of the Gospel are therein constantly exhibited. The necessary graces of the Christian life are thereby in constant and essential operation; neglected certainly by some, and despised by others; but still in mercy, while the day of mercy lasts, offered to all, and effectually applied to many holy and humble men, who happily in the form secure the substance, of which, in all ordinary cases, the form makes an essential part.

We had intended to follow these gentlemen in their quotations, and were actually prepared to furnish some curious specimens of haste, ignorance, or artifice, perhaps occasionally of the three combined. But it is evident that we should thus compile a volume, not a review. Nor is the labour necessary. Nothing is more fallacious than the mode which they have pursued; the inward and the ultimate effect of all religion and of all religious services may certainly be considered separate from the external sign, and from the means, however essential, by which that effect is secured and proved. This is frequently and necessarily the case in all religious writers. It is frequently the case in Scripture, and it is all very proper and very necessary. Well then, these gentlemen select these passages and exhibit them as decisive, without thinking it necessary, as it might have been inconvenient for the object in view, to bring forward other passages in the same writers, equally express and at least as decisive, which would have set the whole matter in its true light, by furnishing a connected view of the combined opinion of the writer cited. Had this been fully and fairly done, most of the authorities would have been effectually lost to the *good cause*; and thus, gentlemen, we bid you farewell.

ART.

**ART. II.** *Lives of Edward and John Philips, Nephews and Pupils of Milton, including various Particulars of the Literary and Political History of their Times. By William Godwin. To which are added Collections for the Life of Milton, by John Aubrey, and the Life of Milton, by Edward Philips.* 410 pp. 2l. 2s. Longman. 1815.

TWO men who died a century ago, and whose existence would not commonly be known, but that their names are connected with the biography of Milton, their uncle and preceptor, are selected by Mr. Godwin to appear in the title page of this elaborate performance. A quarto volume of four hundred pages appears to be principally devoted to the lives of two men who mingled with the common herd in their own day, and of whom we persuade ourselves that many of our readers have not hitherto heard the name, or marked it with attention. They were indeed, the nephews and the pupils of one, who stands pre-eminent for genius and learning, the boast of this country and the admiration of the world. But truly all that can afford interest in their biography is found in that short recital. There is no account of the great poet himself, though his history involves whatever is connected with the learning of his own age, with all the examples of taste, and with all critical enquiry; and though it is connected with the affairs of civil polity and religion at a period the most interesting and eventful, which is not half so long as this work, inscribed with the names of his nephews, Edward and John Philips.

We presume to think that the object of Mr. William Godwin, in this long labour, was not to rescue from the oblivion of a hundred years, the men, who now, for the first time, are presented as the subjects of elaborate biography. We cannot persuade ourselves that he selected that subject "as one way of approach to the history of Milton, untouched as yet, and promising new gratification to those who feel an interest in all that concerns him." It could not be "that their history affords us an advantage in studying his character;" or that "the little handful of knowledge which our author has gleaned respecting them," (we confess that it is little indeed) distributed through twelve chapters, from many of which their names may be erased without affecting the context, was necessary to perpetuate or to augment the fame of Milton. The subject of a discourse does not necessarily proceed from its text. The excursive fancy of an established writer is not to be restrained by the title of his work, or by the rules of ordinary composition. When Mr. Godwin seated himself to compile these pages, the nephews of Milton

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Milton were probably as insignificant in his view as they have hitherto appeared in the literary history of their own age. Of Milton himself, it was impossible to make any discoveries. But the real object of this publication it may not be difficult to detect. Our author is a zealous professor of many opinions which Milton assiduously defended. Milton rejoiced to see them prevailing over the laws and the religion of his country, but he lived to witness the happiness of his country re-established in the restoration of those laws and of that religion. The same opinions revived by the school of philosophy to which this writer is attached, and applied to the same purposes, on a more extended scale, have recently occasioned yet wider misery. But the wheel has again revolved, and the professors of such doctrines are passing into infamy, from which this publication will not avail to rescue them. The name of Milton, never pronounced without the reverence due to superior talents employed to vindicate the ways of God to man, is here obtruded on us, for the sole purpose of reconciling us to regicide, and of traducing our national constitution.

More than twenty years have elapsed since Mr. Godwin was first distinguished among the writers of this country who conspired to undermine the foundations of all establishments, both civil and religious, and to substitute the jargon of licentious philosophy and the follies of an imaginary equality, for the rules of social government and the doctrines of revelation. To such of our readers as may be tempted by the title of this volume, into which the name of our great national poet is three times introduced, it may be useful to be reminded that the editor, William Godwin, in the year 1792, when the Jacobins were triumphant in France, and militant throughout Europe, published a work which he called an Enquiry concerning Political Justice, and therein developed, with most insidious art and crafty accommodation, those destructive principles which tend to subvert all political institutions. He seemed to surpass all the other writers who were eminent at that awful period for the doctrines of revolution, in his eulogium of democratic institutions, and in his bold calumny of whatever had hitherto been held in veneration, and had been applied to combine the elements of society. Two years afterwards he appeared as the author of a romance entitled, *Things as they are, or the Adventures of Caleb Williams*. In this work, of extravagant fiction, he proceeded farther than merely to assail the social institutions. It seemed to be his object to defame all the principles of jurisprudence, to represent the rules of law for which government is embodied as oppressive and pernicious, and to infer that our ordinary conceptions of truth and honour, which supply the defect of

law where its application fails, and enforce its provisions by gentler means than those of rigorous penalty, are founded in prejudice and mistake, and that they are compatible with the greatest crimes. The audacious moralist attempted to corrupt the sources of opinion, and to make us mistrustful of all the outward appearances of goodness and humanity. He traduced the love of fame, which sages commend as the ally and the reward of virtue, and combined it with the worst violations of duty and a temper the most flagitious. He formed a monstrous character, amiable and dignified to the eye, but internally cruel, vindictive, selfish, and inhuman. In 1797 he published his *Enquiry, or Reflections on Education, Manners, and Literature*. In this work he continued to censure all subsisting practice and opinion, and to recommend innovation in every department and every habit of mankind. He traduced our English system of education, he censured all discipline in the instruction of youth, he required that the pupil should enjoy perfect liberty, and govern his preceptor, and that the preceptor's duty should be limited to follow and to inform, but not to controul his pupil. The relation between the master and the domestic servant calculated to inspire benevolent affections among the opulent towards those who contribute to their comforts, and supply their wants, and to unite the opposite classes in mutual dependance and reciprocal obligation; he censured "as the revival of the barbarity of Mezentius, the linking a living body and a dead one together." He represented the rich man as naturally selfish and oppressive, and the poor man as base, false, and groveling. His tradesman is fraudulent and mendacious, his lawyer dishonest, his physician unfeeling and rapacious, and his clergymen hypocritical.

"His soldier has no duty but that of murder, and this duty he is careful amply to discharge. This he regards as the means of his subsistence, as the path that leads to an illustrious name; upon every supposition he must learn ferocity. He is totally ignorant of the principles of human nature; he is a man whose business it is to kill those who never offended him, and who are the innocent martyrs of other men's iniquities. It is impossible that a soldier should not be a depraved and unnatural being."

Having levelled a deadly blow at almost every class esteemed honourable among men, he attacked the foundation of all that is truly honourable, and directed his malignant censure against the doctrines and the benign principles of Christianity itself.

In the following year he appeared as the biographer of Mary Wollstonecraft, a woman to whom he had recently united himself without marrying her, and who died in childbirth of the first offspring, which she had by our philosopher. The offen-

sive matter of this story is a practical illustration of the gross immorality which had been before scientifically methodized by the same pen, and a particular vindication of suicide, the impure intercourse of the sexes, and religious infidelity, which are, indeed, her leading characteristics, but which he pourtrayed "as circumstances in her life, that in the judgment of honour and reason, could not brand her with disgrace." That mysterious law by which

"Relations dear and all the charities  
Of father, son and brother first were known,  
Perpetual fountain of domestic sweets."

This profane writer, in this Christian country, dared to stigmatize with his impure aspersion.

"It is difficult," said he, "to recommend any thing to indiscriminate adoption, contrary to the established rules and prejudices of mankind; but certainly nothing can be so ridiculous upon the face of it, or so contrary to the general march of sentiment, as to require the overflowing of the soul to wait upon a ceremony, and that which, wherever delicacy and imagination exist, is of all things most sacredly private, to blow a trumpet before it, and to record the moment when it has arrived at its climax."

Another trait of this abandoned woman, amiable in the estimation of Mr. Godwin, was her living without the fear of God, and her neglect of Christian worship. He tells us that

"She had received few lessons of religion in her youth, and her religion was almost entirely of her own creation, she could not recollect the time, when she had believed the doctrine of future punishments. She expected a future state, but she would not allow her ideas of that future state to be modified by the notions of judgment and retribution. As far down as the year 1787, she regularly frequented public worship. After that period her attendance became less constant, and in no long time was wholly discontinued. I believe," says Godwin, "it may be admitted as a maxim, that no person of a well-furnished mind, that has shaken off the implicit subjection of youth, and is not the zealous partizan of a sect, can bring himself to conform to the public and regular routine of sermons and prayers."

The readers of the *British Critic* are probably of too much delicacy of sentiment, and of imagination too pure, to be well versed in the writings of such men as Mr. Godwin. It is desirable that they should remain so, for their purity of taste would at least be impaired, and the sturdiness of their virtuous judgment might suffer from the perusal of such obscene and nauseous publications. We thought it necessary to present to them

this succinct account of some of his former productions, that they might duly appreciate the motive which has occasioned that before us.

The name of Mr. Godwin was passing into obscurity. The venom of sedition and impiety which he helped to infuse into the public mind, has had all its operation; the good sense of mankind found and applied the appropriate remedy, and the world may again be tranquil. Benevolent minds might have hoped that Mr. Godwin himself was convalescent, and that he repented his former activity in the cause of public commotion. Though he might want courage to renounce his errors, and to offer some atonement for them, yet he might secretly exult in the recent triumph of correct principles, commanded by the vigour of his own country, and the overthrow of her enemies. This account of the lives of Edward and John Philips, connected with the learning and opinions of their uncle and preceptor, enables us to judge how far the woeful experience of twenty-five years of public calamity has shaken his attachment to the principles from which all that calamity proceeded.

That portion of the work which corresponds to its principal title, and treats of the adventures and of the works of John and Edward Philips is almost without interest, and affords little useful information. Both of them were writers by profession, and wrote books for the profits of authorship. It appears that in that profession they laboured assiduously, and frequently prepared something new to employ the attention of the reading part of mankind, but rather when urged by necessity than from the impulse of genius. They might have enjoyed ephemeral reputation, but their posthumous celebrity was so low that Dr. Samuel Johnson, an extensive, if not a diligent enquirer, believed that they had given to the world only one genuine production. Edward was of an affectionate disposition, and notwithstanding differences of opinion from his uncle, on points of politics and religion, at that crisis very important, he regarded him almost with filial piety. John was less tolerant towards his uncle's errors. Neither of them permitted his authority or his example ultimately to outweigh their considerations of allegiance towards the king, or of fidelity to his laws. It is conjectured, on good grounds, that the influence of Edward contributed to the safety of Milton after the Restoration, and prevented his exclusion from the act of oblivion. If, indeed, it be so, we must ever regard the memory of Edward with peculiar gratitude, for to the leisure afterwards enjoyed by Milton we owe that immortal poem which is the rock of his great fame.

The name of Milton is sacred in the history of English poetry. His distinguished part in the rude proceedings of the  
great

great Rebellion, are not always associated in recollection with that transcendent merit by which he raised and established the superior dignity of his native language, and presented to after ages the sublimest effort of human genius. The *Paradise Lost* will endure for ever, a standard of excellence in the noblest walk of poetry. It is with reluctance that we can mingle with such contemplations the remembrance that he voluntarily quitted the service of the Muses, and profaned his genius by worldly views and fierce controversy. But Mr. Godwin compels us again to unite these things in recollection. "There is nothing else," he says, "of so capacious dimensions in the compass of our literature, if, indeed, there is in the literary productions of our species, that can compare with the *Paradise Lost*." But the divine song of Milton does not engross his admiration. "For he is also our patriot." He thinks that "no man of just discernment can read his political writings without being penetrated with the holy flame that animated him, and if the world shall ever attain that stature of mind as for courts to find no place in it, he will be the patriot of the world." Does Mr. Godwin forget that Milton saw the liberties of his country subdued by a military despot, and that he, the patriot, bowed the knee at that despot's court.

Beyond all comparison the most interesting and only pleasing part of the History of Milton's Life is that which precedes the commencement of the civil wars in England, and yet it is there only that Mr. Godwin opens his narrative. Milton was then more than thirty years of age. He had flourished in the patronage of the nobility of his own country, and was beloved by all men of taste and literature both at home and abroad. He had attained the highest celebrity by the *Masque of Comus*, which, for the poetical imagination which it displays, for the rich variety and sweetness of its versification, and its pure morality remains the brightest ornament of our dramatic poetry. He had published his *Lycidas* and the *Arcades*, and was esteemed not only for those unrivalled performances with which he enriched our language, but for the bright promise afforded by them of varied and higher excellence. He was known to be a complete master of ancient learning, and to be familiar with the Italian school. In the pursuit of knowledge and the cultivation of his taste he had visited France and Italy, and enjoyed the honours which the learned of that splendid age willingly bestowed on persons of whatever religion and whatever country who were conspicuous for superior attainments. He was already compared with the greatest poets of antiquity.

"Græci Mæonidem, jactet sibi Roma Maronem,  
Anglia Miltonem jactat utrique parem."

Unhappily

Unhappily the differences which had arisen in England between the Crown and Parliament, upon questions of prerogative, and the yet more savage contention between the Church and the disaffected Puritans were about to terminate in open war. The standard of rebellion was unfurled, and the army was seduced from its allegiance to attack the altar and the throne. The mind of Milton had been already strongly imbued with those principles of liberty in the affairs of state, and of resistance to all ecclesiastical superiority which then became predominant. The harsh tones of civil discord reached him upon the shores of Italy, and he heard them without dismay. He hastened to bear a part in the struggle. He was content to abandon his project of visiting Greece, where, with congenial spirit he might have contemplated the antient philosophy, and have become familiar with the antient poetry in the places which were sanctified by the earliest masters of morality and the fathers of poetry. His muse became silent, and he prepared himself for hoarse and unrelenting disputation.

He immediately became a principal writer in the service of the Parliament, and encountered too successfully the learning of Usher, and the zeal, often misplaced, of those who defended the Constitution. In 1641, he produced three laborious tracts in behalf of the reformation, then rapidly progressive, against Prelatical Episcopacy, and on the Reason of Church Government urged against Prelacy. His style was often eloquent and always vigorous. His argument cogent and his learning profound. It could not be otherwise than that in any cause he should prove powerful and persuasive; but his doctrines are incompatible with every principle of the British Constitution, and can now be safely consulted only by those whose judgment and experience can refute his fallacious reasoning, and detect his pernicious errors. It is most afflicting to observe in him such want of charity, such violation of taste, and such a merciless spirit of persecution as might have been least expected from his highly cultivated mind. He execrates his opponents, the men of high dignity and promotion, without remorse, and wishing them a shameful end in this life, he dooms them

"To be thrown down eternally into the darkest and the deepest gulph of hell; where, under the despicable controul, the trample and spurn of all the other damned, that in the anguish of their tortures shall have no other ease than to exercise a raving and bestial tyranny over them as their slaves and negroes, they shall remain in that plight for ever, the basest, the lowermost, the most dejected, most underfoot, and down-trodden vassals of perdition."

But



But private considerations sometimes outweighed the judgment of his political associates. He had married a lady of respectable family, who disliked his habits and his disloyalty, and he wished the union to be dissolved. He therefore set about his Treatises on Divorce, and on the Nullity of Marriage, which were very loudly censured by the Puritans, though they never pushed the prosecution to a criminal result. They found him too powerful an advocate to be dealt with as a meaner offender.

Though deeply immersed in such savage controversy, the spirit of his poetry, destined to illumine and delight succeeding ages, however obscure, was not extinct. He sighed after nobler occupation, and projected the undertaking of a work

"Not to be raised from the heat of youth, or the vapours of wine, like that which flows at waste from the pen of some vulgar amorist, or the trencher fury of a rhyming parasite, nor to be obtained by the invocation of dame memory and her syren daughters, but by devout prayer to that eternal Spirit, who can enrich with all utterance and knowledge, and sends out his seraphim with the hallowed fire of his altar, to touch and purify the lips of whom he pleases."

But forgetful of his high calling he still devoted himself to the service of the rebellious. Within a month after the execution of the king, he published his defence of that atrocious deed in a tract entitled :

"The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates, proving that it is lawful, and hath been held so through all ages for any who have the power to call to account a tyrant or wicked king, and after due conviction, to depose and put him to death, if the ordinary magistrate have neglected or denied to do it, and that they who of late have so much blamed deposing are the men that did it themselves."

He was now honoured with public employment, and became the Latin secretary to the Council of State. He found time to write the *Iconoclastes*, a reply to the *Eikon Basilike*, wherein he traduced the character of the murdered sovereign, and aimed a deadlier blow at the royal cause than those who, by a mockery of justice, had doomed him to the scaffold. He also, soon after, published his *Defensio pro Populo Anglicano*, in answer to a learned vindication of the murdered king, published abroad, by Salmasius, in which he justified all the atrocities of the rebellion, from the first resistance made to the government, to its consummation in the establishment of the unprecedented tyranny

tyranny of a remnant of the House of Commons, to whom he was an active agent.

Milton was not consistent in this, his walk of sedition, but found it necessary, for his advancement, to abandon his notions of abstract liberty. He very willingly obeyed the necessity, and became the servant of masters, who, with no title of supremacy, ruled the kingdom with more than kingly power. The course of events had led to a different result than that devised by the first movers of insurrection. The monarch was indeed subverted, and the persecuted Church destroyed. His wishes had been accomplished in this, that most of the persons of *high dignity and promotion*, whom he execrated, had shared in the calamity of their prince, and all of them were degraded from their rank and power, and deprived of their wealth. But his beatific vision of the promised Millennium had not been completely realised. The Parliament which was to receive "above the inferiors orders of the blessed, the regal addition of principalities, legions, and thrones," had been rudely displaced and trampled upon by their own soldiery, and the nation was soon to be delivered in inglorious bondage to the rule of an unrestrained master, who called himself the Protector of the commonwealth.

Mr. Godwin has treated of these matters at large, both to vindicate the honour of Milton and to recommend the example of those fearful times. He says of the *Defensio pro Populo Anglicano*.

"It was necessary to the character of the government which then subsisted, that the proud and vaunting performance of Salmasius should not go without an answer. It was necessary to the vindication of that large and respectable part of the people of England, who had either been actively concerned in bringing Charles to the scaffold, or avowedly approved the deed, that the scurrilous and arrogant invectives of this great literary champion should be repelled. Never did any book more completely fulfil the ends for which it was produced than this work of Milton. It was every where received on the Continent with astonishment and applause. The ambassadors of the different governments of Europe at that time resident in London, paid visits of compliment to the author. It had the honour to be burned by the hands of the common hangman at Toulouse and at Paris. Lastly, having been perused by Christina Queen of Sweden, she was struck with the eloquence of the composition, the strength of the reasoning, and the vigour with which the author exposed the futility, the sophistry, and contradictions of his antagonist."

Now surely there is some sophistry and contradiction in this passage of Mr. Godwin. That part of the people of England which

which was actively concerned in bringing the King to death, is well known to be a very inconsiderable proportion, not the gentry nor the commonalty, not the presbyterian interest, but a few independents, aided by the army, traitorous both to him and to the parliament, and unable to accomplish the deep tragedy till the House of Peers was abolished, and the far greater part of the House of Commons actually expelled. It is certain that a sort of public approbation was afterwards obtained by the perpetrators of that crime; but when a tyranny possesses the whole military force, what is the value of the addresses extorted from the people. If the work was received throughout Europe with applause, it is extraordinary that it should be burnt in France, no inconsiderable country, by the hands of the common hangman. As to the compliments of the ambassadors, it was by them esteemed the manifesto of the new government to which they were accredited. As well might the servile adulation of the ambassadors to the bloody directors of France be construed an approval of the then recent regicide, as the visits of the ambassadors to Milton, the Latin secretary to the new usurpation, be deemed a public commendation of his principles.

In that work Milton prostituted his pen in distinct commendation of the leaders in the parliamentary government. A revolution took place two years afterwards, which proceeded on principles equally adverse to the friends of hereditary monarchy and to those of republican institutions. On the 20th of April, 1653, Cromwell expelled the parliament altogether, alike indifferent to the pretensions of presbyterian and independent, and soon after he deemed it expedient to assume the title of Lord Protector, and to exercise the utmost violence towards the subjects of Milton's late eulogium.

"Harrison and Rich were sent prisoners to remote castles; Overton was shut up, first in the Tower, and afterwards in the Isle of Jersey; Vane was imprisoned in Carisbrook Castle, the very place which had been the scene of the longest severities exercised against Charles the First; Okey was cashiered, and Ludlow was held to bail.

"Still Milton adhered to the Protector. Cromwell had long and justly won for himself golden opinions from all sorts of those men who placed the welfare of their country in a republican government. Milton was strongly impressed with the opinion, that if the public cause was to be saved, there was no man more eminently fitted than Cromwell for the performance of the glorious task. Milton thought he saw the express hand of Providence in the events by which the monarchy had been overthrown, and the following governments established, and proceeding in such reasonings, he viewed in Cromwell the instrument of Providence for good to a favoured people."

He

He forgot that the whole of his political life had hitherto been distinguished by his deprecating a government by a single person and his extolling a republican institution. He remained in office under Cromwell, and hastened to produce his *Defensio Secunda pro Populo Anglicano*, in which the utmost and most servile flattery is lavished on the Protector, whose most criminal assailments of public liberty are grossly applauded.

"Cromwell never called a parliament, but to commit violence upon it, to disgrace the name of parliament, or to disgrace himself. The whole of his ill-omened administration for a term of nearly five years was a series of despicable experiments on the nature of government, calculated to bring the very names of patriotism and republic into contempt."

But Milton did not abdicate his post of Latin secretary. At length Cromwell died, and his system gave way to the re-establishment of the republican form. Milton was now the most forward to asperse his memory. He compared him to Sylla the Roman tyrant.

—————Et nos  
Consilium dedimus Syllæ : demus populo nunc.

His counsel to the people was to persevere in disloyalty, never to resume the ancient constitution, or to restore the legitimate authority of their kings. All this meets with the approbation of Mr. Godwin.

At this era, "while the heart of Milton," as Mr. Godwin tells us, "was anxiously attentive to the signs of the times, and meditating if by any means his country might be saved, his nephews passed over to the enemy's standard." In 1845, an author dares to designate the adoption of that policy which led to the restoration of the royalty of England, after twenty years of public commotion and anarchy, as a desertion to the standard of an enemy.

Mr. Godwin proceeds to inform us of the state of parties at that time; but in doing this, he describes the puritans as they might have been imagined before the rebellion, the assertors of constitutional liberty, standing up for a purer form of worship and a stricter course of moral discipline; certainly not as they had shewn themselves while exercising the parliamentary domination; cruel, intolerant, rapacious, sullen, and vindictive. He charges upon the royalists of 1660, all the faults of the King's party which had preceded the troubles, and all which the spirit of faction had at any time attributed to them. He is so bold as to tell us, that they were

"Fugitives

"Fugitives and vagabonds; their practice was duplicity, and their daily meditation, plots and conspiracies. They had little reputation to support, and were careless of the decorums and decencies of life. Undoubtedly, they were made worse by exile. Undoubtedly, a King driven from country to country, without almost the means to sustain him, and whose sister was found lying in bed for want of fuel to warm her elsewhere, was wanting in some of those motives to which the decorums and dignity of Kings are ordinarily indebted. A King is an artificial and unnatural personage, but a King in exile is a creature still more anomalous."

The dogmatist goes on to assert whatever pleases his imagination. We know that Charles the Second endured great calamities, and that in after life he became a bad prince; but it is quite new to attribute his vices to his misfortunes. If that were just, the wicked faction which caused his misfortunes is answerable for his vices. Of the plots and conspiracies which the royalists were daily meditating, Mr. Godwin is the first historian that makes mention, and he gives us no account of them.

We shall not weary our readers with pursuing Mr. Godwin through his narrative of the proceedings which followed the restoration. The republicans are still the subject of his eulogium, upon the loyalists he still casts his obscene censure. There is one passage which we extract from his account of the trial of the regicides, which is indeed abominable, not because it is historically false, but because it is libellous of that unsullied purity, which at this present time we justly attach to the courts of our criminal jurisdiction. The nature of Mr. Godwin's affections may be accurately judged of by that one paragraph.

"Nothing can be more *odious* to a liberal mind than the practice which unhappily takes place in some degree in *all* courts of justice, of measuring the words of the persons arraigned before them, and requiring them to speak in what is called the manner befitting their unhappy situation. The insolence of the Judges, the *delight* they apparently feel in interrupting, in checking, in rebuking, and *trampling* upon the prisoners brought before them, which we more or less perceive in the reading of *all* trials, certainly conduces to none of the ends of justice. They expect to be emphatically thanked for their generosity, if they practice any degree of decency towards the man whose cause they are appointed to hear, and if they consent to put him to death with any sort of gentility. They look for a canting and hypocritical profession of offence and of sorrow, and hold out a lure, often a *fallacious* one, that such professions shall be considered in mitigation of punishment. They are more anxious to degrade and to dishonour, than to inflict the censure of the law. If a man fairly asserts his own conception of his case, and refuses to acknowledge his offence, where,

where, whatever may be the judgment of the ministers of the law, he finds none, this is treated as a heinous aggravation of his legal guilt: and many a one has paid the forfeit of his life, merely because he has spoken upon his trial that firm language, which is calculated to honour his memory to the latest posterity."

Slander like this must be wholly without effect.

After the Restoration, Milton composed his two immortal poems, the *Paradise Lost* and the *Paradise Regained*. He lived till 1674, pardoned of all his offences, and unmolested by the government. Mr. Godwin tells us that he died "full of years and glory." Undoubtedly, the glory of unequalled genius is indisputably his. It is not to that glory that Mr. Godwin refers.

We shall spare ourselves the unprofitable toil of describing the incidents detailed in the remaining part of this volume. Edward and John Philips long survived their uncle, and supported themselves chiefly by the labour of authorship. They are almost forgotten, and the judgment of mankind, which has doomed them and their works to oblivion or neglect, ought not to be disputed: their works may remain for the occasional research of the curious, or to complete the roll of local and unimportant history; but we assure our readers, that this piece of biography, so far as it relates to them, does not contain "a handful" of useful knowledge, or any thing to reward the labour of perusing it.

There is so close a resemblance between the affairs of the present age and those which afford the theme of this publication, that we could not pass by the work without calling the attention of our readers to its motive and tendency. The happiness of our own generation mainly depends upon the perfect re-establishment of the royal family of France, which, after many years of affliction passed in exile, are again seated on their hereditary throne. We should be hopeless of the tranquillity of Europe, or the stability of any government, if their title, or the expediency of maintaining it, were judged of by the principles here laid down. There is also in this country a tendency to many of the opinions upon ecclesiastical affairs, the prevalence of which led formerly to such great calamity. We trust the Church is not yet in danger; but when an attack is insidiously made upon its fundamental discipline, and the authority of Milton is again made to bear against its bulwarks, we render good service to our country by attempting to shew the value of that authority, and to expose the ascertained qualities of the person who adduces it.

ART. III. *De Rancé, a Poem.* By J. W. Cunningham, A.M.  
Cadell and Davies. 1815.

IT has been our painful duty to speak with disapprobation of two productions of Mr. Cunningham, not because they were deficient in ability, (for we are bound to admit that in the former at least—"THE VELVET CUSHION," a very fair portion of talent was displayed), but because the opinions which they inculcated appeared to us in many points replete with fallacy and danger. It was against the principles of his own writings that our animadversions were chiefly directed. Upon their literary merits we were willing to speak with impartiality. We gave Mr. Cunningham credit, for "some instances of pathos," and for expressing himself, on some occasions, with "much animation." These are poetical qualifications: when therefore we heard that Mr. C. was preparing for the press a poem, in which the interest excited by strong affection and energy of character was to be enlisted in defence of Religion and sound principles, by way of contrast to the too popular works of a certain noble author, we hailed the intelligence that he had assigned so well-chosen an occupation to his active mind with no small degree of pleasure: we were prepared to find in the intended publication, the powers above specified, heightened and set forward by the eloquence of verse; and we looked forward to the appearance of the volume with considerable expectation.

A very long preface, equal indeed in bulk to nearly a third of the poem itself, appears to us unnecessarily employed in maintaining the truth of a proposition which few will feel inclined to deny; namely, that sentiments of piety and virtue are very powerful auxiliaries to poetry. To prove this, Mr. Cunningham quotes the opinions of Horace, of Longinus, of Quintilian, of Beattie, of Pope, of Johnson, and lastly of Mr. C. Grant: and the practice, not only of Homer, Pindar, the Greek Tragedians, Horace, Virgil, Spenser, Milton, and Cowper, but also of the most eminent proficient in the Sister Arts, of the Sculptors, Painters, and Musicians, of ancient and modern times; and, in addition to this weight of authority, he supports his doctrine by several very convincing arguments of his own. But we conceive that all this formidable array is drawn out against a visionary enemy; and that the "persuasion which appears to prevail with many individuals," is not, as he states it, "that it is scarcely possible to employ poetry successfully in the service of Religion," but merely that it should be employed as an irregular auxiliary, and not be put

put in the same ranks with sermons, lectures, dissertations, and others, which are the natural and regular soldiers of the garrison. Further, there is a "prevailing persuasion," that poems on Scriptural subjects are generally unsuccessful; a persuasion partly arising *ex accidenti*, because, in point of fact, the generality of such poems have been dull; and partly from considerations of the great difficulty which an author has to encounter in attempting to diffuse through a long work the interest which his readers have been accustomed to feel in the simple and condensed narratives of the Bible; and of the danger which he incurs, if he should try to embellish his plot with new facts, of exposing more plainly the poverty of his own coinage, when set beside the pure current gold of the original history.

These opinions however Mr. Cunningham has not endeavoured to refute, nor indeed are they any obstacles to the favourable reception of his own poem, which would never have appeared to us peculiarly religious, and the spirit of which did not certainly demand so copious an exposition and so laboured a defence. Its faults are, in our judgment, of a very different nature, and are to be looked for in the execution of the work, rather than in its design; but of these we shall speak with greater perspicuity, when we have laid before our readers a short analysis of its contents.

The Abbot de Rancé was a man, who, like the warrior Bishops of Germany, disgraced his sacred profession by the vices of a profligate soldier. Endowed with great talents, and undaunted courage and energy, he was enthusiastically devoted to the chase, the slave of violent passions, and withal an open scoffer at the most sacred truths of Religion. In one of his hunting excursions in the neighbourhood of the Rhone, he and one single companion, having outstripped all the rest of the company, and having alone been witnesses to the fall of the deer, are benighted in a wild and solitary region. A storm of thunder and lightning, which adds to the horror of the scene, only excites the impious blasphemies of De Rancé, who takes occasion, rather unnecessarily, to repeat his belief in chance, and his utter scorn of an all-ruling Providence. In the midst however of his vauntings, he and his friend are attacked by robbers, his friend falls; and he himself, after a valiant resistance, is forced to fly, and escapes only by swimming across a rapid torrent, where the assailants forbear to follow him. He had nearly perished in his passage by a shot from one of the pursuing ruffians, but the ball fortunately struck him on his "belt of steel," and rebounded without doing him any injury. If he felt any grateful or tender emotions at this miraculous preservation, their influence was but of short duration; and he directs his steps without any com-

punction



punction to the Castle of Chaumont, to that tower which contained the fair object of his guilty love, who like him had broken her vows of chastity and celibacy, and to whom he was accustomed to pay his midnight visits, even whilst she was dwelling under her father's roof. A secret staircase in the rock conducts him to Laura's chamber; he enters, and is surprized that she is not there: a lamp in a distant apartment attracts his notice; he hastens towards it, and there finds his beloved, not as he fondly hoped in the full bloom of beauty, eagerly watching for his arrival, but a cold and corrupted corpse. The shock is too powerful even for the bold De Rancé; anguish and remorse seize upon his mind, and he rushes from the spot in a state of frenzy.

The aged father of Laura, to whom on her death bed she had revealed the secret of her shame, deeming his guilty daughter unworthy of sleeping amongst her purer ancestors, and dreading to expose his disgrace to the light of day, causes her remains to be conveyed by night down that spiral staircase which was so familiar to De Rancé, and to be interred in the gloomy cavern which concealed its base. The sad ceremony begins; and a holy friar, who had watched over the infancy of the fallen Laura, performs the obsequies with true devotion. But as her body is laid in the ground, and the last requiem pronounced over her, a man rushes wildly through the crowd, and in an agony of sorrow throws himself into the grave to die with her. The aspect of this man, so worn with misery and remorse, so changed from the once proud De Rancé, unnerves the vengeance even of the father of Laura; and he is left alone with the pious friar, whose charity induces him to attempt the recovery and salvation of the miserable wretch before him. These labours of love are finally successful; De Rancé is conveyed to a peasant's cottage, where the example of its happy and virtuous inhabitants, and the lessons of the good father, awaken in his mind a true repentance, and lead him to seek for peace in the truths of Religion. But the energies of his powerful mind can be contented with no middle course. His penitence must be as severe as his crimes were flagrant, and the reclaimed De Rancé ends his days as the strictest and most austere observer of the rigid laws of the Monastery of La Trappe.

The story, as will be seen, is extremely simple; and the dearth of incidents gives occasion to Mr. Cunningham to introduce a large portion of moral remark and declamation. This is always perilous; for as nothing is so easy as to put serious reflections and pious sentiments into verse, the writer is glad to relieve himself from the difficult task of animated narrative and faithful description, by indulging in the flowery field of declamation; and he fills page after page, without remembering that the pleasure with  
which

which they are read, is nearly in an inverse proportion to the facility with which they are composed. It is painful to speak in this tone of censure, but the vast quantities of declamatory poetry which are daily poured upon the public call aloud for some strong measures of prevention; and we must repeat, that however true it be, that pure sentiments and a high tone of morality are essential parts of poetry, still they cannot be allowed of themselves to stand forth as its representatives.

There is another point, in respect to which Mr. Cunningham has, we think, acted injudiciously. In Lord Byron's poems, whatever be their defects, there are unquestionably passages of that sort of power, which is peculiarly adapted to dazzle the generality of readers. Now, if Mr. Cunningham wished to counteract the poison, which he might think was conveyed in some of these passages, he might have reflected that the execution of his task required considerable delicacy; and that to betray any symptoms of his design, to write verses, which the most careless reader could not but recognize as forming a marked contrast, and challenging comparison with the doctrines and poetry of the noble author, must be extremely injudicious, unless he could be certain of his own superiority. We do not mean to attribute such a confidence to Mr. Cunningham, but we do not the less think that he would have acted wisely in omitting lines like the following, which are as evidently imitated from, as they are levelled against, the *Giaour* of Lord Byron.

" I'd rather be the wretch who scrawls  
His idiot nonsense on the walls,  
His gallant bark of reason wreck'd,  
A poor quench'd ray of intellect;  
With slabbered chin, and rayless eye,  
And mind of mere inanity;  
Not quite a man, nor quite a brute,—  
Than I would basely prostitute  
My powers, to serve the cause of Vice,  
To build some jewelled edifice,  
So fair, so foul—fram'd with such art  
To please the eye, and soil the heart;  
That he who has not power to shun,  
Comes, looks, and feels himself undone." P. 7.

But this is not all; we have said that from the author of the "*Velvet Cushion*," and the "*World without Souls*," we had anticipated much eloquent and pathetic writing. But Mr. Cunningham does not seem to move freely in the shackles of metre; and whether from this, or from some other cause, he retains but very little of his "original brightness" in *De Rancé*; he is declamatory rather than eloquent, strained rather than affecting:

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we see the splashing which an idle boy makes with his stick in a puddle, not the natural roar and impetuosity of the mountain cataract. These we know are general charges, and must be supported not by the selection of partial passages, but by the tone and tenor of the whole book: yet as some proof of what we assert, we will show the manner in which Mr. Cunningham describes the shock which De Rancé sustained from finding his Laura in the arms of death.

"He comes—O mark his eye ball glare—  
Not Laura—Laura's corpse is there—  
Disease has laid his withering hands  
On that fair form—the brittle bands  
That chained the soul gave way,  
It burst its tenement of clay;  
How bright she *was*, let Memory dream,  
Death has put out that morning beam.

"In coffined pomp behold her lie,  
Vacant that throne of ecstasy,  
Extinct, at once, its living fires,  
As when the spiry blaze expires  
Of snowy Hecla's ardent head,  
And o'er the smoky plains  
A stiller, deeper, night is shed,  
And double darkness reigns." P. 49.

He then adds, that what most overpowered De Rancé was his observing "on her dark brow the darker shade of mental agony," of remorse, and indignation against her seducer.

"It might be fancy; but the power  
Of fancy in that penal hour,  
When Heaven, to avenge the foul abuse  
Of goodness, lets its terrors loose;  
Is great, as though her shadowy train  
Were not the *figments* of the brain:  
As though not sketched in lifeless dies  
Her fleet and airy nullities.

It might be Fancy,—be it so—  
Still, to the inward eye,  
More dread such visionary show  
Than broad reality.  
A single tear he did not shed,  
He did not strike his throbbing breast;  
You saw him clasp his bursting head,  
—An idiot laugh proclaimed the rest." P. 52:

We wish to know what pathos there is in these extracts; There is indeed an abundance of dashes, and abrupt sentences; but

but these are only "the contortions of the Sibyl without her inspiration." For a further proof of the justice of our censure, we refer our readers to the scene at Laura's funeral, where *De Rancé* leaps into the grave, p. 68 : and as a specimen of feeble though laboured declamation, we would direct their attention to the beginning of the first stanza of the third Canto, where the author ventures upon a picture of the love between a father and daughter, unmindful of the powerful pencils which have represented this subject before him.

There are many things also which prove Mr. Cunningham's want of familiarity with the more mechanical part of poetry. In the selections already given, the reader will observe the frequent recurrence of imperfect lines, which interrupt the harmony of the verse, and over which he cannot but stumble in the midst of his career. Neither do we like such words and phrases as the following: "man terrene;" "on that wan cheek where death might *blur*, but had not power to raze beauty's æthereal character;" "figments of the brain," and one or two others. There are also, besides the short and abrupt lines already noticed, several which are extremely harsh and unmelodious; and such as the most unpractised ear ought, we think, to have instinctively avoided.

We have performed the painful part of our duty in speaking thus freely of the poem before us. Gladly do we now turn to the task of bestowing praise, and of pointing out to the notice of the reader whatever we deem most excellent. For our own parts we do not envy the temper of those critics, who can delight to expose the errors and weaknesses alone of a respectable poet; we shall proceed therefore to approve and commend with the same sincerity, and with much greater alacrity than we have hitherto censured.

The two last Cantos are decidedly superior to the two first; which makes us the more inclined to believe, that many of the faults of the poem proceed from the author's inexperience in his art, and might be remedied by practice and careful attention. We copy the following as a favourable specimen of the author's style of narrative :

" Now—give the march sepulchral way,  
Yon aged mourner must not wait;  
He must not meet the light of day,  
He must not pass the castle gate :  
That trophied gate must ne'er expand,  
Save to the triumphs of his name;  
By day, the crowd's insulting hand  
Would point to Laura's spot of shame.

No—down the secret spiral stair  
 They wind,—and through the shadowy cave,  
 And in its gloomy womb prepare  
 A sunless, melancholy grave.” P. 61.

The friar who performs the funeral solemnity is finely drawn : it may be seen at once that it is the production of a mind well versed in the duties and charities of the priestly office.

“ The chaunt begins—that holy friar  
 Had watched o’er Laura’s infant hour,  
 Had loved her as another sire,  
 Had named her once “ his own sweet flower.”  
 How it had gladdened now his breast  
 Could he have called that lost one blest—  
 Could he have seen the glittering star  
 Of Hope upon her grave arise,  
 And pointed to the winged car  
 On which she mounted to the skies.  
 But though he lov’d that flower of youth,  
 Still more he loved celestial truth,  
 And dared he not his prophet’s harp  
 From Heaven’s high purposes to warp,  
 And bid it say, that foul offence,  
 Unwash’d by tear of penitence,  
 Unwash’d by that atoning flood,  
 The pure, the sacramental blood  
 Of Him, the holy one—who dies  
 The lost world’s sinless sacrifice,—  
 Could e’er be razed, by priestly art,  
 By tears wrung from a father’s heart,  
 By blood of victims vainly spilt  
 From the dark register of guilt.” P. 65.

There is in this belief little of the “ priestly leaven,” which, as we are told, “ debased the creed” of this pious man : in fact it is perhaps more pure than characteristic. What follows is also very good : the friar labours to lift *De Rancé* from the grave into which he had desperately thrown himself.

“ And in that high and generous strain  
 Seems all his youth to come again,  
 His vein with boyish vigour warms,  
 And nerves, long palsied, string his arms.  
 Though now in life’s last, feeblest stage,  
 Zeal seem’d to check the march of age,  
 And lend the limb, the nerve, the eye,  
 Some touch of immortality.  
 O sight sublime—to see the mind  
 Vainly by bars of clay confin’d,

**Burst**

Burst from its prison, and diffuse  
O'er its dark dungeon living hues,  
The half extinguish'd man revive,  
The body's very life outlive,—  
Then as the strings of life decay,  
Spread its light wings and soar away  
'Midst visions of eternal day.  
Thus have I seen the struggling star  
Rise from the east on ebon car.  
Soon o'er her sable seat she throws  
Her glittering robe of virgin snows;  
Transforms, by touches soft and bright,  
Her throne of clouds to throne of light,  
Pursues the bright moon to the west,  
And melts upon its silver breast." P. 77.

We like the hymn which *De Rancé* hears sung by one of the children in the peasant's cottage: we can only make room however for the three last stanzas.

" Oft when the world, with iron hands,  
Has bound me in its six days' chain,  
This bursts them, like the strong man's bands,  
And lets my spirit loose again.

" Then dear to me the Sabbath morn,  
The village bells, the shepherd's voice;  
These oft have found this heart forlorn,  
And always bid that heart rejoice.

" Go, man of pleasure, strike thy lyre,  
Of broken Sabbaths sing the charms:  
Our's are the prophet's car of fire,  
Which bears us to a father's arms. P. 96.

We admire the conclusion beyond any part of the work: the sentiments come home to the heart of the reader; and impart far greater pleasure than could arise from the composition of the most splendid poetry. It is an answer to an imaginary objection, that the author would wish to recommend the superstitious rigour of *La Trappe*. We must at any rate extract the whole of this animated passage.

" To one sole altar points this hand,  
The altar of my native land.  
Church of my Sires! my love to thee  
Was nurtur'd with my infancy:  
And now maturer thoughts approve  
The object of that infant love.  
Linked to my soul with hooks of steel,  
By all I say, and do, and feel;

By

By records that refresh my eye  
 In the rich page of memory,  
 By blessings at thine altar giv'n,  
 By scenes which lift the soul to Heav'n,  
 By monuments which proudly rise,  
 The trophies of the good and wise,  
 By graves for ever sad and dear,  
 Still reeking with my constant tear,  
 Where those in honour'd slumber lie,  
 Whose deaths have taught me how to die;  
 And shall I not, with all my powers,  
 Watch round thy venerable towers?  
 And can I bid the pilgrim flee  
 To holier mother than to thee?  
 And can I bid him turn his feet,  
 From fields with flowers of mercy sweet,  
 To gloomy wastes, and chilly cells,  
 Where frowning Superstition dwells?  
 Still—such is Truth's resistless art  
 To heal a lost and broken heart;  
 And such, though wrapp'd in deep disguise,  
 Its sleepless, countless energies;  
 That though De Rancé's erring eye  
 Wooed the dark shade of piety,  
 Heard but the thunders of the law,  
 Quench'd more than half his love in awe,  
 Sweet Mercy mark'd that suppliant's knees;  
 Who bow'd too low her smile to see;  
 And heard his penitential prayer,  
 And made him happy—even there." P. 114.

These, as well as some of the lines which we have quoted before, certainly possess considerable merit; and when we find it stated in the Preface, that the author trusts "something will be excused to a very inexperienced poet, and to a person engaged in duties of too solemn a nature to allow of all the laborious exactness which this species of composition demands," p. xxxii, it is impossible not to feel strongly inclined towards an indulgent judgment. Yet we cannot tell Mr. Cunningham that he possesses high poetical powers, nor do we think that De Rancé will tend to the establishment of its author's reputation as a poet. There is in it none of that brilliancy which overpowers the reader with sudden rapture; none of that rich and finished beauty on which the mind can continually repose with a certain luxurious languor of delight. It contains indeed much animation, and a deep and pure tone of sentiment; but the animation is often damped by careless or feeble writing; and the sentiments lose much of their effect by being so much expanded, and so incessantly repeated.

We have that opinion of Mr. Cunningham's good sense, that we believe he will feel no indignation at this free avowal of our judgment: should we be mistaken, we will tell him, that in these days, when the manor of Parnassus is trespassed on by so many unlicensed and unqualified persons, it becomes highly needful for its keepers to pursue offenders with the utmost rigour of the law: and that any trespasser of character and respectability superior to the rest, must by no means, should such an one be found, be suffered to escape, lest his impunity should appear to sanction and encourage the whole tribe of inferior depredators.

The abundant crop of versifiers which spring up in these times with every revolving season, has been injurious, we think, in more ways than one, to the interests of true poetry. That name, once so sacred, is in danger of falling into disrepute, from the number of unworthy pretenders who lay claim to it; and its nature is becoming every day more liable to be mistaken and forgotten, from the variety of compositions, all professing some share in it, yet possessing scarcely one single quality in common. Besides, the ambition of originality, which, under the impulse of genius, leads to pre-eminent excellence, is as sure, when guided by the opposite of genius, to produce some pre-eminent absurdity: and an experiment which was always hazardous without the assistance of able conductors, is now, even under any circumstances, full of peril; when every road and path is already occupied; and a new track is only to be found by defying every impediment of "bog, cliff, dense, or rare." And though some progress may even thus be made, for the temple of present fame stands on no gigantic elevation, and innumerable are the approaches which lead to it, yet the paths by which he must climb, who aspires after the imperishable honours of true poetry, are few in number, and their course has been in a good measure already defined: like the pilgrim, the true poet must follow the road prescribed to him by the eternal principles of his art; and must not hope to arrive at the "celestial city," before he has listened to the voice of the "interpreter," and been an inmate at the "beautiful" house of piety and virtue. The votaries of the "lady fashion," if we may still pursue the allusion, found, when too late, that they had forfeited an immortal, for the sake of a temporal and a fading crown.

We shall take this opportunity of adverting to one of the many erroneous opinions, which are entertained respecting the nature of poetry, and which has lately received support from the very ingenious author of the "*Paradise of Coquette*." In his Preface to that work, the writer has made it a matter of complaint against his contemporaries, that their poems were all solemn and serious, and that they had forsaken all such elegant and fanciful



ciful themes as the "Rape of a Lock," a "splendid Shilling," or even the important question, "whether Hamilton's Bawn should be turned into a Barrack or a Malthouse?" Reversing the doctrine of the learned Trebatius, he inveighs against the present undue preference for

"Horrentia pilis  
Agmina, seu fracta pereuntes cuspide Gallos,"—

And wishes to call back again those delightful compositions, of which

"Lord Fanny spins a thousand such a day."

That such doctrines should be maintained, even by men of talent, we cannot much wonder; since a long list of "diverting pieces" figures in every edition of the "Elegant Extracts," and since the phrase "light poetry" seems to be sanctioned by immemorial custom. But there is an old and most honourable epithet of the poetical character, which, if they be founded in truth, must be considered henceforth as possessing no greater force or characteristic propriety, than the "fortemque Gyan, fortemque Cloanthum," of Virgil: for what can be more remote from every thing "sacred," than the composition of satires and epigrams, of "epilogues, sonnets, and lady-like rhyme?" Either then poetry has no claim to that title of "sanctity," or such things as have in them nothing solemn or serious have nothing to do with poetry; or the world has hitherto been so careless as to leave the productions of the most opposite faculties of the mind arranged under one common denomination: and has been contented to see the noblest efforts of human intellect, left, if we may use the words of the most accurate of philosophers, ἀναμιμνῆσθαι κατὰ τὴν διαφορὰν.

The pleasure which we derive from the perusal of the "battle of the angels," in "Paradise Lost," is so totally different from that excited in us by the famous description of the game of ombre in the "Rape of the Lock," that if one and the same definition can with propriety be applied to both these works, it can only be one so vague and general, as shall give no idea of the nature of either. If poetry be the "art of pleasing," or the "art of verse making," then indeed it is a term applicable to them both: but in that case we must extend it a little further, and can under no just pretence exclude from the honours of Parnassus, either the author of Jonathan Wild, or the compiler of "As in præ-senti." Few however would be inclined, however much they may respect their old friend William Lily, to exalt his name to so great a dignity: nor has even Johnson ventured to rank Fielding among the poets of England, in spite of the indiscriminating prodigality with which he has bestowed that title. Something  
therefore

therefore is intended to be expressed by the word "poetry;" not a formal and external difference, like that subsisting between metrical and prosaic language; not a vague and undistinguishing property, like that of affording pleasure. It cannot then equally apply to things sacred and profane; to works which excite laughter, and to those which penetrate to the very depths of our nature, and awaken its mightiest and sublimest feelings. It cannot apply to both; and can we hesitate for an instant in deciding which of the two we shall exclude? in determining whether the name of poet be most due to Milton or to Swift? We say therefore, that "light composition," so far as regards its levity, is totally distinct from poetry.

We add, "so far as regards its levity," because in a work whose chief characteristics are humour and gaiety, there may be, and frequently are, found, some passages of a deeper tone, which may breathe the finest poetical spirit; and others which, without any solemnity of phrase, convey naturally and irresistibly to the mind a serious and poetical image. The comedies of Shakespeare, and several of Wordsworth's trifling pieces, are full of instances of this truth; and the comparison of loyalty to a sundial in *Hudibras*, is a notable exemplification of it. But in all these cases, the poetry exists, not in the lightness of the subject, but in a sudden deviation from it.

On the other hand, and this is a point, which, we think, is often misunderstood; as in works which in the main are totally remote from poetry, many poetical passages do nevertheless exist: so in the most famous poems, there must necessarily be large portions of metrical prose. The connecting links of the story, and much of the detail, must be of a very common-place nature, and cannot be expected to excite any powerful emotions in the mind; nor indeed would our imagination or feelings bear to be kept in constant exertion for any long continuance of time; if they did not find occasional pauses where they might repose, they would grow weary and halt of themselves. Hence it is difficult to read and enjoy poetry for any long time together; and the pleasure which it communicates is oftentimes most acutely felt, by the recurrence of some favourite strain in a moment of mental leisure, when the imagination arises, "like one out of sleep," and pursues the most ethereal flights of the bard with something of a kindred activity and power. The memory it often a good practical touchstone to distinguish real poetry, especially in those persons who enjoy habitually a sound critical taste, and the finest parts of a poem will fix themselves instinctively on our remembrance, and will be treasured up as a fund of perpetual delight, while the mere dross of the narration is hurried over for the sake of the light which it throws upon the  
rest

rest of the work, and having performed its part, is soon forgotten.

We have now run into a long digression, and engaged ourselves in a subject which is almost inexhaustible; we turn, however, into a path which will soon bring us back again to Mr. Cunningham, whom we have indeed too long neglected. If poetry must, as we maintain, be deep and serious, it must also be rich and pregnant with life and activity. It must hint and suggest truth, rather than expound it; and must lead us to it by a winding and flowery path, not by a beaten and obvious road. It must imitate that playful and enchanting perverseness, which "*fugit ad salices, et se cupit ante videri.*" It speaks not to the sluggish and the dull, it does not soothe to slumber, but stimulate to active enjoyment—an enjoyment of the highest and purest nature, the draught at the fountain head of beauty. For to the contemplation of something fair and excellent all poetry must ultimately lead: it is a disease to dwell upon deformity, alone, and for its own sake. And therefore poetry cannot exist without something of Religion either in the writer or the reader; some consciousness, that in the universe, that which is over all, is good. With this feeling in the mind, scenes of horror and of grief lead indirectly to their opposites; in the darkest abodes of misery and guilt, in the very regions where the evil principle bears rule, a gleam of light bursts upon us, and we remember by what hand that evil power is inseparably associated with woe. But take away this belief, give the empire of the world to chance, or let Ahri-man or Lok, Eblis or Satan, be the supreme sovereign, and scenes of beauty or of horror would be alike detestable, the one mocking us with ideal happiness, the other impressing on us more strongly that consciousness of wretchedness, which was already too heavy to bear. Rightly therefore has Mr. Cunningham endeavoured to enforce the ultimate prevalence of good, to shew how comfort may be drawn out of misery, and that which is sublime from that which is most horrible and gloomy. This is the good old way of poetry, whose earliest strains were hymns of praise and thanksgiving, whose first descriptions were of the "mighty works of the Lord," to show that they were all good. This is the path in which the noblest of created minds have trod, delighting to imbibe, and impart to their fellows, the rays of celestial glory. This it is which invests poetry with a sacred character, and which gives to it the highest rank amongst the efforts of the human mind: for, whilst it belongs to science and to history to describe and investigate the properties of a fallen and corruptible world; it is for poetry to communicate, as it were, between earth and heaven; to tell us what better and nobler beings are, and what we hereafter may be.

ART.

ART. IV. *Cours de Literature Dramatique.* Par A. W. Schlegel.

**POETRY** and the fine arts, say the German critics, of whose doctrines we conceive no better exposition could be selected than this work of Schlegel, may be divided into classic and romantic. Each in its own way admirable, having in common the object of working on the mind by a representation of what is beautiful and grand, differing in the manner of producing its impression. Each having its principles founded in the universal nature of man, and addressed to desires, sympathies, and affections, which exist equally within the Pagan and Christian, the Icelandic, and the African, but modified according to the various contingencies of climate, of manners, and religion. Thus in certain respects, the emotions excited in an Athenian at the representation of *Cædipus* were similar to what we are accustomed to at that of *Macbeth*; but we doubt not there were to him sources of delight and admiration, which to us are entirely sealed, or feebly felt: while much, which harrows and excites us, to him, could we revive him with all his habits of mind, would be dull and vapid. In the same manner could we place a citizen of ancient Corinth or Ephesus in York Minster; doubtless the deep religious gloom would be oppressive and displeasing, while to us the simple and stately harmony of a Grecian temple wants that mysterious solemnity and awe, which our long receding Gothic aisles breathe around. The parallel, according to our author, holds good also in our music, and dared we hint a contradiction to him on the subject of sculpture, perhaps the same analogy might be applied to the Apollo and to the Moses of Michael Angelo. The causes of this striking contrast are beautifully, though a little indistinctly sketched. We quote the French Translation, because in the preface we are informed, that the author consents to be judged by it.

“ La culture morale des Grecs, étoit l'éducation de la nature perfectionnée; issus d'une race noble et belle, doués d'organes sensibles, et d'une ame serienne, ils vivoient sous un ciel doux et pur dans toute la plénitude d'une existence florissante; et, favorisés par les plus heureux circonstances, ils accomplissoient tout ce qu'il est donné à l'homme, renferme dans les bornes de la vie, d'accomplir ici bas. L'ensemble de leurs arts, et de leur poésie, exprime le sentiment de l'accord harmonieux de leur diverses facultés, ils ont imaginés la poétique du bonheur.”

\* Their religion, which deified the operations and exterior forms

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\* “ There is an admirable passage in the 4th canto of Mr. Wordsworth's *Excursion* on this subject.”

of

of nature, instead of darkening their minds, like other Paganism, with dreadful images, and hardening them with savage rites, assumed a mild, a calm, and a majestic character. Superstition, in general the foe of genius, here avowed its free development, it encouraged those arts which adorned its altars, and her idols became models of ideal beauty.

But after all, their intellectual cultivation was but a refined and ennobled sensuality; higher things were indeed unveiled to the meditations of their philosophers, and the ardent visions of their poets.—“L'homme ne peut jamais se détourner en entier de l'enfini, et des souvenirs fugitifs de sa celeste patrie viennent par moment lui rappeler ce qu'il a perdu; mais il s'agit ici de la tendence generale des esprits.”

The peculiar features of the romantic taste are to be traced, in the first instance, to the influence of Christianity, in the second, to the stern and hardy character of the northern barbarians, who conquered and regenerated Europe. The prospects of the Greek were limited to the narrow circle of this earth. His notions of another life were vague and fanciful, the enjoyments of the blessed islands those of earthly sense, flowers, and music, a sky of unclouded azure; their Elysium was but an earth idealized to a purer and more tranquil scene of delight, the sense refined to a keener consciousness of pleasure, and the voluptuousness of a nature more serene and passionless. To the Christian it is precisely the inverse; infinity is ever before his eyes. He knows the earth which he inhabits a passing vision, his meditations are of his own mysterious state; fallen from grace, a height which he hopes to recover only by the unseen spirit of God: they are of the grave, with its eternity beyond, of doubt, of danger, of despair, or of glory, of security, and everlasting triumph. Hence, and from the sternness of their northern origin, there is a moral sublimity, a deep and solemn influence over the heart within, and a melancholy majesty in the romantic arts and poetry. The Greek serenely imagined and calmly embodied an ideal assemblage of all that was admirable in human form and human mind; the effect of his work was a whole of the most symmetrical and harmonious proportion. The romantic poet, habituated to the contemplation of what is infinite and eternal, is ever grasping at the vast and uncircumscribed; scorns all limits but the limits of his own powers, sacrifices symmetry to sublimity, arrangement to forcible and profound impression, the unity of the whole in the “mind's eye,” to a slow and solemn succession of majestic parts. As a proof of this we appeal to the different sensations produced on a mind naturally alive to the enjoyment of poetry, by Homer and Virgil

on

on one hand, and Dante and Milton on the other. It is important to subjoin the following observation :

“ De meme, que la tragedie a souvent et  chez les Grecs,  nergique et terrible, malgr  l'aspect serein sous lequel ils envisageoient la vie, ainsi la poesie romantique, telle que nous venons de la depeindre, peut parcourir tous les tons, depuis ceux de la tristesse jusqu' a ceux de la joie ; mais on trouve toujours en elle quelque chose d' indefinissable qui denote son origine ; le sentiment y est plus intime, l' imagination moins sensuelle, la pens e plus contemplative.

We postpone our general remarks on the influence of dramatic representation, and pass rapidly to the Grecian stage ; and here also we must deny ourselves and our readers the pleasure of raising before them the beautiful and stately Athenian theatre, which M. Schlegel has rebuilt from the indistinct and scattered authorities of the ancient writers. We should be sorry if any of the foundations of this airy edifice were found to fail. Suffice it to remark that the Greeks seem to have had infinitely more skill in their machinery and decorations, to speak technically, than is generally supposed, while their performances, being in open day, set them above our seemingly trifling, yet unconquerable difficulties in the distribution of the lights. But surely with regard to the mask, his infatuate fondness for antiquity, transports him beyond the bounds of reason ; even Athenian art could not supply the concealment of the “ human face divine,” and we unhappily read the condemnation of his theory in one of his own notes. “ Enfin ils sont si parfaitement faits, qu'ils imitent la vie au *mouvement* pres.” It is that very motion, that working of the countenance, that arching of the brow, that quivering of the lip, that is wanting ; the elegant monotony of the finest wrought mask of antiquity would be a sorry substitute for the speaking features of Kean or Mrs. Siddons. We owe in return our unqualified gratitude for the death-blow inflicted on that monstrous and fatal comparison of the Italian opera to the Grecian tragedy.

The genius of the Grecian drama was purely ideal, not that the beings it presented were above error and passion, but their virtues and their vices, their crimes and their exploits were those of a nature superior to the common race of man. The real and ideal were blended, or to drop scholastic terms, a supernatural grandeur was allied to the truth of nature.

The moral liberty of man and a mysterious notion of destiny are the prevailing ideas ; that destiny, which, according to their belief, inhabited an inaccessible sphere, and to whose resistless edicts the very gods were subject. On these principles the difficult

difficult question is solved, concerning the source of that pleasure so apparently alien to our nature, which arises from the terror and dismay excited by tragic representations. This pleasure springs not from the contrast of those terrible sights with the conscious calm and quiet of our own bosoms, if it did, the tragic emotion must affect us slightly and tamely. When our sympathies are strongly excited that calm cannot exist. It is not the moral effect produced by the equity of poetical justice in its distributions of rewards and punishments, working on our own consciences; were it so, the emotion would be neither elevating nor pleasureable, but humiliating and contrite. It is a still stronger objection, that in many of the noblest Greek tragedies this equitable distribution does not take place. Is it then the purification of our passions by terror and pity? But the meaning of this sentence of Aristotle has never been accurately defined, and even did this moral cure take place within us, the singular union of pleasure and pain remains to be accounted for. Is it the necessity of violent agitation to break the monotonous insipidity of our daily life? In that necessity originated the sanguinary combats of the arena, but gentler dispositions need not such excessive and overpowering imitation. No—its sources are nobler. It is the admiration of human power and courage, which raises in us a proud sentiment of our nature's dignity, or it is the hope of tracing through the apparent irregularity of human events, a higher order of things, which may perhaps reveal itself. Such are the arguments of M. Schlegel, but we suspect that some of the causes which he rejects have a greater influence than he is willing to allow; indeed some of his objections appear unusually feeble, and we may observe *en passant*, that even conceding their ineffectiveness on the mind of an Athenian, we shall nevertheless claim some of them as no unimportant fountain of the tragic feeling, as it affects us, when we arrive at that part of our subject. But we clearly comprehend and strongly feel the sources of delight, to which our author alludes, in the innocent *Cædipus*, persecuted by, yet enduring this unrelenting and inevitable destiny, in *Orestes*, haunted by the avenging furies for a crime which the oracle had commanded, above all in *Laocoon*, whose attempt to arrest the fatal fall of his native Troy was so severely and fearfully punished. All in that master-piece of sculpture is untameable human constancy, and overpowering destiny. The consciousness of that viewless and unconquerable enemy has drenched his unsubdued mind with a desperate quiet, a kind of stately torpor, which is not alive even to his children's sufferings, while the body still writhes and struggles with the agony, and holds up to heaven the coil of the serpent not with a grasp of anger, but of silent reproach

reproach to that power that so cruelly visits an act of patriotism.

"Tragedy sprung, armed at all points, from the forehead of Æschylus, as Pallas from that of Jove. The stage and the scenery were entirely invented or greatly improved by him. He developed the dialogue, and assigned its proper office to the chorus. His plots are simple yet eminently striking; his style rude and bold even to obscurity, careless of the artificial niceties and refinements of language, he sometimes omits connecting particles, loads a single substantive with a mass of epithets, yet never without adding energy to the main idea, and delights in a hardihood of metaphor which allies images most incongruous, yet rarely without elevating the effect and crowding the imagination, so as to confuse and overpower it into a sort of enforced and undistinguishing admiration."

The ideal of Æschylus was a colossus. Destiny in his poems wheeled her dark and majestic flight nearer to our earth, while his human beings or existences of a superior nature, which he delighted to paint, advanced their gigantic fronts to Heaven. The conflict therefore was more immediate and terrible. We know nothing in tragedy more powerful than the Agamemnon. The hero of poetical fame, the king of men, the conqueror of Troy slain by a woman and a cowardly adulterer, before the celebration of the festival for his victory. The opening is wonderfully picturesque, and at once fixes the attention on the hero, for a hero must be he, to announce whose conquests the whole coast of Greece is expected to burst out into a blaze of beacons. The sentinel who is watching them, in every word unfolds the plot. Those critics who reproach Æschylus as inartificial have surely paid little attention to the progress of this play, as well by the way as the strong supporters of the triple unity, for here the unity of time is as palpably violated as by Shakespeare himself. What is more artful, yet at the same time more finely veiled art, than the choice song which introduces the war of Troy, and the sacrifice of Iphigenia? and how exquisitely, though slightly, is her soft retiring modesty sketched? Then enters the herald Talthylus, with the recital of the taking of Troy, and the shipwreck which ensued, a mournful presage of future calamity. The attention gasps for Agamemnon. He arrives in his car, with Cassandra, shows by his refusal of the divine honours offered by his wife, that his noble soul is not intoxicated by success, and enters unsuspectingly the fatal palace. Cassandra remains on the stage, labouring with the god; the destiny which overhangs herself and Agamemnon is visible only to her eyes, cursed with perception of the future. Her speech, which



which at first is a mere painful invocation of Apollo, becomes more and more distinct, till the spirit of prophecy bursts forth.

“ Dwelling accursed of God,  
Dark scene of murder and foul suicide,  
The lord lies slaughtered in that drear abode,  
And the wet floor with bloody dew is dyed.

\* \* \* \* \*

Away! away!—from his fell mate  
Lead the lordly bull away,  
Entangled in his fraudulent vest  
Lo! now they strike the black-horn'd beast—  
And in the bath the mangled corpse they lay.—”

What a sublime way of making known to an audience a deed too horrid to place before them. The catastrophe is worthy the piece; Clytemnestra appears, and boldly justifies her impious act, and on this subject let us add an observation of M. Schlegel's, for the instruction of our tragedians. “ Si le poete est condamné a nous peindre des actions atroces, il ne faut en aucune maniere, qu'il cherche a les pallier, ou a en adoucir l'honneur. Qu'y a-t-il de plus révoltant, qui montre une corruption plus profonde, que d'admettre les crimes odieux au sein de la plus lâche foiblesse.” Thus Clytemnestra is represented great in her sins, and thus bursts out the dreadful fate of this royal race of crime and misfortune. The poet, in the second part of his Trilogy, which these three plays undoubtedly form, represents the same calamitous destiny urging Orestes to matricide, in the third delivers him to the Eumenides. In the opening of this last play the importance of Orestes is admirably raised. The ghost of his murdered mother is permitted to revisit the open day, to reproach his terrible tormentors with their slumber, and no less a deity than Apollo descends as his defender. The Eumenides awake, and their nature, tremendous in sleep, becomes tenfold more so in the wild mixture of anger and ferocious joy which characterize their language. A French critic would, no doubt, consider the dispute between Apollo and these formidable beings as a most flagrant violation of *bienseance*: to us, whose nerves of taste, if we may so speak, are less sensitive and shrinking, it is energetic and dreadful. We may observe that the scene shifts from Delphi to Athens, so much for the unity of place. The close is calm, solemn, and majestic, the Areopagus absolve the victim, the indignant furies are conciliated, for such is the will of destiny, by the cession of an asylum near Athens. It is the attribute of high minds, that their flatteries enoble and aggrandize what, from our pigmy authors of modern days, sounds to our English ears like a paltry *claptrap*, from Æschylus to Athens

is the tribute of an independent spirit to his country's glory. We pass to the Prometheus, the most daring, perhaps the most sublime, production of antiquity, which is nearer allied to our northern darkness and solemnity, and to which Milton owes more than to any other foreign source, not of modes of expression and forms of language, but of mysterious and awful majesty. What, however, was the purport of the poet in this drama, where unconquerable disobedience to the gods is set in so exalted a point of view, and where the crime, which calls forth all the vengeance of Heaven, is a benefaction to the human race? We profess not to admire the allegorizing the pictures of poetry, but in this dearth of solution, which even baffles M. Schlegel, let us attempt a flight into the regions of mystification. Is Prometheus an emblem of the human mind, which has stolen light from Heaven (that is wisdom) by which it has learnt to examine and detect the falsehood of Jove and "all his fabled host?" But the cause of Jove is supported by the failure of his faculties, and strength, and force, the types of those viewless powers which arrest his career, enchain him on a desolate spot above the earth, whose grosser pleasures he is now debarred the enjoyment of, yet unable to attain the height to which he aspires. Still he struggles against the bondage, but the destiny of Jove preponderates, and he is cast into perfect darkness, that is a state of utter doubt and uncertainty; but his constancy is supported by a consciousness of his immortality, and a sort of innate prescience that the despotism of false deities will one day have an end. Such is our dream, whether from the gate of ivory or horn, let our readers judge. Dare we attempt to give an idea of the strongly figurative language in which the fable is clothed, by a literal version. It is the final defiance of Prometheus.

"Aye! let him on my innocent head  
His curling rings of lightning shed.  
The sky let thunder and the wild winds shake,  
Earth in its deep foundations quake.—  
The sea in restless whirl be driven  
To mad confusion with the stars of heaven—  
And let him hurl amid the storm,  
To hell my miserable form.  
Plunged in the whirlpool of necessity,  
Yet never, never can he bid me die."

We cheerfully subscribe to the truism with which M. Schlegel prefaced his work, howbeit therein differing from our cotemporaries, namely, that the chief requisite of a critic is a strong sensibility of what is beautiful, rather than a keen perception of

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what is defective. Never was a claim to this title more clearly made on these grounds, than by M. Schlegel in his account of Sophocles, and we flatter ourselves, that we too are not unworthy of the same honourable appellation.

“ Il sembloit que la Providence eu voulu, par l'exemple d'un seul homme, montrer a la race humaine toute entiere, combien sa vocation terrestre étoit susceptible de dignité et de bonheur. Elle orna Sophocle de tous les dons celestes, et y ajouta encore toutes les benedictions de la vie.”

An Athenian, of a noble family, beautiful in person and mind, the happy promise of youth, the most perfect fruits of manhood, the lofty enjoyments of genius, serenity of soul, the love and honour of his countrymen, a brilliant renown among strangers, the constant protection of heaven distinguish the life of this wise and holy poet. His ideal was the perfection of our nature, he conceived and embodied it. Less bold than *Æschylus*, he preserves a solemn reverence for the gods, the *Furies* whom the former openly introduced, our poet in his *Œdipus at Colonnæ* alludes to with a mysterious awe, and inculcates their viewless presence by their dark appellations. We cannot but quote an observation on some improbabilities, which are detected in the celebrated *Œdipus*.

“ Mais ce n'étoit pas a une raison prosaïque et calculatrice que les anciens soumettoient le dessein d'un ouvrage de l'art, et une invraisemblance que l'analyse seule decouvroit, et qu'elle decouvroit, avant l'action représentée plutôt que dans la piece meme, ne leur paroissoit pas meriter ce nom.”

We hasten to our favourite *Antigone*, and feel no slight pleasure, and indeed some little pride to find our own preconceived notions of excellence coincide with those of M. Schlegel. In *Theseus* (in the *Œdipus at Colonnæ*) Sophocles had given us his ideal of a hero, a being surpassing the pagan divinities of grosser conceptions, the benefactor of his country, whose happiness he beholds with a stern and serene enjoyment, terrible to his enemies, pious to the gods. In *Antigone* we have his ideal of woman. Fervent in her natural affections, patient and courageous in their cause, too modest to betray her love for *Hæmon*, too soft not to feel it, it is not till the hour of death, that the mildness of her nature breaks out in fond lamentations for the loss of earth and earth's delights.

“ Dear sisters of my heart and home,  
Come to behold me, weeping come—  
Set forth on her sad journey see  
Your poor forlorn *Antigone*.

Watching

Watching with fond and lingering gaze,  
Her last, last sun's expiring rays,  
Never to see it, never more  
For down to Acheron's dread shore,  
A living victim am I led,  
All unenjoyed my bridal bed,  
Nor e'er hath song of bridal glee  
Breathed out for sad Antigone,  
But death, cold death, her wedded lord shall be."

How different in effect, yet similar in circumstance, and how equally admirable are the dying words of Ajax. The calm melancholy of a stern spirit, bent and fixed on leaving the world, of which he was the honour and is become the laughing-stock. All is slow, solemn, tranquil. From a mind so stern and unalterable the simple mention of his mother, and the anticipation of her "shrilling shriek" through the whole city would alone immortalize Sophocles.

We were proceeding to arraign our author most vehemently for his sentence against Euripides, but on weighing his arguments we suspect there is more truth in them than our prejudices were willing to allow. In Euripides, he asserts, the decay of tragedy is manifest, the sublime notion of the over-ruling destiny is enfeebled or lost, the characters are less ideal, the chorus forgets its office of the severe and powerful moralist. We are forced fairly to concede that the men in Euripides generally want that loftiness, which they shew in the tragedies of his predecessors, some indeed are heedlessly vicious, as Menelaus in the *Orestes*. The gods are introduced in prologues and denouements, till they become divested of their dignity, and prove most forcibly the truth of the vulgar proverb, "familiarity breeds contempt." His choice songs are full of fine poetry, but frequently that poetry is alien to the subject, neither aiding the development, nor commenting on the moral progress of the fable. It appears to us the fact, that there are certain qualities of our nature in themselves so exquisite as to baffle the refinement of the imagination. No idea of them can be conceived more than adequate to the reality. The heightening colours of poetry adorn them not, simple and naked they come home to the heart, and hold intercourse with our most pure and delicious feelings. In painting these Euripides excels, and the excellence is not incompatible with his other failings. The devotion of *Alcestis* is somewhat beyond unidealized truth, but her petty cares, her recollections, her allusion to her nuptial bed are nature itself. It is the same with the modest and affectionate *Polyxena*, the motherly tenderness of *Megara*, above all with the delicate, the timid, the fond *Iphigenia*. Nothing can be more simple or more true than the *Antigone* in the *Phœnissæ*, fearful at first to ac-

company her mother to the field of battle, because her bashfulness shrinks from being the gaze of the whole army, but when the death of her favourite Polynices is announced, she casts off her veil and cries,

“ My streaming locks I scatter wide,  
The saffron mantle of my pride,  
Floating to the winds, I lead  
The frantic pageant of the dead.”

It is certainly extraordinary that a poet, capable of delineating such females could be a woman-hater, though certainly many of his sententious dogmas tend to support the tradition, and Medea and Phædra are no very amiable types of the sex. It is the other chief excellence of Euripides, his power of presenting a mind distracted and wandering with passion; the dark and wounded spirit of Medea, lightened by a transient gleam of motherly affection, only to settle into a deeper and fiercer gloom, and Phædra haunted with a hopeless passion, which she scarcely dares reveal to herself. In spite, however, of these wonderful beauties, we fear that we must confess Euripides to be rather admirable in passages than in any entire composition; provided he excited a strong emotion, he was careless in what manner, hence his inequality and falling off from the harmonious perfection of his predecessors. We must mention another fault, which our author has but incidentally hinted, though perhaps we may draw on our heads all the erudite collectors of *γνῶμαι*; it is the eternal moral sentences, which are appended to almost every speech, like the moral to Æsop's Fables, and which appear to us not merely flat and tame, but from a person under the influence of strong passion totally unnatural. One of these truisms is the lame and impotent conclusion of that exquisite speech in the Iphigenia, beginning *ἂν μὲν τὸν Ὀρφεύου*.—In his estimate of the several plays we generally agree with our author, especially with regard to the simplicity and religious quiet in the opening of the Ion. Has he sufficiently felt the contrast of painful mirth in the light songs of Cassandra with the settled and hopeless misery of Hecuba in the Troades? It will no doubt delight our lovers of melo-drama to hear M. Schlegel's opinion, that this play ended like the Miller and his Men, with the stage being wrapt in a blaze of fire. We think higher of the Iphigenia in Tauris than our author, in spite of her murderous office we have yet sympathy with the priestess, her tender recollections of her country, and her wild joy at the discovery of her brother, are passages of delightful pathos. We thank him for his notion of the picturesque Bacchantes with their floating hair and drape, and their glittering cymbals, and no doubt shall read that  
terrible

terrible play with greater pleasure in future ; as a whole, it is certainly one of the most perfect plays in Euripides. Our readers are aware, by this time, that the opinions of M. Schlegel are in no slight degree singular and original. What will they think, when they hear his assertion, that genuine poetical comedy exists solely in Aristophanes, and that in the hands of Menander, and the later writers, it was a secondary modification, more nearly allied to prose and matter of fact. Gaiety he considers the essence of comedy, and as seriousness, which is the essence of tragedy, consists in the concentration of the whole mind and all its faculties on a certain end, it is absolutely requisite to gaiety that it have no fixed end. "C'est l'abandon, c'est l'essor imprévu de la pensée, et non de certaines formes de discours qui caractérisent l'enjouement." Modern comedy is gay in its progress, but serious in its close, that is with a settled object to accomplish. With the ancients it was a general pleasantry or series of pleasantries, which amused and passed off, it was truly democratic poetry, from its opening to its close all was anarchy. Now if this was really the case, if the ancient comedy, "en nous montrant les hommes comme ridicules et le sort comme capricieux, nous invite à cette gaieté vive et légère, qui se joue au dessus de tout," if it delighted to display, "l'asservissement de la nature morale à la nature matérielle," from which M. Schlegel derives the βόρβορος παχὺς καὶ οὐκ ἀεικλὺς, we must think our change much for the better, as perhaps Voltaire's *Candide* would be a specimen of ancient comedy without its personality or its poetry ; and we confess, that in spite of the amusement of some passages, the *Birds*, M. Schlegel's favourite piece, and which either has no particular object, or if it has, we are ignorant of it, for that especial reason, is least to our taste ; while those, the scope of which is manifest, for even M. Schlegel allows, that however disguised and distant, there always is an object, the *Knights*, the opening of the *Peace*, and the *Clouds*, are infinitely more pleasing. But in rejecting the opprobrious title of an obscene farce-writer, with which ignorance has branded Aristophanes, we strongly agree, his light and airy poetry, the pure felicity of his language, his rich variety of versification, his poignant satire, his grouping of ludicrous images, make us blind even to his glaring faults, and it is one of the few books from which we gain any knowledge of Athenian manners. We avoid entering into the merits of the several plays, M. Schlegel's dislike of the *Wasps* is somewhat diverting, it has in fact the terrible fault of being in the way of his system, as any one may see, who will read it, divested, indeed of its diverting Chorus, in the *Plaideurs* of Racine.

Certain it is, and is well accounted for, that comedy, after Aristophanes, lost its poetry, not indeed entirely, for the imagination must be employed in the formation of a plot, and invention of characters, but the prosaic element became predominant. Its language, its personages were those of common-life. Its prevailing fault, if we may judge it from its imitator, Terence, must have been want of variety. Sameness of situation, sameness of incident, sameness of characters; while its great excellence was an elegant and natural painting of the lighter and calmer emotions of the human mind, nothing was strong, nothing forced, all was ease, grace, harmony, and truth. Such must have been the writings of Menander, admirable, if we judge from the fragments of his works remaining to us, more admirable, if we consider that half his merit was considered by the Romans an adequate portion for so delightful a writer as Terence. Plautus followed a broader and more farcical model, we learn from Horace that of the Dorian Epicharmus. But the Romans were decidedly not a theatrical people. Their Mimes were their only natural growth, their Atellanæ came from Etruria, in them M. Schlegel fancies he traces our old acquaintance harlequin, and the zany, or clown. Their comedy, as we have seen, was Grecian, of their tragedy we have but the frigid, unimpassioned sentences and epigrammatic masses of heavy versification, which pass under the name of Seneca. The Latin language, in truth, was an idiom in which poetry never expressed itself with the freedom and flow of the Greek, and the conquerors of the world, in the hardness of their nature, required the stronger emotions of the circus, the wild-beasts, and the gladiators.

Entirely destroyed by the introduction of Christianity and the irruption of the barbarians, the drama revived in the grotesque shape of moralities and mysteries, but shewed stronger symptoms of returning life with the other arts in modern Italy. But there, in spite of the master hand of Tasso, in whose *Torrismondo*, unnoticed by M. Schlegel, are some fine passages, it was heavy and cold, till the appearance of Maffei's *Merope*, and even in this perhaps the scholar predominates over the poet. It then fell into the hands of Metastasio; mawkish gallantry and everlasting madrigal replaced its lofty moral dignity, its stern and manly march, its full and majestic voice dwindled away to the strut of an opera hero, and the energy of a bravura air. We do not deny that there are speeches in Metastasio with considerable force and emphatic conciseness, particularly in *Themistoclea*, that he is sometimes really pathetic in his situations, but the general effect is feeble and effeminate,

"It capers nimbly in a lady's chamber,  
To the lascivious pleasing of a lute"

His atrocious characters are wicked and repentant, merely because the plot requires it, his heroes are always in the greatest possible danger simply to exercise the poet's art in extricating them. In short a magnanimous king, always offended and always forgiving, one damsel very delicate and disconsolate, a second very jealous and decently riotous, a very villainous villain with a due distribution of poignards and poison are the main ingredients of Metastasio's operas. The poetry is of the drawing-room species, pure and clear, but glittering without strength or solidity, with much common place moralizing, and a great poverty of illustration. We had once some thought of counting how many of the airs turn on the hackneyed image of the ship braving the winds and waves on the stormy ocean of human life, with its appendage of the "star lighting the shattered bark to its haven."

The stern mind of Alfieri was so disgusted with the gewgaw ornaments of tragedy, that he stripped her bare. The contrast between the life and writings of this singular man is the most extraordinary in literary history. Himself fiery and voluptuous, his dramas are cold and unimpassioned. "He aspired," says M. Schlegel, "to be the Cato of the theatre, but forgot that a tragic poet may be a stoic, but that tragedy, whose province it is to move and affect, is of a totally opposite philosophy." Hence he succeeded best in his Romans, whose cold and severe uniformity of loftiness, he supports with great dignity. With this exception, the beings with which he peopled the stage were neither Greeks nor Italians, a sort of abstract beings suited to every climate and country, and to none. This monotony extends to his diction, which is naked and unornamented, the Italians add, hard and inverted. Moreover the ostentatiously independent Alfieri was a slave to French criticism. He got rid to be sure of the eternal confidants, and the *role* of the *amoureux*, but he carefully preserved their monotonous regularity; he broke one link of the chain, but hugged the rest the closer. Let us not, however, be intemperate, though not a poetical, Alfieri is a vigorous and eloquent writer, and in a land, like modern Italy, overrun with flowers and myrtles, it is a noble task to cherish plants of a hardier and loftier growth. Many of his speeches are powerful and energetic, many of his situations eminently striking. Is the fine play of Aristodemo unknown to M. Schlegel? We have little room to spare for Italian comedy, as far as we are acquainted with Goldoni, we rank him nearly in the same scale, which M. Schlegel assigns him,



him, as an author wanting force and depth, and insight into human nature, while his want of variety in plot and character, and his ignorance or neglect of national costume weary and offend us. Gozzi, his rival, appears a favourite with M. Schlegel. We now arrive at the French theatre, important not only on account of its intrinsic merit, but the literary as well as military despotism which France had well nigh established over Europe. Though in Eng'land we partly submitted to the bondage, yet our love of Shakespeare and liberty lurked within us, and in our own days we have revived to a total rejection of a foreign yoke. Spain escaped from her ignorance, and the happy obstinacy of inveterate habit. Germany at first quietly yielded, till at last the tocsin sounded, and her poets and philosophers, with our author in their foremost ranks, advanced their irresistible artillery. The three unities was the war-cry of France, the authority of Aristotle their buckler. It is singular to observe with what hesitating caution our positive and dogmatic Johnson presumed to call in question these absolute unities. He, however, dealt them a deadly blow. Our scholars began to read their Aristotle without the leading strings of Boileau and Madame Dacier, when, to their great surprize, they found that of the three unities, that of place was not mentioned at all; that of time, loosely; that of action, obscurely.

What is meant by unity of action? It is a question by no means of easy solution. After examining what its literal meaning would be, M. Schlegel considers it evident, that Aristotle and his followers, simply mean by action, something that comes to pass. If the unity comprizes all the causes that conduce to a particular effect, there is unity of action in the play of Calderon, on the Conversion of Peru to Christianity, which begins with the discovery of the country. The fact is that many subordinate causes must contribute to every effect, which is brought about by the agency of many persons. Each has his motives, his objects, and the unity of action is as well preserved in Hamlet as in Athalie. Unity of impression, as a French author observes, would be a much more intelligible expression.

With regard to the unity of time let us only add to the unanswerable arguments of Johnson, that each of the Greek tragedians, offer palpable violations of it in the Agamemnon, the Suppliants, and the Trachinians. The unity of place wants, as we have observed, the authority of Aristotle and the sanction of the Greeks, has experienced the same rude attack from Johnson, and the flimsy arguments of Voltaire, in its defence, are successfully unravelled by our author. Thus the unity of time excludes from the French stage the slow and silent growth of human passion, the gradual march of great events; sublime pictures,

pictures, like that of Macbeth, led from temptation to crime, from crime to a habit of blood-thirstiness cannot be presented to them. But we doubt whether truth is not more flagrantly violated by their attempts to force a number of incidents into the narrow space of twenty-four hours, than by the regular succession of events to which we are habituated. If an interval of six hours be allowed to have passed between the acts, why not six days, or six months? The unity of place precludes almost all theatric pomp and scenic effect. It is our author's opinion, that this rule originated in want of skill in stage machinery, and the crowd of *petit maitres* who, to the days of Voltaire, took their seats on the stage, and Corneille having promulgated the decree, and the critics consequently adopted it, it passed into an irrefragable law. Voltaire, in the plenitude of his sway, attempted a cautious innovation in Semiramis, put the *petit maitres* to the rout, but from timidity retained a full half of the absurdities; for nothing can be more absurd than the contrivance in Semiramis, where the tomb of Ninus evidently appears in two different places.

But there are other *convenances* no less absolute than the unities: the French critics carried too far the correct rule of Horace: "*Nec pueros coram populo Medea trucidet,*" their delicate nerves interdicted the sight of death, and at the close whoever was to be killed, decently walked off the stage to suffer, and a confidant or second rate personage came forward with a flat recital of the main catastrophe. From this rule Voltaire also emancipated his country.—But there is another infinitely more deadening failure, which pervades almost the whole of French tragedy, Greek, Roman, or Chinese, all are purely French. It is not by the dress, by the names, or by calling the scene of action Rome or Athens, that the poet transports us among Athenians and Romans, his personages must speak and act, as we believe Athenians and Romans spoke and acted. It is not by a petty anachronism, or metaphor drawn from a modern custom, as in Shakespeare, that we are so strongly offended, but by the whole conduct and character of the beings represented being alien to their apparel and their names. This of course is less perceptible to a Frenchman; we all, and he in particular, identify ourselves with human nature, and are not unwilling to believe our own customs and habits universal: hence a French Achilles, in Paris, is no such monster; to us, whose notions of a Greek hero and modern Frenchman are equally acquired, the incongruity is ludicrous or revolting. It is the same with their violations of Greek legends and history. The principle of their selecting Orestes and Iphigenia as their subjects, is a fine one, the awakening old associations in the minds of the well-educated

cated; these very names are a well-spring of noble and delicious recollections. But our memory is jealous, and our associations require a careful touch: if actions and passions are assigned to these well-known beings which are not familiar to us, we are incredulous, and, what is fatal to illusion, we pause to examine and reflect: nay, we may even go so far as to say, that let Voltaire tell us what he will of Tancrede and Alzire, we will believe it all; all we know of them is from him, but it is in vain that Racine quotes Pausanias for the existence of Eriphile, her substitution for Iphigenia still strikes us as a poor subterfuge of the dramatist, contrary to the received faith of Grecian poetry, and consequently irreconcilable to our sympathies. Let us not, however, be too sweeping in our dispraise, the Romans of Corneille, when uninfected by the gallantry of Clelia and the romancers, are noble personages. Esther and Athalie have the highest of praise, in never jarring on our most delicate associations, those of our religious history. Voltaire, though his *Asiatics* are from the court of the grand monarque, is more successful in other countries. The old French chivalrous character is well drawn in the Gabrielle de Vergy of an inferior writer, Du Belloy.

There are some excellent observations on the effect of the French character on their drama, their politeness and perpetual aim at brilliance, but we must refer to the work for them. "*Les personnages ont rarement l'air de se croire seuls entre eux, et ils se tournent toujours plus ou moins en face des spectateurs.*" Neither let us pause to wage war against the "thrice-slain" confidants, nor to criticize their mode of unfolding the plot, the regular dialogue between the prince and his favourite, two noblemen, or the heroine and her confidante, which invariably calls to mind the sage question of Mr. Puff's friend: "Pray, Mr. Puff, how happened it they never told all this before?"—"What! before the play began!" Had our theatre never been Frenchified, the Critic would not have been true satire. A word or a fault we think not touched on by our author, the perpetual description of their feelings put into the mouths of the actors, it is not by their language and manners that they betray their secret emotions; if they are afraid they fairly tell us, that they are "*glacés d'effroi*;" if they are angry, they coolly inform us that their blood boils. We say nothing of their Alexandrine and their rhyme; it is their highest praise that they sometimes surmount its disadvantages. The difficulty is indeed eulogized by Voltaire, but he forgets that it exists in its greatest force to the poet, the mere mechanic versifier, who having no flow of ideas to curb, no excursive inspiration to fetter, may soon conquer it to an habitual facility. Their poetical diction, in spite of

of the pomp of Corneille, the exquisite purity of Racine and the force of Voltaire is meagre and circumscribed. There is a set stock of metaphors, and modes of expression everlastingly recurring, and this is the sure consequence of an established poetical diction. It is a death blow to poetry. The early French drama assimilated itself to the Spanish, Corneille is deeply imbued with this character. Corneille is always grand, even till his grandeur becomes monotonous, but in spite of this and the want of femineness in his females we cannot read or hear him without a sort of elevation, and kindred soaring of the spirit. Polyeucte is our favourite; but we avoid details. Racine is of a milder nature. The clear felicity of his language, which even a foreigner may taste, his unaffected erudition, the spotless delicacy of his females, and every thing in *Athalie* extort unqualified praise; we should add the two last acts of *Andromaque*, had the lovers of *Hermione* any names but those of *Orestes* and *Pyrrhus*. Voltaire plays too incessantly the philosopher; *Alzire*, with all its beauties, is too evidently a lecture on toleration, but he excites a deeper and more powerful emotion than his great predecessors, and had the taste to shun many of their defects. We differ from M. Schlegel in the selection of the five chef d'œuvres of Voltaire. *Merope*, after detracting all that belongs to Maffei far surpasses *Semiramis*, which, by his own criticism, is a lamentable failure. *Zaire* certainly wants oriental colouring, and *Orosmane* owes no little to *Othello*; the Christians are admirable. We forget the atrocity of Mahomet in the interest excited by his victims; he is not an Asiatic, but voluptuousness and ambition are his leading features, and there is a terrible and sombre character of power attached to him, at which we involuntarily shudder.

In the lecture on French comedy the minor authors, Regnard, Destouches, &c. are sketched with great skill, but we think the estimate of Moliere the greatest failure in the book. There is an apparent wish to decry his merits in opposition to the French Aristarchi; but it is not done as usual, by a bold and argumentative attack, but by petty blows and a sort of carping at particular faults. We are not indiscriminate and exclusive in our admiration of Moliere; the perpetual impudent valet and familiar chambermaid are not only irreconcilable to our notions, but wearisome from their frequency; sometimes, as in *George Dandin*, he is decidedly immoral, he borrows fearlessly from all quarters: but for lively pictures of French manners, for the foibles and lighter vices of our kind, for careless touches by which the character is completely betrayed, Moliere is inimitable. He is not perhaps the first comic poet of human nature, but he is of society.

We are now arrived at the grand division of classical and romantic poetry. Perhaps it would be sufficient answer to those critics, who are so infatuated with a prejudice for certain conventional forms, as to regard every thing which is not cast from these moulds as barbarous and contrary to truth (for such is their jargon) were we simply to lay before them the analogy, which exists between the English and Spanish theatres. Two nations of totally different character, climate, manners, and religion, totally unconnected in a literary point of view, have yet adopted the same dramatic rules, the same disregard of the unities, the same contrast of tragic and comic scenes; surely a very profound and powerful principle of our nature must be acted upon, that such different minds should derive such common delight from a common source. The genius of ancient and modern poetry, we have shewn above, to be diametrically opposite, the forms of poetry must vary with its character; to reproach us therefore, that we do not conform to the models of the ancients is as reasonable as to reproach the painter with an absurdity for his endeavour, by the rules of perspective, to represent on a flat piece of canvass, figures at a great distance from each other, and for not bounding himself to the powers of sculpture, a single connected groupe. The unity of transfiguration is not the same with that of the Laocoon, but is it therefore to be despised for want of unity. The whole analogy is finely unfolded by our author, the Grecian poetry, like sculpture, aimed at shaping isolated figures or groupes to ideal excellence, the eye grasped the whole: our own, like painting, has a wider range, delights in strong contrast, and leads the sight through a gradation of various successive images.

Shakespeare has ever been and ever will be the boast and glory of Englishmen, when he is not, farewell to the English character! The Puritans proscribed him, the profligates of Charles the Second's reign depraved him to their obscene humours, but all that remained English preserved their love and reverence for him, our poets, our philosophers bore testimony to his honour. We must unwillingly pause to convict M. Schlegel of a gross error, had not the name of Milton been concerned we should have pardoned and passed it over. M. Schlegel argues from the lines in the Allegro

" And sweetest Shakespeare, Fancy's child,  
Warble his native woodnotes wild."

That Milton was blind to Shakespeare's higher excellencies. But he forgets that Milton is providing his *mirthful man* with pleasures. Would not the *Midsummer Night's Dream* be better suited to the follower of Euphrosyne than *Lear* or *Othello*?

Othello? Is M. Schlegel ignorant of the sublimest praise ever conferred by poet on poet?

"What needs our Shakespeare for his honour'd bones,  
The labours of an age in piled stones?" &c. &c.

But all the rest is admirable, the universality of Shakespeare's genius is deeply felt, and finely appreciated. He it is, whose mighty magic embodies all stations of life, from the meanest to the loftiest, even to supernatural existences in their several forms of light and darkness. The clown and the king, the madman and the philosopher, the witty debauchee and the solemn misanthrope, the lovesick girl and the witch of the blasted heath, the spirit of health and the goblin damned, move before us each in their own sphere. Even national character is caught with indisputable truth. What is more Italian than Romeo and Juliet? The passions, the prettinesses of the language, all breathe that warm and voluptuous atmosphere. What more French, as Frenchmen they were, than the half chivalrous, half courtly romance of Biron? Othello is not so much a Moor in visage as in heart. What is more Roman than Coriolanus? more stoic than Brutus? Shylock is not merely distinguishable by his beard, his love of money and his Phœsical hatred of Christianity proclaim his origin more surely and more positively. Our English national character is shewn in all its progress of civilization from Falconbridge and Hotspur, Talbot and Clifford, to the haughty courtliness of Wolsey, and the meek christian spirit of Cromwell. Are we then, on account of a few anachronisms and errors of geography, to consider Shakespeare as an ignorant and thoughtless writer, who cast forth his diamonds without study, and without any regard beyond their temporary success? We think it impossible; the atoms of Epicurus, as our author says, are hardly more absurd than such a doctrine. Shakespeare was poor in what is usually called learning; he understood, and here we differ from M. Schlegel, little Latin and no Greek. But he was rich in the knowledge of all that delighted his time; the splendid poetry of those days, the foreign novels from which he drew his foreign manners, and he was profoundly versed in English history, which happily in his time was not an elaborate system of political philosophy, but a living picture of the manners of past ages. All his classical knowledge, with the exception of the common mythological allusions, may, we firmly believe, be traced to one book, the translation of Plutarch. Above all, the exterior forms of nature were familiar to him, and his own peculiar domain, the human heart, had no secrets for his piercing vision. Whence then these inaccuracies? Mr. Schlegel's solution is ingenious, he believes them intentional.

Shakespeare

Shakespeare generally wrote from the chronicles and novels that were familiar to his hearers; he thought it dangerous to his more material improvements, if he startled them with a correction of every trifling blunder; he deliberately sacrificed petty accuracy to general effect.

But Shakespeare is charmed ground; we must break the magic circle and depart, earnestly recommending to our readers the two lectures of M. Schlegel, as a splendid illustration of the manner in which our great poet should be read and felt\*.

We are delighted to find some mention of those writers, who are seated at the foot of that eminence, on which Shakespeare is enthroned in solitary greatness. It is their misfortune, fine poets as they are, ever to call to our minds the immense interval between themselves and their mighty master. M. Schlegel only names Lilly and Marlow of Shakespeare's predecessors. Lilly was a cold pedant, Marlow's Edward the Second closes admirably. It appears to us that Shakespeare wrote Titus Andronicus to silence, by his superiority in their own style, the popular plays of his time, Tamburlaine, the Spanish Tragedy, &c.—as Hamlet says to Laertes, "Nay, if thou'lt mouth, I'll rant as well as thou." Chapman aims at condensation and force till he not only wants ease, but becomes obscure. To Heywood, as our author observes, we owe the domestic tragedy, falsely supposed an invention of modern date, and which has never since been written so totally without affectation. Why does not the heart-rending nature of the woman killed with kindness supersede the false sentimentality and dull immorality

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\* We are sorry that M. Schlegel has thrown a little air of suspiciousness over his panegyric on Shakespeare, by his positive decision on the authenticity, nay excellence of the supposititious plays. Did we not know the wilful pleasure a critic finds in singularity, and a German's innate affection for paradox, it would much invalidate his testimony. Omitting all external evidences, the internal is positive against him. One proof will suffice. The language is not Shakespeare's. Most writers are generally simple, from choice or poverty, and by this simplicity set off their rich and splendid bursts. With Shakespeare it is the inverse. His natural tone is one full abundant flow of metaphor and imagery; when he is simple it is for effect. In these plays the language is easy, but not copious nor figurative, and therefore not Shakespearean. We have no doubt, and Farmer is on our side, that the most valuable of these pieces, Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cromwell, and the Yorkshire Tragedy, are among the 220 plays which old Heywood "had an entire hand in, or at least a main finger."—Locrine is mere trash, apparently by the same hand as the Mayor of Quinborough.

of the Stranger? Heywood is excellent in his old country gentlemen and substantial yeomen. But Johnson, Beaumont and Fletcher, and Massinger, are writers of a higher class. Johnson's tragedy is oratorical and pedantic, though at times powerful. In comedy he is a mannerist, but an excellent one, all is broad and vigorous, though somewhat hard and elaborate, and there is infinitely more poetry in him than is usually thought, but it is not in his more celebrated productions. The defects of Beaumont and Fletcher are well characterized.

“ Ils inspirent toujours de la curiosité, souvent de l'intérêt, et savent en general captiver le spectateur. Il faut convenir cependant qu'ils ne réussissent a la satisfaire. Au moment ou on lit leurs pieces on se sent vivement entraîné, mais il n'en reste pas d'impressions durables.....Ils montrent plus de talent dans le genre comique, et dans les composition serieuses, que tient le milieu entre la tragedie et la comedie.”

But their inimitable facility, the plentiful profusion of their fancy, and their language, alternately sweet and strong to excess, are not done justice to. We must subscribe to the doubtfulness of their morality, and the evil is more baneful, because the poison frequently intrudes upon their fairest conceptions; the female all purity in one act, is all pollution in the next. Compared with his cotemporaries, how admirable is Shakespeare; we do not mean that he is spotless, but the taint never attaches but to his beings of a grosser order. Massinger is only named, but his lofty and sustained eloquence, his strength and energy required some discriminating mention, besides that, there is a species of dramatical composition almost peculiar to him, a sort of tragic-comedy of real life. We allude to the *New Way to pay Old Debts*, the *City Madam*, &c. The leading characters and the denouement are clearly serious, the general cast of the play pure comedy. Shirley is a writer of a milder and less marked character, but seldom fails of producing a quiet and placid emotion of delight.

We fairly give up Dryden and the witty licentiousness of Charles the Second's reign. But Otway is not justly dealt with. “The declamatory tone of his two plays,” for he wrote but two worthy of mention, is a misapplication of terms. Rowe's fame rests on the last act of *Jane Shore*, and perhaps some of the rant of *Bajazet*; but he did us an irreparable injury, he melted down our free and strong versification to a regular sweetness, which became the sing-song of almost all his successors. Southey had more nature and more poetry, but ruined all by his vile comedy. We abandon the love and the ladies in *Cato* to M. Schlegel's displeasure; but *Cato*, however he may  
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show by the side of Brutus and Cassius, is a formidable rival to Corneille's Romans. The *Tragedie Bourgeoise* finds no mercy with M. Schlegel. It is singular he onfits altogether Samson Agonistes, and that holy platonic vision, Comus. Mason's two beautiful anomalies seem unknown to him.

We have passed over a crowd of inferior authors to arrive at the Spanish theatre, and here we must apprise our readers, that we give them merely our author's opinions. The works of the Spanish writers are by no means common in England, and our knowledge is unfortunately limited to the comedies of intrigue. Cervantes was the first dramatist who raised the Spanish stage above the amusing absurdities he so humourously describes in *Don Quixote*. His "*Siege of Numantium*," is named with the highest praise. Lope de Vega appears not to stand very high; indeed, his panegyrists rather dwell on the number than the excellence of his pieces.

" Il suffit au reste de lire quelqu'unes de ses pieces, pour en connoitre le genre, et l'on doit craindre d'autant moins de ne pas tomber sur les plus distingues, qu'il n'atteint, dans aucune en particulier, a une hauteur extraordinaire ni a une grande profondeur." " Call you this backing your friends."

But the rapturous eulogy on Calderon makes ample amends to the Spanish drama. Spain is the land, and Spanish poetry the poetry of romance and miracle. The language is a magnificent mixture of gothic strength, of southern softness, and oriental richness. Their poets were knights and warriors. No wonder then that their poems breathe the stately sentiments of chivalrous honour, fervent and constant and respectful love, blended with the finely-fanatical faith of a Christian, ever ready to lay down his life for the Cross, and who fondly, yet fervently, believed all his actions under the immediate influence of the Blessed Virgin and the host of Saints. This spirit in all its fulness descended on Calderon. His romantic pieces are distinguished by a richness and harmony of colouring, all is bright and majestic. His comedies, which descend nearer to common life, turn on love, honour, and jealousy; love, which refines its object to a spotless and unchangeable purity; honour, which is alive to the slightest attack; jealousy, not like the grosser passion of that name, for it does not appear to contemplate guilt, the object of its cares is above crime, but which watches every wandering glance, and maddens at the slightest emotion, which is not concentrated on itself. But it is in his religious pieces that the genius of Calderon blazes in all its splendour. In them the whole soul of the poet is religion. This favoured mortal seems to have escaped from the dim labyrinth of doubt, and to have

have taken refuge in the lofty asylum of faith. It is from thence as from the bosom of unchangeable peace, that he contemplates and paints the stormy course of human life.

The German theatre, such is our author's modest confession, exists only in hope. After a course of barbarism, and a second of flat imitations and translations from the French, it began to struggle into birth under the auspices of Lessing, Goethe, and Schiller. Of Lessing's three celebrated pieces, *Mina von Barnhelm* is somewhat over-sentimental, and moreover rather tedious. *Emilia Galotti* is a singular transplantation of the story of *Virginia* into a modern Italian state. Were it not for this, we should esteem it highly, in spite of its deficiency in the poetic inspiration of tragedy. The cold time-serving villainy of the minister, the roughness of the father contrasted with the almost childish innocence of *Emilia*, are finely though elaborately delineated. *Nathan the Wise* is a heavy polemical drama, very sage and very soporific. Goethe is a genius of a higher order, but unfortunately aiming at excellence in every style of drama, he has failed in most. *Goertz von Berlichinger* is a good rough picture of manners, totally devoid of dramatic interest and poetry. M. Schlegel's dislike to the domestic tragedy blinds him to the merits of *Clairgo*. In that class, which we by no means consider as the highest order of the drama, it is admirable, simple, natural, unforced, and without that tawdry affectation, the avoiding which renders this kind of drama so peculiarly difficult, and of the excess of which "*Stella*" is a first-rate example. Our anti-jacobin poets tried to burlesque this piece; its inimitable absurdity set them at defiance. *Iphigenia* is pure and spirited. The exquisite scenes in *Count Egmont* cannot compensate for the utter want of morality. We refer to *Madame de Stael's Germany* for an account of that wild and sublime piece, *Faust*.

The last, and certainly the most dramatic writer of the trio, is Schiller. We confess we cannot see the similarity between *Frank Moor* in the "*Robbers*" and our *Richard the Third*. Notwithstanding the faults that abound in that extraordinary play, there are redeeming situations and passages which announce genius of the highest order. The same may be said of the dreadful vein of passion, which pervades "*Cabal and Love*." We esteem *Fresco* higher than our author. The superfluous horror occasioned by the accidental death of *Fresco's* wife is the main fault. The *Conspirators* are a finely contrasted groupe. *Don Carlos* shews greater powers, but its length is immoderate; it is a history rather than a play. If *Wallenstein* is an imitation of *Shakespeare*, it is a failure; but as it is the only Ger-

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man play, excepting Iphigenia and Goertz of Berlichinger, which has met with a translator of genius, we refer to Mr. Coleridge's excellent version. Scenes of Mary Stuart, Jean of Arc, and William Tell, are admirable; but in all, especially the first, there are strong marks of failure. But on the whole, Schiller gives a lofty and contemptuous answer to our prejudices against German plays. The fact is, we have transplanted the rank and poisonous weeds, and left the nobler plants to their native soil. Our theatre has been and still is polluted by the sickly trash of Kotzebue and his race. In justice to our author, let us show how indignant are the feelings of the right-minded and right-hearted in Germany on this subject.

"Lachez la bride a vos penchans, semble dire le poete sentimental aux spectateurs, voyez comme mes jeunes filles sont aimables, quand elles avouent naivement leurs foiblesses! comme mes jeunes gens sont sublimes quand ils se laissent emporter par leurs passions! Pouron que l'auteur excite des emotions tendres, mais plutot sensuelles que morales, pouron qu'il raccommode tout a la fin, et qu'il fasse venir quelque bienfaiteur genereux, qui en repandant l'or a pleines mains, facilite les diverses reconciliations, il est sûr de plaire à tous les cœurs. amollis.... Mais ce que l'on nous a depeint dans ce genre de pièces, je ne dis pas comme naturel et permis, mais comme moral et interessant, passe toute imagination. Une telle seduction est mille fois plus dangereuse, que celle de la comedie un peu libre, car sans chequer par aucune inconvenance exterieure, elle s'insinue dans les ames sans defense, en se deguisant sous les noms le plus sacres."

A few words on the effects of dramatic representations, and we have done. We shall confine ourselves to tragedy, as undoubtedly the highest branch of the art, and because our modern comedy is, generally speaking, so quietly insipid, as to merit very little, either praise or blame. To this we are incited, because we have heard the old fanatical cry against the theatre renewed, and by very worthy persons. Old Collier is abroad again, not with his discrimination and judgment separating the good from the evil, and grounding his attack on the obscenities and blasphemies, which then polluted the stage, but with the true levelling spirit, branding the whole with one sweeping interdict, razing the edifice, because one of its porticoes has been defiled to an unholy purpose. We know that the unfortunate destruction of our two late magnificent theatres by fire, was blasphemously proclaimed a visitation from heaven. We are aware, and we wish the evil were remedied, that in one quarter of our theatre vice prevails, but that the dramatic representation has any connection with this, we totally deny. Those that go there

there to indulge vicious propensities, would not indulge them the less, did no theatre exist; as to the representation, they know and regard not what it is. But to the better, and much the greater part of the assembly, the drama is not only not alien to morality and religion, but may be made conducive to both. We shall at all times make solemn asseverations of our hostility to every thing in the drama, which even slightly trenches on either of these, but we do not give into the gloomy intolerance of Puritanism, which considers every amusement as an abomination, and reads sin in the hearts of every one, in whose faces they do not see the dark and rigid lines of what they misname piety. True piety has a wider sphere, instead of sternly forbidding, it refines and purifies our enjoyments, instead of quelling our desires, it attaches them to worthy objects, it extracts the honey and rejects the poison from the mixed pleasures of the world.

To prove that the tragic disposition of the mind, as our author terms it, is not only not inconsistent with this influence, but strongly conducive to it, let us examine its nature. It is a blending of the melancholy excited by the humble sense of our feeble nature, with a proud consciousness of its dignity. Tragedy presents to us the vicissitudes of human life, its shock of passions, its dangers, its uncertainties, we contemplate and weep over "life's fitful fever:" but it also shews us as beings capable of enduring all these changes and chances, from a confidence of our importance, as rational and responsible creatures: our passions, though evil, are powerful; their effects may extend beyond ourselves and our immediate connections, and give a colouring to the existence of a thousand of our fellows; the fate of empires may hang on our actions: we look on our shadowy counterparts, and feel that we too are of an exalted nature, important enough to make changes upon earth, and to be amenable at the throne of God. Our notion of Providence has superseded that of destiny on the Greek theatre; their only idea of the power that presided over the tissue of human events was, that it was above human interference, unalterable, unrelenting; ours is also unalterable, and above human interference, but it is also known to be merciful and beneficent: hence their sole consolation, when a great man suffered and bravely endured, was the elevation they felt at being kindred to a spirit of such fortitude, we have the additional comfort and accession of pride, that Almighty Wisdom is a watch over our actions, to reward or to punish. Hence we more imperiously require, and our feeling of pleasure is enhanced by the distribution of poetical justice. Not but that we are willing to trust to futurity the remuneration of the suffering virtuous, and simply weep over  
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their fate ; but if the wicked finally triumph, we experience a sort of impatience and dissatisfaction at not being present at the punishment of those crimes, the progress and effects of which we have traced. We shall find, that in most of our finest tragedies, the innocent suffer, yet the guilty never escape. Thus is tragedy a picture of God's dispensations on earth, more perfect, and perhaps, more complete than we can trace in history or the lives of our fellow-creatures around us, in the first place, because in history and real life we merely behold persons, their actions and the consequences of them ; of their motives we can but at best conjecture ; now the skilful tragic poet not only represents our actions, but betrays to us the secret workings of the mind within ; does not merely tell us that Othello slew his wife, but shews us by what process the mind was wrought to this act of frenzy ; we are admitted into the secret council-house of a man's own bosom, even what is hidden to himself is unveiled to us. In the second place, because it is the high privilege of tragedy, not only to select from the every-day occurrences of life, what is striking and imposing, and to separate it from all external intrusion, but to array it in stronger and more determined colours, to invest its agents with a more lofty, more powerful, more distinct existence. Neither do we think that tragedy, when it waves this exalted privilege, {and simply represents, without poetical aggrandizement, the sorrows and vicissitudes of life, devoid of benign influence. We must all have felt or experienced the salutary effects of sickness or misfortune upon our characters ; in these states the mind is cast back upon itself, its thoughtlessness is sobered into reflection, it is softened, and at the same time its manliness and fortitude is exerted. Surely to some of us, lapt in luxury and knowing suffering but by name, the fictitious grief excited by domestic tragedy may produce a similar effect. We cannot see sorrow among beings so like ourselves without some consciousness of our own infirmities. The giddy and the dead of feeling may thus be forced into thinking. Before such minds poetry and its splendid visions pass, seen but not felt ; to them the moralist may argue, against them the preacher may thunder, the habit of vapid pleasure is inveterate. But if you can make them feel, there is hope they may feel nobly ; make them think, they may think rightly. This we confess is a secondary office of tragedy, because it operates chiefly on minds of a less fine and exalted order, though we must think there are few of us, even of those capable of higher things, on whom at some periods it might not produce a happy effect, for the very reason that it is conversant about beings of a more lowly character, because it is more homely, because instead of carrying us with it to a loftier sphere, it stoops to walk with

with us in our more humble one. If then these be the powers of tragedy in its higher and inferior province, let them be applied to the best purposes. Restore to her her office, let her still, by her living delineations of high passions and high actions, attemper the melancholy, which the sense of our nothingness ever must excite, with a proud gratitude to Heaven for making us beings of such wonderful powers and extended prospects.

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*ART. V. History of the Church of Scotland, &c. &c.*

*(Continued from p. 166.)*

**WHEN** James ascended the English throne, he had much to apprehend both from the Catholics and Puritans, because both had formed expectations which it was impossible for him to gratify. Regarding him as the son of an unfortunate queen, who, in her last moments, had declared her unshaken attachment to their faith, and being aware, at the same time, that his Scottish subjects had charged him with an undue veneration for the See of Rome, the former had not failed to flatter themselves with the hope that the new sovereign would restore their Church to her ancient splendour and power. The latter trusting, perhaps, to his assurances that the discipline of the Church of Scotland was the model which he preferred for the ecclesiastical polity of all his dominions, and encouraged, it is said, by promises of protection, conveyed to them in the most direct and positive terms, hailed the arrival of James as the era of their triumph and the consummation of their fondest wishes. It is unnecessary to state how grievously both parties were disappointed, and how virulently mischievous was the reaction which followed, upon their discovery of the king's real intentions.

Some writers have been of opinion, that James might easily have conciliated the Puritans, by granting to them the few indulgencies which they claimed, as to the vestments and ceremonies. Dr. Cook leans to this view of the subject, and even blames the Government for their stiffness in not yielding to conscientious clergymen, in matters of so little moment. We hesitate not to say that our opinion is directly the reverse, and that, from the character of the age and the spirit of the body in question, we are convinced nothing short of a complete reorganization of the Church would have given them satisfaction. We are not accustomed to refer to David Hume as a safe guide in matters  
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of religion; but with regard to this particular topic, his observations are so just, and so powerfully supported by subsequent experience, that we make no apology for quoting the following passage from his history: "The Puritans," says he, "formed a sect, which secretly lurked in the Church, but pretended not to any separate worship or discipline. An attempt of that kind would have been universally regarded as the most unpardonable enormity: and had the king been disposed to grant the Puritans a full toleration, it is certain, from the spirit of the times, that this sect would have despised and hated him for it, and would have reproached him with lukewarmness and indifference in the cause of religion. They maintained that they themselves were the only pure Church; that their principles and practices ought to be established by law; and that no other ought to be tolerated. It may be questioned, therefore, whether the administration at this time could with propriety deserve the appellation of persecutors with regard to the Puritans. Such of the clergy, indeed, as refused to comply with the legal ceremonies, were deprived of their livings, and sometimes in Elizabeth's reign, were otherwise punished: and ought any man to accept of an office or benefice in an establishment, while he declines compliance with the fixed and known rules of that establishment? But Puritans were never punished for frequenting separate congregations; because there were none such in the kingdom, and no protestant ever assumed or pretended to the right of erecting them. The greatest well-wishers of the puritanical sect would have condemned a practice which in that age was universally, by statesmen and ecclesiastics, philosophers and zealots, regarded as subversive of civil society. Even so great a reasoner as Bacon thought that uniformity in religion was absolutely necessary to the support of Government, and that no toleration could with safety be given to sectaries."

It must be very obvious, that in such circumstances every degree of concession would have proved vain. The principles of liberty, civil or religious, were not yet understood, and, consequently, all comparisons drawn from the happy effects of the more liberal policy which is adopted in modern times, must be quite inapplicable to the crisis now under consideration. There are, we admit, many parts of James's conduct, in relation to Church affairs, utterly indefensible, and no part of it, perhaps, less worthy of a great monarch, than his constant practice of debating, in person, with the lowest controversialist who might have a new tenet to advance: still we ought to make every allowance for the prejudices and bigotry of the age in which he lived, and moderate our censures, by calling to mind, that wiser men than he were not more liberal, while they were more than

equally disposed to substitute force for argument, in matters of faith.

Firmly bent on the re-establishment of episcopacy in Scotland, James summoned, in 1606, several of the Presbyterian ministers to London, in order to hold a conference with himself and the bishops, on the subject of Church government, rites and ceremonies. He selected for this purpose some of the most determined anti-episcopalians of the North, among whom were the two Melvils; and with the view of preparing their minds to accede to his favourite measure, he commanded them to attend his own chapel, and to listen to a course of sermons, which were preached against the principal doctrines which they were known to profess. The Bishop of Lincoln chose for his subject the superiority of his own order to presbyters, and enlarged upon the inconveniencies and confusion which must result from equality among ministers. The Bishop of Rochester assumed to himself the task of proving the King's supremacy in ecclesiastical causes, associating papists and presbyterians as the enemies of royalty. Chester, in his turn, expatiated upon the right of Kings to all synods and councils; and the series was closed by the Bishop of London, whose department it was to prove that lay-elders had no place or office in the Church, but that the order was a device of modern times, without support from Scripture or from antiquity. Thus prepared, the ministers were called to the conference, but, as might have been anticipated, they were more obstinate than ever; and James, in order to punish them with some shew of justice, addressed to them some ensnaring questions about the legality of an assembly which had recently been held at Aberdeen, and finished this piece of nonsense and despotism, by prohibiting their return to Scotland. Andrew Melvil was sent to the Tower for writing an epigram on the ceremonies observed in the King's chapel; and it was not till after a confinement of several years, that he was permitted to retire to Sedan, where, it is believed, he filled the chair of theology until the day of his death. His nephew, James Melvil, was likewise an exile the remainder of his life, and after a variety of fortune, died at Berwick-upon-Tweed.

Episcopacy continuing to gain ground in Scotland, James was induced, in 1610, to establish a High Court of Commission upon the same principles with that which was erected in England by Henry the Eighth. Indeed, there was one set up in each of the archiepiscopal provinces of St. Andrews and Glasgow, and a certain number of the bishops and some of the more distinguished laity were constituted members of these courts; any five of them being declared competent to act, provided one of the five was an archbishop. The powers vested in these judicatories



dicatories were arbitrary and excessive. They were authorized to call before them all persons being offenders either in life or religion, all whom they held to be any way scandalous, and to proceed to their trial; and if they found them impenitent, they were empowered to issue a mandate to the pastors under whose ministry they lived, to pronounce against them the sentence of excommunication. If the pastors refused to comply, the court was entitled to proceed against them by suspension, deposition, or imprisonment. They were also empowered to fine, at their discretion, such persons as had been dragged to their bar, and who might appear to them to be guilty. They could even imprison them; a warrant of the commissioners, signed by the archbishop, being sufficient, as it is observed by Dr. Cook, for all jailors to bury in dungeons the unhappy men who had fallen under the displeasure of this detestable inquisition. Nothing can exhibit in a stronger light the arbitrary nature of the government at that period than the erection of such a tribunal; and almost all the cruelties which disgraced the reigns of James's two grandsons in Scotland, are either directly chargeable upon the High Court of Commission, or upon the precedents which it established.

To constitute a regular and complete episcopal Church in Scotland, every step had already been taken by the King, but that of having his nominal bishops canonically consecrated. That this deficiency might be supplied, James summoned to the metropolis, the celebrated Spottiswoode and two of his colleagues to be regularly consecrated by the Bishops of London, of Ely, and of Bath and Wells; and this measure, so essential in the estimation of every good episcopalian, was, after some discussion as to the validity of presbyterian orders, fully accomplished. It was not, however, until 1616, that an assembly, held at Aberdeen, ordained that "a uniform order of liturgy be set down, to be read in all Churches in the ordinary days of prayer, and every sabbath day before sermon, to the end the common people may be acquainted therewith, and by custom may learn to serve God rightly." In the Scottish Church, there had been from the introduction of the Reformation, certain forms of prayer, which it was lawful to use; but every minister was at liberty to depart from them, and to substitute such prayers as he thought the circumstances of his congregation required; but the design of the new regulation was to put an end to this discretionary power, and to secure the daily and regular use of a liturgy, as in our own Church. A new confession of faith, too, was drawn, in which the doctrines of the first reformers were explicitly asserted; and some judicious regulations were adopted respecting the religious instruction of children, frequency of communicating,

communicating, and the necessity of observing Easter with piety and reverence.

So far James had succeeded in his ecclesiastical arrangements, in which he seems to have carried along with him a very great majority of the Scottish clergy; but being unfortunately a stranger to the spirit of Lord Bacon's maxim, that "Time is the great innovator, and that men should imitate the gradual working of time," he made haste to compass all his ends at once, and thus roused opposition to his measures, which otherwise would not have arisen. He pressed upon the turbulent and irritable disciples of the Melvils all the uses and ceremonies of a Church, of which they had never cordially approved; and the whole force of his extensive prerogative was exerted to carry, in a general assembly, the Five Articles of Perth, which, after all, he could never bring into respect or very general observance. The terrors of the High Court of Commission were thundered forth in vain. The ministers continued refractory, and set the civil power at defiance; accordingly, when James died, which event took place in 1625, he left to his successor the fatal inheritance of a disputed prerogative, a dissatisfied parliament, and a divided Church.

Charles was so much engrossed with foreign policy, in the commencement of his reign, that several years passed before he could turn his attention to the ecclesiastical affairs of Scotland. He had indeed announced, at a very early period, his resolution to enforce the Articles of Perth, but he did not alter the situation of the Church with regard to its discipline or ceremonies, contenting himself with a declaration, that he approved of all the regulations and changes which his father had introduced. He greatly ameliorated the condition of the ministers, by revoking all the grants of Church property, made in the time of his ancestors, by making a new allotment of the tithes, valuing them according to a fixed rate, and by apportioning a certain quantity of corn to the officiating clergyman. This was a popular measure on the part of the King, and it did not fail to gain for him the gratitude and affection of a large body of his subjects; but the attempt which was soon after made to enforce the use of the liturgy, revived all the hatred and suspicions of the people, and even alienated them more than ever, both from the civil government and from their ecclesiastical superiors.

"The liturgy," says Dr. Cook, "was composed chiefly by Wedderburn, Bishop of Dunblane, who for this purpose, had been translated to his See from an English benefice, and by Maxwell, Bishop of Ross. They adopted the greater part of the Book of Common Prayer used in England, introducing, agreeably to what had been determined, some marks of distinction, by which  
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the Scottish model was characterized. In this part of their task, they displayed that rashness and that tendency to superstition, which had marked the whole of their preceding conduct. Instead of using the permission which they had obtained so as to render the liturgy as much as possible conformable to the religious sentiments of their countrymen, they introduced expressions and forms, which convinced the great majority who perused the book, that it was really a disguised mass. Laud, and Wren, Bishop of Norwich, revised it after it was sent to London, and the Primate made some corrections, bringing it still nearer to the popish ritual. It required the use of the cross in baptism, and of the ring in the celebration of marriage; the consecration of water at particular times, by prayer, which water was to be poured into the fonts for administering baptism; a prayer was introduced to be used when the elements were delivered, and which was conceived to give some sanction to the doctrine of transubstantiation; there was a benediction or thanksgiving for departed saints; and the deacon was upon his knees to offer what was called a memorial, or prayer of oblation, in which he said, 'O Lord and heavenly Father, according to the institution of thy dearly beloved Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ, we, thy humble servants, do celebrate and make here before thy Divine Majesty, with these thy holy gifts, the memorial which thy Son hath willed us to make.'"

From the passage now quoted, it is very clear that Dr. Cook has never read the Scottish book of Common Prayer, and, moreover, that he has not studied with sufficient attention the authorities which he himself brings forward. It is a charge which can seldom be brought against him with truth; but in this instance we are compelled to say, that he quotes partially and unfairly. It has long been the fashion, we are aware, to traduce Archbishop Laud as wishing to lead the Church back again to Rome, and we are therefore not at all surprised that the most respectable author now before us should have so easily admitted the insinuation, that the prelate was desirous to assimilate the Scottish service to the mass. A more zealous protestant, however, though a strenuous anti-calvinist, than Laud, never existed; and perhaps no individual clergyman, of any degree or order, ever brought over so many converts from popery to the Church of England as that celebrated archbishop. But whatever may have been Laud's merits or demerits, we have his own testimony, given at a time when no man of any conscience would have prevaricated, that he uniformly advised the adoption of the *English* book, without the smallest variation, though he candidly confessed that, in his opinion, the variations which were introduced into the communion office, brought the Scottish

tish book nearer to the models of primitive use \*. As to the sign of the cross in baptism, the ring in marriage, and the consecration of water by prayer in the fonts, we are not aware that our brethren in Scotland departed at all from the practice of our own Church. As long as fonts continued in use, and they were in those times universally used, we do not imagine either that they were filled anew for every child which was baptized, or that the same water was more than once consecrated. There is a rubric in the Scottish liturgy, enjoining that the water should be changed, *at least twice a month*, obviously for no other reason than to prevent its being used after it had become putrid. There was therefore no *particular times* for consecrating water; nor was it first consecrated and then poured into the font, as Dr. Cook asserts. We know not what the author means when he says that "a prayer was introduced to be used when the elements were delivered, and which was conceived to give some sanction to the doctrine of transubstantiation;" and the phrase a "*benediction* or thanksgiving for departed saints," is to us equally unintelligible. No form of prayer, nor any form whatever, was used at the delivering of the elements, but part of that which is used at present, which alone was used in the first reformed liturgy of our Church, and which still constitutes the first clause of the form introduced into our liturgy, at the review of it which took place in the reign of Elizabeth. The benediction for departed saints, means, perhaps, that commemoration of those departed in the "faith and fear" of God, which is made, we believe, in all Churches not calvinistic; and as to the insinuation which is conveyed of praying for the dead, or, as Dr. Cook would express it, of returning thanks for the dead, we are as much implicated as the Scottish episcopalians. Suffice it, however, to say, that to a man who reads and compares the two liturgies with attention, the words employed will obviously appear to mean neither prayer nor benediction. When, again, our author states that the "*deacon* was, upon his knees, to offer what was called a memorial or prayer of oblation," he merely furnishes another proof that he does not understand the subject upon which he has written. The memorial or oblation made then, as it makes now, in the Scottish office, a part of the prayer of consecration, which never was pronounced by a *deacon* in any Church, far less in the episcopal Church of Scotland, which persisted, absurdly enough no doubt, in regarding the *deacon* as a *layman*. But there is no occasion to reason any farther about the matter. The Scottish Prayer Book, even the original

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\* See Diary of his Life.

*sealed* and *black-letter* book, still exists, and contradicts flatly every part of this narrative. So indeed does Collier, to whom Dr. Cook rather unguardedly refers; and we are not a little astonished that, having introduced the subject, our author did not bestow more pains in attempting to set it in a fair and proper light. It belongs to writers of an inferior order to misrepresent facts, on the authority of *Wadrow* and other violent presbyterians, when the book itself affording the topics of discussion, might have been so easily consulted.

There can be no question, however, relative to the main fact, that the liturgy was outrageously and most indecently opposed; but it is candidly admitted by Dr. Cook, that one of the leading causes of this opposition was the apprehension excited by the revocation of tithes and of church-lands, from those who had got them into their hands, by grant or by rapacity, at the first burst of the Reformation. The King had made known his determination to provide suitable livings for the dignified clergy, and the only expedient which presented itself was to restore to them the ecclesiastical property which had been so unjustly alienated. With this point, however, we have nothing to do; we satisfy ourselves with exhibiting to our readers the popular fray which took place in the cathedral of the Scottish metropolis, upon the attempt to introduce the book of service.

“ Upon the day which had been specified, immense numbers of the inhabitants of Edinburgh went to the church of St. Giles, in which the chancellor, some of the lords of the council, and several of the bishops had taken their seats. The utmost quietness prevailed, till the dean, having opened the liturgy, began to read, when the multitude losing all respect for the place in which they were, and the solemn work in which they were engaged, raised such a clamour that the prayers could not be heard. The Bishop of Edinburgh, hoping to appease it, went into the pulpit, and entreated the people to reflect on the sacredness of the house of God, and upon the duty which they owed to God and to their sovereign. This address rendered them more outrageous; stones and whatever they could use for the purpose were thrown at the dean, and the bishop himself narrowly escaped being wounded or killed with a stool, which was furiously aimed at him. The primate then called upon the magistrates to interfere, who, with much difficulty, by entreaties and by force, succeeded in restoring momentary order. The dean resumed his ungracious office; but the women, or men in the dress of women, though they had been thrust from the church, renewed their activity: they exclaimed with the utmost vehemence, ‘ A Pope, a Pope! Antichrist, pull him down, stone him!’ They knocked at the doors, broke the windows, and seemed re-  
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solved to proceed to the most dreadful excesses. Amidst this noise and consternation, the service terminated. When the bishops left the church, they were followed by the multitudes, who, in the most opprobrious language, charged them with bringing into the kingdom popery and slavery. The Bishop of Edinburgh, who was regarded with peculiar antipathy, was almost dragged from a staircase which he had ascended, and was at length rescued by the servants of the Earl of Wemyss. A meeting of council was held between sermons, at the house of the chancellor. The provost and magistrates attended; and such precautions were taken, that divine worship was, in the afternoon, more quietly performed. No sooner, however, was it concluded, than the people recommenced their outrages; and having discovered that the Earl of Roxburgh had taken the Bishop of Edinburgh into his carriage, they attacked it, endeavoured to tear it in pieces, and would probably have injured or sacrificed those who were in it, had not the attendants of Roxburgh, with their swords, compelled them to retire. Similar scenes were exhibited in various parts of the city. Wherever the liturgy was attempted to be read, commotion immediately ensued; and the clergymen who officiated were forced to desist."

Matters were now hastening to a crisis. Under pretence of reviving an obsolete confession, the ministers and their adherents drew up the celebrated covenant; a bond which places beyond every reasonable doubt, the determination of those by whom it was framed, to defy even the King himself in attaining the objects which it was meant to secure. In the beginning of 1639, the covenanters were already making preparations for war, and had purchased arms and ammunition in foreign countries. The King likewise mustered his forces, appointed commanders, and issued letters summoning the principal nobility to join his standard in the North. The Scotch meanwhile endeavoured by warm expressions of attachment to the sovereign, and of devotedness to the cause of liberty, civil and religious, to gain the support of the English people, or at least to secure their neutrality. Their ministers, at all times active in stirring up their hearers to oppose the government, now proclaimed from their pulpits the danger which threatened religion; taught that, if they did not quit themselves like men, they might expect popery and bondage; denounced all who went not out to help the Angel of the Lord against the mighty, and roused the spirit of independence, by representing it as the intention of their enemies to reduce Scotland to a province of England. In the field, they appeared in military array, and, in the camp, kept alive the spirit of their parishioners; pronounced sermons calculated to animate and inflame; offered prayers to God for the success of  
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what they were pleased to style his own cause, and at the door of each captain's tent was displayed a flag, with the arms of Scotland, and these words written in gold, "For Christ's crown and covenant." Their success, and the consequent abolition of episcopacy in Scotland, are well known. The Earl of Traquair, who acted as his Majesty's commissioner, not only signed the covenant, but gave his sanction in the name of Charles to the abolition of the episcopal order, as unlawful; thus unwarrantably exceeding the powers which were vested in him, as the King himself afterwards complained. Charles had, indeed, found it necessary to yield to his Scottish subjects, and even to consent to the sacrifice of his favourite form of Church polity; but he would not consent to denominate episcopacy *unlawful*, and positively prohibited the word from being introduced into the act of parliament relating to the subject.

At this epoch, the troubles and dangers of our own Church became truly alarming, and it appears from Dr. Cook's statements relative to the conduct of his countrymen, that they contributed not a little to both. The Scottish commissioners, who repaired to London to settle the treaty of Rippon, carried with them several of the most popular of their clergy, not only for the sake of gratifying those zealous churchmen who guided the people, but also to disseminate, in the metropolis, the principles of the presbyterian polity. These turbulent divines by degrees extended their views as they felt their influence enlarging; and at the period in question, they began to regard it as a sacred duty to have their own form of ecclesiastical government received throughout the whole of Britain. They now insisted, as essential to peace, that there should be in the two British nations, unity of religion and uniformity of Church government. Henderson, one of their body, wrote a short treatise, recommending the ecclesiastical discipline of Scotland, and others of the same order wrote against episcopacy with so much passion, that they turned against themselves the indignation of many who were friendly to their cause. The King was so much irritated at their violent interference, so contrary to what he conceived to be their duty as ministers of the Gospel, that he told them they had forfeited the privileges which he had consented they should enjoy.

He found it expedient, however, to alter his tone considerably, when, in the month of August, 1641, he paid a visit to his native country; and one cannot help expressing pity for the constraint or insincerity with which he deemed it necessary to act. "He ratified in the most ample manner," says our author, "the acts respecting the Church which established presbytery: he employed Henderson, the most popular of the ministers, to officiate as his chaplain; he suspended the use of the liturgy, (rather,

(rather, perhaps, dispensed with the use of the liturgy) attended divine service in presbyterian churches, and in consequence of a rebuke for not appearing in the afternoon, readily consented to be present whenever the congregation assembled." He created the Earl of Argyle a marquis, and Lesley, the insurgent general, Earl of Leven. To several of the ministers he gave liberal pensions, and he augmented the revenues of the universities. In return for this goodness, in which, perhaps, the heart of the King did not altogether concur, the presbyterians pronounced a determination, which they observed only as long as they found it convenient, renewing an old statute, which denounced it as damnable treason for any of the Scottish nation to levy forces, upon any pretence whatever, without the King's commission.

The long parliament was now sitting, and the civil war on the point of breaking out. The Scotch were assiduously courted by the King's enemies, and the proposals of the latter were listened to with a ready ear. The leaders of the parliamentary faction, indeed, only declared that they were zealous for a due reformation in Church and State; but their presbyterian friends in the North, advanced directly to the point, and expressed, in unambiguous language, their sense of the urgent necessity for introducing into England their peculiar discipline. "What hope, they ask, can the kingdom and Kirk of Scotland have of a desirable peace, till prelacy, which hath been the main cause of their miseries and troubles, first and last, be plucked up root and branch, as a plant which God hath not planted, and from which no better fruits can be expected than such sour grapes as this day set on edge the kingdom of England." It does not appear, however, that the parliament, at this period, were disposed to accede to the proposition of the Scottish presbyterians, to abolish episcopacy in England. Even in 1643, when their commissioners attended in the general assembly, for the purpose of framing the solemn league and covenant, these politicians and divines had address enough to avoid giving their concurrence to the plan of the Scottish ministers, for establishing presbytery throughout Great Britain and Ireland. They bound themselves no further than "to endeavour the preservation of the reformed religion in the kingdom of England and Ireland, in doctrine, worship, discipline and government, according to the word of God and the example of the last reformed churches." Having incidentally mentioned this celebrated obligation, we are unwilling to pass by the remarks which Dr. Cook has made upon it, because they breathe that spirit of candour, moderation and good sense, which, with very few exceptions, characterize his work, "In alluding," says he, "to the solemn league and covenant, it must not be kept out of view, that the whole of its spirit was in direct



direct opposition to the spirit of Christianity, breathing an intolerance that sapped the most sacred of those rights which it was one of its avowed designs to secure, vesting a protestant community with powers inconsistent with the fundamental principles upon which the reformation had proceeded, and particularly destroying that free exercise of private judgment, for which the first reformers, to their immortal honour, had strenuously contended. Much allowance, however, from the circumstances in which they were placed, must be made for the persons by whom it was sanctioned. By the infatuated conduct of James, the ideas of Popery and Prelacy had, in the minds of the people, been firmly associated; whilst the active part taken by the Scottish bishops in the persecution of all who opposed episcopacy; their subserviency to an arbitrary court; the looseness of their manners, and their contempt of the prevailing religious sentiments of the community, combined in inspiring the presbyterians with an aversion to the hierarchy which, in a different situation, they would probably not have entertained."

We need not mention with how much eagerness this covenant was signed in Scotland, and the solemn farce which attended its reception in this part of the island. Both Houses of Parliament, the Assembly of Divines, and the Scottish Commissioners met in the church of St. Margaret's, Westminster; and after several prayers and harangues, the covenant being read, notice was given to all that they should immediately, by swearing to it, worship the great name of God, and testify this by lifting up their hands.

The evil spirit of rebellion was now (1644) engaged in the work of havock and demolition. The Scottish divines, who sat in the Westminster assembly, saw matters proceed exactly as they wished. They accordingly took the earliest opportunity of assuring their countrymen at home; that "they could not but admire the good hand of God in the great things already done, particularly that the covenant was taken, prelacy and the whole train thereof extirpated, the service-book in many places forsaken, plain and powerful preaching set up, many colleges in Cambridge provided with such ministers as were most zealous of the best reformation, the communion in some places given at the table with sitting; the great organs at Paul's and Peter's at Westminster taken down, images and many other monuments of idolatry defaced and abolished, the Chapel Royal at Whitehall purged and reformed; and all by authority, in a quiet manner, at noonday, without tumult."

This satisfaction, however, did not continue long. The Independents already appeared to command a majority in both Houses of Parliament, and they strenuously maintained that  
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presbytery was not of divine institution. The Scottish Commissioners instantly began to lament the prevalence of sects; they inveighed against toleration, as sapping the foundation of the Gospel; they complained that obstacles were thrown in the way of the completion of the great work; and they prevailed upon a numerous body of ministers round London to deplore to the Parliament, "that through many erroneous opinions, ruining schisms, and damnable heresies, unhappily fomented, the orthodox ministry were neglected, the people seduced, fearful confusions introduced;" and to pray "that as a remedy for these evils, a directory for worship should be hastened, and the establishment of a pure discipline and government be accelerated."

We pass over the treaty of Uxbridge, and the various conferences by which it was preceded, and return for a moment to Scotland, where the covenanters were, in the mean time, going on with the same intemperate zeal which had uniformly guided their conduct. One of the preachers employed a discourse in pointing out the distinction between King Charles and King Jesus, and inculcated that all who were deeply interested in the cause of Christ, should resist their temporal sovereign. The sermon, we are told, was heard with the highest delight, and the preacher was rewarded with the applause of the greater part of his countrymen.

The affairs of Charles having become hopeless in England, he had recourse to the ill-advised measure of surrendering himself to the Scottish army. Importuned on all hands, however, he would neither sign the covenant, nor consent to abolish episcopacy. The steadiness with which he adhered to what respected the Church, has been considered as evidence, that, in all his negotiations, he was insincere. "It seems, however," as our author justly remarks, "at this period of his life to warrant an opposite conclusion. Had his object now been to deceive, and had his sense of integrity been so blunted, that he had no scruple to follow a system of delusion, it is in the highest degree probable that he would have consented to all which was required, and that he would even have signed the covenant, with this mental reservation, that, as the subscription had been extorted, it was binding only while it was his interest to act in conformity to it. Had he done this, he would have embarrassed his enemies; he would probably have gained the most powerful men in Scotland; and he would at all events have opened the only way by which he could possibly re-ascend his throne." The manner too in which his Majesty conducted the controversy in which he engaged with Henderson, plainly shews that he

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must previously have investigated the subject, and that his opinions were not rashly adopted. He is considered by several writers as having shewn more ingenuity and learning than his opponent; and some of his partizans lamented that his sword was not wielded with the same vigour as his pen. Charles, it is well known, would not accede to any terms which might compromise the fate of the Church, which, however, he could not now avert. When, at Newcastle, the commissioners of both kingdoms besought him on their knees to alter his resolution in support of episcopacy; when Loudon, the Chancellor of Scotland, entreated him, as he valued his crown, not to hesitate in giving the pledge which was required, he nobly replied, that no condition to which he could be reduced, would be so deplorable as that to which they were persuading him to reduce himself; that they might take their own way, and that though they had all forsaken him, God had not forsaken him.

This pious but unfortunate monarch was soon to be brought to the scaffold, where he fell a sacrifice to the evil times in which it was his lot to govern England. But even in the last attempt which the nobility of Scotland were driven by remorse to make in behalf of Charles, they were thwarted and opposed by the ministers; nor did these men raise their voices to save his life, until they found that his death was to throw the power of the state into the hands of the Independents. The character of the King is faithfully delineated by Dr. Cook, who, while he bewails the errors into which he was occasionally betrayed, cheerfully extols his virtues; and pathetically laments his fate.

The first step which the covenanters took with his successor, was very little calculated to gain his affection or to remove his fears. The commissioners whom they sent to Breda were instructed to demand of him the sacrifice of his most intimate friends; a full recognition of the solemn league and covenant; a ratification of all the acts of parliament by which the presbyterian discipline was established in Scotland, and a promise to give the royal assent to such other acts as might enjoin the same form of ecclesiastical polity in the rest of his dominions. When he arrived he was made to confess the sin of his father in marrying into an idolatrous family, and to ascribe to him all the blood that had been shed in the civil war. Charles was then made to express deep regret for his own perverted education; to admit that the whole of his past life had been in direct opposition to the will of God, and to promise that he would adhere to all which he now professed until the end of his life. The truth is, at the period of which we are now writing, the factious ministers completely controlled the civil power, and even dictated to the army; they paralyzed all the exertions of their countrymen against

against Cromwell, and some of them actually joined that usurper, after having disgraced the use of arms by their cowardice or treachery.

But Cromwell, himself both knave and fanatic, well knew how to govern such characters. He instantly set bounds to the licence with which Churchmen had interfered in civil matters, and, to prevent any factious attempts to embarrass his government, he prohibited the meeting of general assemblies, exhorting the clergy to devote their time to the duties connected with their sacred functions. The gifted men in his army, indeed, gave way to the enthusiasm by which they were impelled, and preached in the fields and in the highways; but their general permitted them not to molest the people in their ordinary religious exercises, or to throw any obstacles in the way of the established clergy. The factious spirit, accordingly, which had so much troubled the state, now that it was prevented from being so mischievously employed, took a new direction; and the Church, says Dr. Cook, exhibited scenes of contest, of anarchy, and of insubordination, most disgraceful to the clergy, and most pernicious to the moral and spiritual improvement of the community. We more particularly allude to the protesters or remonstrants, who were all along bad subjects, and detestable hypocrites. With these the friends of Cromwell chiefly associated; and the latter finding them so violent in their opposition to the exiled monarch, laboured to throw into their hands the greater number of livings, in which, by means of the English judges and sequestrators, they very generally succeeded.

Of these *protesters*, as they afterwards made a very conspicuous figure, and complained loudly of persecution, in the subsequent part of Charles's reign, it may not be unseasonable to exhibit the picture which Dr. Cook has drawn, and which, from the experience of our own Church, we are convinced is in no respect overcharged. "They paid little attention," he observes, "to the representation of the calamities which their obstinacy would occasion, and they began to act in a manner, which shews how readily men can render religious principles subservient to the gratification of passions, which religion restrains or condemns. They appealed to the people, asserting that they were guided by the purest motives, and, with disingenuity and hypocrisy much to be lamented, but which are too frequent in the history of the Church, arrogated to themselves the appellation of the godly, insinuating or affirming that all who opposed them were men of depraved principles, or not influenced by the spirit of the Gospel. They collected numbers of ministers, elders, and private Christians in meetings, not recognized by the Church, and after prayer by any disposed to offer  
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it, and a confession of sins, they discussed topics, upon which the established judicatories alone were competent to decide, and even blamed what those judicatories had sanctioned. In celebrating the Lord's supper, they departed from the decent mode which had been prescribed, and which required that the minister of each parish should dispense it; and assembling immense multitudes from contiguous parishes, they employed the most fervent of the clergy to deliver numerous sermons; they affected a gloominess of devotion which has often been identified with the homage due to a merciful Creator; they inflamed the prejudices and the enthusiastic zeal of those who listened to them; and they thus rendered an ordinance, graciously intended to be the bond of charity, instrumental in cherishing the worst dispositions, and in withdrawing their flocks from those pastors who still adhered to the Church. The manner in which they conducted divine worship was adapted to convey the idea that they were favoured with peculiar communications of the spirit: they even altered the natural tone of the human voice, that they might inspire religious horror; and when they had thus made themselves to be regarded as the chosen servants of God, they declaimed against the sad defection and corruption of the judicatories of the Church.

The violence and folly of these fanatics, however, helped to pave the way, on the king's return, for the restoration of episcopacy in Scotland. It had been obvious, not only to Charles, but also to the country at large, that there could be neither peace nor security, while such men were permitted to mislead the people, and to preach rebellion under the cover of religious zeal. It is still doubtful, however, notwithstanding the decided measures which the king very soon adopted, whether his first intentions were to restore the ancient government of the Church, or to continue the Presbyterian polity; and it is to be lamented that he did not act with more consistency, on a subject of so much importance. He wrote to the presbytery of Edinburgh, in August, 1660, assuring them that he was resolved "to protect and preserve the government of the Church of Scotland, as it is settled by law, without violation, and to countenance in the due exercise of their functions, all such ministers who should behave themselves dutifully and peaceably, as became men of their calling." In the following month, however, he seems to have yielded to the advice of his courtiers, to change the ecclesiastical polity of that country; and he was already prepared to take a step the most arbitrary, perhaps, that marks his reign. In January, 1661, there was passed, in his name, what has been called the Act Recissory, a statute, by which all the Parliaments held subsequent to the year 1640, were declared null and void, thus

thus rendering invalid those acts in confirmation of presbytery, as the established religion, to which the late king had assented. Considerable opposition was manifested by the Presbyterian clergy, not only on the ground that the government had been guilty of a breach of promise towards them, but also because their Church had been subverted by an unconstitutional and tyrannical stretch of power, most alarming to their rights, as members of the community. In truth, the line of conduct which Charles followed, in re-establishing the apostolical form of ecclesiastical regimen in the north, was in some parts so precipitate; and in others so capricious, that he roused fears, and inflamed prejudices, not immediately connected, in their origin, at least, with Church affairs; but which tended, in the sequel, to close at once the government of the Stuarts, and of a hierarchy in Scotland. He was unfortunate too in the choice of his instruments. Middleton, his commissioner and prime minister, was extremely profligate and dissipated; and Sharp, the new primate, was viewed by his countrymen as an apostate and traitor; the former scandalizing the gloomy and rigid covenanters, by the looseness of his manners, and the latter rousing their indignation, by an ostentatious splendour, which they could not help regarding as the price of his treachery.

Of the former Scottish bishops, as one only remained, it now became necessary to consecrate several new prelates. A commission for this purpose was accordingly issued to the Bishops of London and Worcester, and to some of the suffrages of Canterbury; and Sharp, Fairford, Hamilton and Leighton, received in Westminster Abbey the episcopal character. On this occasion, the English bishops, not considering presbyterian ordination as valid, insisted that Sharp and the other three should go through the inferior orders of the Diaconate and Priesthood; and although this condition had been dispensed with, in the case of Spotswoode, in 1616, the prelates elect, were in this instance, obliged to comply. They were, however, amply repaid for this submission, by being invested with a degree of authority, which bishops had not possessed in Scotland, since the times of popery. In the reign of James, and of his son, the bishops were regarded only as permanent moderators, or presidents of the different ecclesiastical meetings; but now, Charles by the sole exercise of his prerogative, introduced episcopacy in its fullest latitude, and gave to the first order of the clergy, the power of determining whether or not the other orders should meet at all, and of limiting, at pleasure, the extent of their jurisdiction. The thing might be right, but it was tyrannically done. It co-operated with other measures, to identify episcopacy in the minds of the people, with arbitrary power in the sovereign: and it is justly observed by Dr. Cook, that the government

government of the Church, by bishops, was not exhibited, at that time, in Scotland, as its sincere friends would have wished it to be beheld. If the case had been reversed, says he, if episcopacy had been the religion of the nation, and presbytery had been forced upon it as prelacy was, the presbyterian polity would have been equally obnoxious as the episcopal.

In a short time after the legal re-establishment of the Church, strong symptoms of popular disaffection began to shew themselves. The Court of High Commission was accordingly organized with fresh power; and mounted soldiers were entrusted with the keeping of the peace, in the southern and western districts. The presbyterians flew to arms, and made haste to meet in the field, the enemies of Christ's crown and covenant. They were defeated near the Pentland hills, and ten of the ringleaders were condemned and executed together. At this period there were many instances of piece-meal and petty cruelty, perpetrated, it is thought, contrary to the king's wishes, and altogether unworthy of a great nation to permit, or of Christian ministers to superintend. Sharp is represented as having been particularly active, himself, at no distant date, a determined covenanter, and the only one of that factious body who had proposed to abjure the royal family of Stuart, during the second exile of Charles. It is admitted, that the covenanters were in a state of open and daring rebellion, and, further, that by the law of the land, they had forfeited their lives; it is admitted that they were dangerous subjects, inasmuch as their doctrines, both political and religious, were of the most extravagant and subversive tendency; but it is obvious, at the same time, that their minds were in that agitated and delirious condition, which uniformly follows rapid changes in the government of a country; a state of mind in which reason will not be listened to, and when no force ought to be applied, except such as will either completely awe or utterly exterminate. The ministers of Charles the Second, in Scotland, acted more like Spanish inquisitors, than as the functionaries of a powerful monarch; and exhibited just severity enough to irritate, without vigour to suppress. Theirs was that weak and contemptible policy, which sheds blood only to increase the number of crimes.

As might have been expected, lenient measures soon became necessary; the army was disbanded, and an indemnity was granted to all who had risen against the government, upon signing what was called *bonds of peace*, and promising obedience to the civil power. Nay, the king was advised to proceed even further than this, and to give permission to such of the ousted ministers as had lived peaceably and orderly in the places where they resided, to preach and exercise the other clerical functions.

in their former churches, provided these were vacant, or in such vacant parishes as might be assigned to them by the patrons: and moreover, that the restored ministers should constitute sessions and presbyteries, as had been done before the year 1638. This proceeding was quite characteristic of the government of Charles; an expedient in the train of a blunder, and one extreme to correct another, and the indulgence thus granted was altogether incompatible with the support which was due to an Established Church. The effect produced by this unprecedented toleration, was not very considerable; a few of the ministers, indeed, conformed, and the people flocked to their churches, but finding that they neither preached politics, nor abused the government; the more violent of the hearers called them "kings curates," and "dumb dogs," and withdrew again to the field conventicle. Matters accordingly soon became worse than ever. New terrors were thundered forth, which it was impossible to inflict, and the covenanters again appeared in arms, to abide the chance of a battle. Monmouth, the unfortunate son of Charles, marched against the insurgents, speedily defeated them at Bothwell Bridge, and then hastened to London to secure an act of indemnity.

We have no pleasure in detailing the progress of mad fanaticism, on the one hand, and of petty, inefficient, vengeance on the other. Suffice it to say, that in 1684, the indulgence which had been given to some of the presbyterian ministers was withdrawn; they were prohibited from preaching; they were required to grant bonds that they would not preach; and it was ordained that those who refused to do so, should be sent prisoners to Edinburgh castle, or be banished the kingdom. One sect, the Cameronians, were placed without the protection of law; a hue and cry was raised against them wherever they were discovered; the military were authorized, without either trial or proofs to wound and kill them; while, they in their turn, having formed the desperate resolution of working upon the fears of their enemies, affixed in the night to the doors of the parish churches, what they denominated their apologetical declaration, in which they abjured Charles Stuart as a merciless tyrant, and declared war against all who promoted his wicked and hellish designs. This aspect of public affairs, was very little varied when the king died in February, 1685, nor does any thing remarkable occur, under the new monarch, until the invasion of Argyle. A few suffered in consequence of that absurd attempt; but James having the welfare of the Catholics more at heart, than the claims of the Established Church, relaxed considerably in his violent measures against the Presbyterians. In his zeal to annul all penal statutes, that respected Papists, he fortunately ceased to remember



remember that there were any to execute against Protestants; or perhaps it was owing to the discontent and apprehension which were excited among the episcopalians themselves, by the dispensing power, which the king exercised so unconstitutionally in favour of the Romanists, that James found it expedient to court the Presbyterians. Whatever may have been his motive, he permitted them in 1687, after having frequently extended the terms of indulgence, to exercise religious worship in the manner they might think conformable to the word of God.

The arbitrary and bigotted principles of James had already alienated from his government and person the great body of the English nation. His exercise of the dispensing power, his supposed attempts to convert the Princess of Orange, his endeavours to compel the clergy to read a declaration which they considered hostile to the Protestant Church, the imprisonment of the bishops who made a noble stand for the religion and the liberty of their country, these and other causes induced the people of England to solicit the interference of William, whom they regarded as the bulwark of the Protestant faith. James had a greater number of adherents in Scotland, than in this part of the island. Both the council and the dignified clergy supported his rights, and declared their readiness to sacrifice all in maintaining them: nor do we think that it requires more than common candour to account for this devotedness, on the ground of sincerity, and deep-rooted principle. The Scottish prelates held as a fundamental maxim, the "*jus divinum*" of kings to the throne of their ancestors, and no argument or inducement, which the Prince of Orange could employ, was found sufficient to prevail with these churchmen to transfer their allegiance to a new master. It is well known that William was inclined to continue episcopacy in Scotland, and that, with this view, he had even made overtures to the Scottish bishops, upon condition, that they would acknowledge him as their lawful sovereign; but they, with an attachment to their legitimate ruler, of which he seems hardly to have been deserving, consented to sacrifice both their individual interests and those of their Church, rather than give the sanction of their authority and names to him whom they regarded as an usurper. The principles of James were arbitrary, and his measures were despotic in the extreme, nor had he manifested for the Protestant episcopalians, in Scotland, that care or partiality which might have bound them to his government; it is impossible, therefore, to explain the conduct which the bishops pursued, without giving credit for sincere belief in the divine right of kings. It has, indeed, been insinuated, that the episcopalians did not regard the enterprise of William, as at all likely to end in the establishment of his power

power in Britain, and that they, perhaps, looked forward to a second Restoration, as the means of strengthening their interests, and of extending their influence with the crown. In reply to this surmise, it will be enough to state that, neither in England nor in Scotland, did the seat or principles of the jacobite bishops die away with their hopes:—on the contrary, although many of them not only ceased to hope, but even ceased to wish, to see the exiled family brought back, at the expense of a civil war, none of them ever renounced their adherence to the sacred doctrine, that monarchs held their power from God. We enter not into the merits of this absolute question; we would even readily admit that the tenet is without foundation, in Scripture, or in reason; but we are not the less convinced that thousands of well-informed men have acted upon it, and among them the jacobite clergy at the Revolution.

It was the intention of William, and of the moderate Presbyterians, by whom he was directed, to found the restoration of presbytery on the wishes of the people, without entering into the question of its divine institution; to permit all the episcopal clergy, who were willing to submit to the Presbyterian polity, and to acknowledge the new government, to retain their benefices, and to preserve to patrons the right of presentation to ecclesiastical livings. The great body of the Presbyterians, however, says Dr. Cook, elated with the victory which they had obtained; were not disposed to acquiesce in these calm proceedings; they insisted upon a declaration that their form of polity was sanctioned or prescribed by the word of God; they were eager that patronage should be abolished, and they did not look with the eye of kind forbearance upon their episcopal brethren.

In 1690, the Earl of Melvil, who acted as his Majesty's commissioner in Parliament, and in the General Assembly, yielded not only the king's supremacy, but also abolished patronage, sanctioning, at the same time, an act to authorize the clergy of the new establishment, to appoint visitors to try and purge out all insufficient, negligent, scandalous, and erroneous ministers, by the due course of church-process and censures. This power, as might have been expected, was greatly abused, and the severity exercised upon the episcopalians was carried so far, that the king dissolved the Assembly which was held in 1692, and it was not without the utmost difficulty, that he was persuaded again to countenance its meeting. The government, in fact, took a decided part with the episcopal ministers, moderating the fury of the more intemperate of their enemies, and thus secured for many of these clergy, who would not conform to the new order of things, the enjoyment of their benefices to the end of their lives.

The

The Cameronians, or original protestors and remonstrants, would accede to no terms with the new rulers, and we believe, they still remain, a small body of disaffected dissenters in Scotland, demanding not only that the sovereign should be a Presbyterian, but that he should take and enforce the solemn league and covenant.

We conclude in nearly the words with which our author winds up his history, and agree with him that, in the reigns of the Stuarts, from the date of the Reformation, ecclesiastical and civil arrangements were so intimately connected, that the former decidedly influenced, and indeed generally produced the latter. The effect of this upon religion, was most deplorable. It converted the clergy into the instruments of faction. It weakened the energy of government, whilst it associated with those doctrines which should wean us from the world, or counteract its power, the worst and most violent passions which agitate and deform our nature. Attachment to particular forms of ecclesiastical polity, completely extinguished all Christian love and forbearance; and the different denominations, into which the community was split, no sooner escaped from persecution, than they directed it against all whom their own party did not comprehend. It was, in fact, the question of Church government, rather than the mode of worship, which divided the people of Scotland, after the Restoration; for, although Charles invested the hierarchy with greater dignity and power, than Protestant bishops had heretofore enjoyed in that part of the island, no liturgy was used by the episcopal clergy during his reign, or that of his brother. It was not till the reign of Anne, when the episcopalians in Scotland, were protected and allowed by Act of Parliament, that the liturgy of our Church was introduced amongst them; and it should seem, that the service-book, which was framed by the Bishops of Dunblane and Ross, and afterwards revised by Laud, had been used but a very short time.

We gave our opinion of Dr. Cook's merits in the outset of our review. He is candid, moderate, and impartial; he is seldom chargeable either with credulity or ignorance, and never fails to make the proper distinction between men and measures. He is a rational supporter of liberty, while he despises the arts of the demagogue; he is a conscientious Presbyterian, but never mixes with his censures of particular bishops, any illiberal strictures on the form of Church government, which they are appointed to administer. His work is executed without ostentation of style, or display of learning; it is read with ease, for his connections are obvious, and his reasoning perspicuous; and no one will lay down his volumes, without esteeming the man as much as the historian.

ART.

ART. VI. *The Invisible Hand; a Tale.* 12mo. pp. 160.  
5s. Cadell and Davies. 1815.

TO the spirit in which the tale before us is written we have nothing to object, nor can we doubt the good and pious intentions of its unknown author. Upon its execution, however, we are concerned that we cannot bestow the same unqualified praise. The style is too sombre, and the narrative too heavy, to give it any chance of popularity among its brotherhood of religious novels. This perhaps may be in its favour; but we cannot approve of the specimens which the author has given us of what he considers most impressive discourses, and still less of his hymns, such, for instance, as occur in the following passage:

“That fond hope is now destroyed, and he has actually sailed before this time: he left me for Portsmouth on Saturday. On the day preceding there was a consultation held at Hanover Square; when this resolution, so fatal to my happiness, was taken. When he returned from his uncle’s, embracing me with more than common ardour, he said, ‘My Harriet, he who first brought us together, will bring me home in safety. We have received good at the hand of the Lord: why should we anticipate evil?’—Before he left me yesterday, he read with me several passages of Scripture, and commended me and our lovely trio to our fathers’ God. In closing his prayer, he sweetly introduced those words which are my hourly support: ‘Thy way is in the sea, and thy path in the great waters, and thy footsteps are not known.’ His allusion was to the mystery of this dispensation. My fears carried me to their literal import.

“To-day I have been mercifully sustained by an attendance on the holy services of the temple. You know our privilege in having Mr. B. for our shepherd. I suspected that he must have known the state of my mind, but I have found he did not. He read for his text, in his emphatic and tender manner, those words, Ps. lxxviii. 78. ‘So he fed them according to the integrity of his heart; and guided him by the skilfulness of his hands.’ Every word he spoke fell on my bosom as the oil of consolation. After enlarging on the character of David as the type of his greater and better son, and descanting beautifully on the integrity of his heart, which he considered as importing the entire and indissoluble affection he bore his people, in his own peculiarly happy way, after having read, ‘He guides them by the skilfulness of his hands,’ he suddenly and as in joyful ecstasy exclaimed, ‘What hands are those I behold stretched out for my guidance and support! hands torn and impressed with crucifixion nails!—  
then

then I am passive—I am contented—I am grateful. O Jesus! though thou slayest me, yet will I trust in thee.’—Then turning to his auditory, and laying his finger on the text, he added, ‘Yes, my dear hearers, He here shews us his hands and his side. Let us be glad, now we see the Lord.’—Indeed, my beloved Emma, I heard little more during the entire discourse. I saw Him who had guided my parents by his counsel, and has received them to glory; and thought I could say, ‘I have none on earth I desire besides Him.’ But, oh the treachery of my heart! As the solemnly expressive tones of the organ swelled in tender and pathetic sounds to that verse which closed the service,—

“ ‘The dearest idol I have known,  
 Whate’er that idol be,  
 Help me to tear it from Thy throne,  
 And worship none but Thee!’ ”—

Neither do we think the author borne out in teaching his readers to consider *every* trivial circumstance in their lives as the spring and origin of some important event. That every, even the most trivial circumstance in our lives is under the influence of the INVISIBLE HAND, we know, but how that influence is exercised, and in what manner each minor event is directed to fulfil the great ends of the Divine Government, except in very few cases, we neither can, nor must we expect to know. As far as it inculcates an unshaken confidence in our Almighty Protector, the tale before us is excellent, but when it teaches us to search too deeply into the mysteries of his Government, it can be productive only of difficulty and disappointment.

ART. VII. *Bardoue; or, the Great Lord of Mount Taurus: an Eastern Tale. Translated from the French of Adrian de Sarrasin.* 12mo. pp. 187. Sherwood and Co. 1815.

THOUGH the charm which the marvellous possesses, in the hands of a writer of moderate inventive powers, to awaken curiosity and secure delight, is almost resistless; the author of *Bardoue* has proved himself no adept in the magic by which our fancy is generally enchained by oriental fiction. The incidents of the tale, which possess no great interest in themselves, are incumbered by an unartful and tedious allegory, which perplexes the mind in following the clue of the story. The companions of the hero, who possesses few qualifications to recommend

recommend him to our respect or admiration, are an old goat and a young antelope, which are represented as gifted with speech and reason. In the *dépouement* of the fable, we recognise Reason personified in the one, and Passion personified in the other; the various changes of fortune to which the hero is exposed, being brought about, by these imaginary personages, who act as his monitors. These allegorical personages, are but uninteresting substitutes for the genii and faries of oriental story; of which, however, the author makes some use, though not sufficient to relieve the tediousness of his moral.

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ART. VIII. *An Address to the Public on the Commencement of a New Year, &c.* pp. 42. Hatchard. 1815.

*A Letter addressed to an English Lady of Fashion at Paris.* pp. 46. Hatchard. 1815.

HAVING nothing favourable to advance on the subject of these productions, we would be wholly silent respecting them, but that we wish to give their authors, who are probably well-intending men, a little advice—not to set up for reformers. Nature has not intended that either should figure, unless in a very contracted sphere; and there, we have our doubts, that their busy interference would be rather productive of good than mischief. The framer of the “Address to the Public,” has, however, earned a much harsher reproof, than we mean to give the inditer of the “Letter to a Lady of Fashion;” before he undertakes to write on the subject of Regeneration, we would recommend him to consult his Catechism, for the definition of a Sacrament; he will then probably learn to speak of Baptism, in terms more respectful, than to represent it, as “a mere outward ceremony.” P. 29.

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ART. IX. *Select French Idioms, alphabetically arranged; intended to facilitate the Progress of Youth in the Acquisition of that Language. To which are subjoined, Notes critical and explanatory, on Scot's French Recueil; containing a Translation of every Idiomatical Expression, or difficult Phrase, in the whole of that Work. By an Amateur of the French Language.* Hill, Edinburgh; Bentham, Wheatley, and Co. London. 1816.

A COLLECTION of French Idioms was a school-book very much wanted, and we have no hesitation in recommending this little

which we would hail with an enthusiasm similar to that which seized the ten thousand as described so grandly by Xenophon, when they saw the Black Sea, after so far completing their retreat from Persia. It is impossible to forget their shout of—the sea! the sea! which they set up on reaching the top of a mountain that gave them the first view of it. We seem to hear them rend the air with their enthusiasm: Greece excites in us a similar enthusiasm though it be not our country; and though it is interesting principally for what it *has been*. Hail country of the arts, and muses! Land of our love and devotion! Birth-place of Lycurgus and Solon, of Miltiades and Leonidas, of Epaminondas and Phocion, of Aristides and Socrates, and Plato, and Xenophon—of poets—of orators—of philosophers—of every thing that could elevate man as a creature of reason capable of imitating the divinity.” Vol. I. p. 144.

We hope the author of these little volumes will in another edition expunge much dangerous matter, besides some inaccuracies of expression, such as the following,

“James was discovered while attempting to fly to France, and brought back to London, where nobody wished to see him.” Vol. R. p. 32.—“The hand of God had no where there, scattered blessings so profusely.” Vol. V. p. 92.

We disapprove also of the political principles, which with more wisdom at least the author might have kept to himself.

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ART. XI. *Progressive Exercises, adapted to the Eton Accidence, with easy Examples to teach Boys to construe or translate from the Latin.* 2s. 6d. Longman and Co. 1815.

THE author of this useful little work was the late Rev. James Winfield, of Chester; and it was originally composed for the use of his pupils. The advantages to be derived by the scholar by these *Progressive Exercises*, are unquestionably considerable; it is therefore no matter of surprise that this auxiliary to the *Eton Accidence*, should have rapidly passed through four editions.

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NOTE upon p. 259, line 42.

We are bound, in justice, to inform our readers that, before the birth of the child, Mr. Goddard was visited, by a legal attorney, to Miss W.; but with how good a grace we shall still let them to his own biography of that lady to discover.

MONTHLY

# MONTHLY LIST OF PUBLICATIONS.

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THE  
BRITISH CRITIC,  
FOR APRIL, 1816.

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- ART. I. *A Letter to W. Wilberforce, Esq. containing Remarks on the Reports of the Sierra Leone Company and African Institution, &c. By Robert Thorpe, LL.D. Chief Justice of Sierra Leone.* Rivingtons. 1815.
- II. *A Letter to His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester from Z. Macaulay, Esq. occasioned by Dr. Thorpe's Pamphlet.* Hatchard. 1815.
- III. *Special Report of the Directors of the African Institution, respecting the Allegations contained in Dr. Thorpe's Pamphlet.* Hatchard. 1815.
- IV. *Ninth Report of the Directors of the African Institution.* Hatchard. 1815.
- V. *Reply "Point by Point" to the Special Report of the Directors of the African Institution. By R. Thorpe, LL.D.* Rivingtons. 1815.
- VI. *Postscript to the Reply "Point by Point," being a Reply also to the Matters contained in the Ninth Report of the African Institution.* Rivingtons. 1815.
- VII. *Thoughts on the Abolition of the Slave Trade, with Remarks on the African Institution, &c. Second Edition.* 8vo. pp. 235. 4s. 6d. Richardson. 1815.

IN the year 1791, a society of gentlemen was formed, called the Sierra Leone Company. The professed objects of the institution were, in the words of its first report, "to encourage trade with the west coast of Africa, to promote cultivation, advance civilization, diffuse morality, and induce some attention to a pure system of Religion in Africa; and above all—not to suffer their servants to have the slightest connexion with the Slave Trade; neither to buy, sell, or employ any one in a state of slavery, and to repress the traffic as far as their influence would extend." The chairman and leading member of the

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com.

company, was the late Mr. H. Thornton. The deputy chairmen were, successively, Philip Sansom, Esq., Charles Grant, Esq., and Lord Teignmouth. Among the efficient directors were Lord Barham, Mr. Thomas Clarkson, Hon. E. J. Eliot, Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Babington, Mr. Parry, Mr. Princess, Mr. Granville Sharp, &c. After sixteen years struggle with all the difficulties consequent on such an undertaking, from various causes their funds were found to be nearly exhausted. An application was then made to parliament in their favour, who liberally granted them nearly 100,000 *l.* as a reimbursement, in great part, of the expences incurred. On the 1st of January, 1808, the colony was surrendered to the crown. The recommendations and suggestions, however, of the directors of the former company, were, in most instances, attended to by Government, on assuming the management of the colony; these gentlemen, in the mean time, formed themselves into another ostensible body, called the "African Institution," for the purpose of forwarding the same laudable designs, which had been the objects of the Sierra Leone Company. Subscriptions were solicited, reports published, and much progress was supposed to have been made, when about the end of the year 1814, a pamphlet appeared, written by Dr. Thorpe, Chief Justice of the Colony, preferring charges of the most serious nature, both against the directors of the Sierra Leone Company, and of the African Institution. This pamphlet was referred by the directors of the latter institution, to the committee for Sierra Leone affairs, who, in June, 1815, published a Special Report, in answer to the charges brought against both societies by Dr. Thorpe, pronouncing them vague, indefinite, and unfounded. About the same time appeared, a letter from Mr. Z. Macaulay to the Duke of Gloucester, the president of the African Institution, exculpating himself from the accusations preferred against him as secretary of the former society, and as a director of the latter. In September, 1815, a Reply "Point by Point" to the Special Report was published by Dr. Thorpe, in which he labours to substantiate his former charges, and to shew the weakness and fallacy of the defence. In October, the ninth regular Report of the Institution appeared, which, as it contained matter in which the character of Dr. Thorpe was involved, was again answered by him in a Postscript to the Reply "Point by Point." Such then, as far as Principles are concerned, is the state of the controversy at present, and such is the evidence upon which the public are to form their determination.

The question before the public is of a very grave and important nature, being nothing less than this, whether two successive institutions, patronized by the most distinguished personages, and

and professing the most humane and generous purposes, have not, first, by an utter neglect of the objects committed to their care, forfeited their title to public esteem ; and secondly, by encouraging the practice of those very barbarities which they were designed to repress, have not been carrying on a series of imposture and fraud.

So zealous are we in the real cause of the abolition, and so ardent in our desire to extend the blessings of civilization to any part of Africa, that we should be very slow to listen to any charges brought against an institution, formed to promote these praiseworthy and noble ends. The accusations, however, of Dr. Thorpe are too earnest and too reiterated not to force themselves upon our attention, while the local situation which he held adds weight and consideration to his testimony. It is a controversy in which the public is bound to take a cautious, steady, but a decided part, as upon their determination must rest the claims of the African Institution to their confidence and support. It will be our purpose, without either a partial or a party spirit, to introduce them to a few of the principal points of the question, from which its general bearings may with tolerable accuracy be ascertained.

To the accusations of Dr. Thorpe against the Sierra Leone Company, the directors of the African Institution, as identified with the former, both in the ends to be pursued, and in the persons concerned, has taken upon itself to reply. The two first charges, which Dr. Thorpe prefers against the company, are those of monopoly in their trade, and of mystery in the exhaustion of their finances. On the first of these we shall not dwell, as so much appears to be said on both sides without determining the question, which at last is not much to our present purpose. To the second they very properly reply, that their affairs have been four times the subject of parliamentary enquiry, in the course of which investigation, it did not appear that their funds were misapplied. With this answer, we, who were not subscribers to the company's stock, profess ourselves perfectly satisfied. Otherwise we might have been tempted to have pursued the enquiry farther, and to have entered into a stricter examination of the unproductive expenditure of four hundred thousand pounds, than the rough and unbalanced account in the appendix will at present enable us:

The next accusation is, that the best servants of the company were obliged to seek establishments under the native chiefs, and were by this means forced into the Slave Trade. The fact is acknowledged in the Special Report, and appears also in evidence before parliament. The Special Report however denies that these were the best servants of the company, because they embarked

embarked in the Slave Trade. That they were, however, the best servants of the company before this transaction remains uncontradicted, and that they are still now in repute appears from the circumstance of one being at present Mr. Macaulay's agent at Sierra Leone, and another Sheriff of the Colony. It is also somewhat remarkable, that, although these men were under a bond to the company, with a severe penalty attached to it, not to engage in the Slave Trade, the penalty was never enforced.

Dr. Thorpe, fourthly, charges the company with failing in their engagements to the Nova Scotian settlers. To these were promised upon their arrival, twenty acres of land to each man, ten to each woman, and five to each child. Of this quantity of land, it is allowed that only one-fifth was actually granted. The remaining four-fifths was, as the Special Report asserts, repeatedly offered, but that the offer was for obvious reasons repeatedly declined. Against this assertion is produced a petition from these very Nova Scotia settlers to the directors of the Sierra Leone Company, as early as 1793, bitterly complaining of the non-performance of the company's promise. The Special Report then goes on to assert, that as a proof of the just intentions of the company, they stipulated, on the transfer of the colony to government, for the performance of the engagements. It is surely rather extraordinary, that, during the long time in which they held the colony in their hands, the company should think it inexpedient to perform their promises, but that on its surrender, they should feel so anxious to grant away—what could be no longer their own. As, however, to the *amende honorable*, come when it may, we can raise no objection, the Company must have their due share of credit in this transaction.

Dr. Thorpe next charges the Directors with neglecting to furnish the settlers with implements of husbandry, and with discouraging, from interested motives, cultivation in the colony. The first of these charges is met by the Special Report with a direct denial, and in this state of assertion and counter assertion, the matter stands. Upon the second more important question, as it involves the policy of the Company, we shall dwell at a more considerable length. The Special Report asserts, that every attention was paid to the cause of cultivation, that various advantages were held out, and premiums proposed to those who might engage in agriculture; that a farm and garden of experiment were instituted, the former under the superintendence of Dr. Afzelius, an eminent botanist in the University of Upsal, that valuable plants and seeds were sent out more than once, and that nothing was neglected which might promote the interests of cultivation. That notwithstanding all these exertions cultivation was at a very low ebb the Special Report allows, but assigns other causes

causes for the failure—the general indisposition of the settlers to agriculture, and their preference to any other means of maintenance—the insurrection of the colonists in 1800—the combination of the natives against the colony in 1802—the uncertainty of the inhabitants as to the future evacuation of the colony till the determination of Parliament was known. For the success of their exertions in a subsequent period the framers of the Special Report refer to the testimony of Mr. Thompson, the first governor of the colony, after it had been surrendered to the crown. His words in a letter to the Secretary of State, Lord Castlereagh, are as follows :

“ I have the honour to report to your Lordship, that I found the appearances of the colony, in many respects, more favourable than I had any reason to expect. The quantity of stock of all kinds which fill the streets of the settlement, and the very respectable appearance of the inhabitants, are strong indications of prosperity and of the increase of domestic industry.”

Now giving this testimony its full weight, it cannot surely be referred only to the commercial and not to the agricultural state of the colony. It is not farming, but mercantile stock, that could fill the streets of a colony ; to bring this testimony, therefore, to prove the advanced state of agriculture and cultivation, is not quite dealing fair with the public. In a subsequent passage, however, the principal point of the question will be found.

“ Mr. Thorpe would insinuate that the Company discouraged cultivation in the Colony, for the sake of the rice trade which they carried on, for its supply. The Company did indeed take great pains to supply the Colony with rice and cattle, whenever circumstances like those which have now been mentioned rendered such a supply peculiarly needful. They also made a point of purchasing the rice which was offered for sale by the natives, with a view of encouraging their industry, as well as redeeming the pledge they had given of affording them a market for their commodities ; but there was no branch of their trade by which they appear to have sustained heavier losses, than by this. It proved almost uniformly a losing traffic.” P. 22.

Now the same complaint which Dr. Thorpe makes against the company was made as early as 1793, by the Nova Scotia settlers, who complain that the agent of the Company created a monopoly of all the necessaries of life, which they sold at a profit of 100 per cent. contrary to their agreement, which promised them the same articles at a profit only of five per cent. In addition to this, Dr. Thorpe produces an extract from another letter



letter of Governor Thompson, dated August 14, 1809, which will present to the reader some other views of the subject.

"I have not the smallest doubt that the Agents of the Sierra Leone Company clearly saw it to be *their interest* that the Colony should not be cultivated. It is true they pretended to encourage cultivation; but they took care always to leave good and sufficient weight in the other scale. *Who* would cultivate, when he did not know whether his land was secure to his children or to himself? *Who* would, cultivate, when, for want of any sufficient force to produce respectability in the eyes of the natives, every man was afraid to go without the wall of the town, for fear of being murdered? And now to prove the allegation, the Agents of the Sierra Leone Company were the dealers in the European and American goods. If the inhabitants *did not* cultivate, they employed themselves in some other way, (principally on public works) for which they received *paper money*. This paper money they were obliged to exchange for goods from the Agents of the Sierra Leone Company to buy rice from the natives. Had rice been grown in the Colony, it would have taken from the custom of the shops kept by the Agents. It is no wonder they were not very zealous. I verily believe this to be a true state of the fact. Many of the calumnies and inventions of the Agents of the Sierra Leone Company seem to point in the same direction. When I moved a party of the natives of Bambarra into the mountains, a death blow to their plans and a signal for cultivation that never will be forgiven, we were told that we were forming a banditti to plunder the Cassada fields, (for, God help them, they had nothing else to plunder) that they would be joined by the natives, that they would—in short, there was no end of it." *Dr. Thorpe. P. 11.*

To the evidence of Governor Thompson, the framers of the Special Report cannot object, as they appear desirous on some occasions of pressing it into the service. We could have wished that this gentleman, instead of having been sent by some influence or another to a distant part of the globe, had been brought home to have given that copious, clear, and decisive evidence upon this important business, which must for ever have set the matter at rest.

Upon the education of a few African boys in England, much money was expended; from all, however, we can fairly collect, there appears to have been much more show than utility in the measure. The Special Report asserts the existence of local schools for the children both of the colonists and of the neighbouring chiefs, which Dr. Thorpe is not disposed to deny; it does not appear, however, that these had much effect upon the habits and morals of the colony. As to the general promotion of civilization in the interior, the Special Report makes out no

case

case at all; it only asserts, that the attempts which were frequently made, were frustrated by the influence of the slave trade.

Passing over a few less important points and minor charges of oppression and neglect, we come now to the most grave and important accusation which Dr. Thorpe has preferred against the agents of the Sierra Leone Company, being no less than that of carrying on a traffic in that infamous trade, which the colony was established to discourage and repress.

The following is the account in the Special Report of one of the transactions alluded to by Dr. Thorpe :

" In November 1807, an American Slave Captain, of the name of Bradford, attempted, in the river Sierra Leone, about five miles above the Colony, to kidnap eleven natives, who had come on board his vessel to trade. He succeeded in securing five; two were drowned in the scuffle, and four escaped. Dreading the vengeance of the natives, Captain Bradford instantly took refuge in the harbour of Sierra Leone, intending to sail with the next tide. The native chiefs, however, reached the Colony, with the news of this outrage, in time to put it in Governor Ludlam's power to call the ruffian to account. His legal right to interfere was indeed extremely doubtful. He nevertheless ordered the Captain to be seized, and a full examination to be instituted. Had the jurisdiction of the charter of justice extended to the place where the outrage had been committed, he might possibly have been convicted of murder. But under the peculiar circumstances of the case, and that Governor Ludlam felt that he could properly do was to require the Captain to make satisfaction for the outrage to the utmost demand of African law, or, in case of his refusal, to abandon him and his vessel to the retaliation of the natives. The Captain agreed to the former alternative. The five persons who had been kidnaped were instantly set at liberty. About 200*l.* worth of goods, all that he had remaining on board, were brought on shore, and delivered to the injured natives; besides which, ten of his slaves were taken out of the hold of his vessel, and landed in the Colony.

" In satisfying the demands of the natives, the simplest course for Governor Ludlam to pursue would have been to deliver over these ten slaves to the native chiefs, who would have willingly accepted them in satisfaction of their claims.

" Nevertheless, as the slave trade had not yet ceased, there was but too much reason to apprehend that these poor creatures would be again sold, (as, according to African law, they might lawfully be, before domestication), if they were given at once into the hands of the native chiefs. To prevent this, and to secure at the same time still further benefit to the rescued slaves, Mr. Ludlam proposed to bind them as apprentices for fourteen years to any respectable Colonists who would pay to the Native Chiefs their customary value, which, according to their own laws, the Chiefs were compellable

compellable to receive, instead of the persons of the slaves. Of the ten slaves who had been taken from on board, four, on account of peculiar circumstances \*, were unconditionally liberated, with the consent of the Native Chiefs. Governor Ludlam's proposal was accepted, with respect to the remaining six, who were children: and they were accordingly bound as apprentices; two of them to Mr. Alexander Smith, two to Mr. George Nicol, and two to Mr. James Reid. They were thus rescued from the miseries of the Middle Passage, in a vessel the hold of which was not more than three feet and a half in height, and on board of which, though only forty-nine tons burthen, were actually stowed sixty-four slaves." *Special Report.* P. 42.

Although we fully approve of the summary justice inflicted upon the American Captain on account of the kidnapped natives, yet we confess that we cannot at all see by what right Mr. Ludlam seized upon the persons of the ten slaves. But let us observe what follows :

"One hundred dollars, indeed, were paid to the Native Chiefs, for the redemption of each of these six children, who became the apprentices of the persons paying the money, being bound to them by regular indentures, under the guardianship of the Governor and Council, and under the full protection of British Law. And this transaction—in the strictest sense of the word, a redemption of natives of Africa out of slavery to be made free—is proved by his own examination, in January 1814, to be the same which Mr. Thorpe would stigmatise as the slave trade! The Directors cannot dismiss this case, without calling upon the meeting to consider the fair inferences to be drawn from such facts being made the ground of such an accusation." *Special Report.* P. 45.

Now really this does appear to our plain understandings very much like a sale. These poor wretches were not liberated at the public expence, but were bought by private individuals; in their labour therefore and in their persons these individuals had a property. If this be not slavery, we must confess that it is very much like it. Upon the great and leading distinction between an apprenticeship in these cases, and in England, we shall enlarge hereafter.

But what better evidence could Dr. Thorpe have desired to substantiate his charge, than what we find a few pages on in this very Special Report, in the words of Governor Ludlam :

"I do not urge all this as meaning to contend that slaves were never allowed to be purchased, or as I must call it *redeemed* in this colony."

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\* "Two of these, from their very diseased state, could not have survived their miseries, had they remained in the vessel."

Thus

Thus then it clearly appears, not from the evidence of Dr. Thorpe, but of Governor Ludlam, that under the name of *redemption*, slavery was allowed in the Colony of Sierra Leone.

Dr. Thorpe next alledges, that in Governor Ludlam's last administration, two cargoes of slaves, taken from the Americans, were publicly sold at twenty dollars a-head. Let us first examine the defence of this transaction in the Special Report.

"Certain Negroes, in number 167, taken by his Majesty's ship *Derwent*, Captain Parker, in two American vessels, trading for slaves contrary to the laws of the United States, were brought to Sierra Leone in March or April 1808. No Vice-Admiralty Court had yet been instituted, nor had the Orders in Council respecting captured Negroes reached the Colony. But these Slaves having been brought to Freetown by Captain Parker, it became necessary for Governor Ludlam to provide for them, even though they had not yet been "*condemned to his Majesty's use.*" The case was perfectly novel. Governor Ludlam had no precedent, nor any analogy to guide him, in the course he should pursue, excepting the provisions of the Abolition Act of 1807; and he therefore, humanely and pardonably at least, determined on proceeding according to the spirit of that Act, which enacts that Slaves taken under it, and condemned to his Majesty, shall either be enlisted into his Majesty's sea and land forces, or bound apprentices for a term of years; and that certain bounties on such slaves shall be payable to the captors, according as the case may be. Adhering to the spirit of this enactment, Governor Ludlam took forty of the ablest men into the service of Government, providing them with proper food and cloathing, and promising them their full liberty at the end of three years. The remainder, consisting of eighteen men, fourteen women, and ninety-five children, he proposed to place as apprentices among the Colonists of Sierra Leone, for periods varying according to the age of the parties;—persons of eighteen years old and upwards being bound only for three years, and those who were less than eighteen being bound for a proportionably longer time. Public notice of his purpose having been given, 355 applications were immediately made. Many of these applicants Mr. Ludlam knew to be utterly unfit, from their poverty or their profligacy, to have natives entrusted to them as apprentices; but he conceived that almost all, if not all, those who were most objectionable would be cut off at once by a measure which would appear impartial, and could therefore give no offence. He required that every one whom he permitted to receive any of these natives as apprentices should pay twenty dollars for each; and he resolved that this sum should be given to the captors, in lieu of the bounty of forty pounds for each man, thirty pounds for each woman, and ten pounds for each child, which they would have received from Government, had there been a Court of Vice-Admiralty

miralty in the Colony, in which the captives could have been prosecuted to condemnation.

"He deemed it reasonable in itself, and strictly conformable with the principles of the Abolition Act, which allowed a bounty to all captors of Slaves regularly condemned, that the captors in this case should derive some benefit from the seizure they had made; and as the Slaves had not been regularly condemned in any Court of Vice-Admiralty, the captors, he conceived, could have no claim to the remuneration held out by the Act.

"In requiring this payment, however, Mr. Ludlam's main object appears to have been not to reward the captors; that was merely incidental; but to select the masters. In this point of view, the plan perfectly succeeded: more than two hundred applications were immediately withdrawn; and Governor Ludlam then placed the captured Negroes among those who remained, and who were the most respectable of the Colonists, telling them distinctly, that as soon as indentures could be prepared, the natives would be bound to them in the usual form, under the guardianship of the Governor and Council. The nature of apprenticeships was well understood by the Settlers. Many of their own children were apprentices: and as to possessing any other right over those natives, than that which sprung from the known relation of master and apprentice, no idea of the kind appears for a moment to have been entertained; and if it had, the operation of the laws relative to apprentices, which were the laws of England, would doubtless have corrected it." *Special Report*. P. 49.

We shall not notice a sort of legal objection taken by the Special Report, that this transaction happening after the 1st of January, 1808, is not to be laid to the charge of the Company, as it cannot be denied, that no virtual transfer of the Colony had then taken place, or that the administration was not at that time, *bona fide*, in the hands of the Company and its officers. We cannot, however, forbear noticing a sort of evasion, which we are sorry to see in such a Report as this. In p. 45, it is asserted, that the Directors having examined the Registers of Apprenticeships in the Colony, find them to be on the 1st of January, 1808, the day of the nominal transfer of the Colony to the Crown only *thirty-eight*. From which the reader is led to suppose, that this apprenticeship, as it is called, is an affair of no magnitude. Now the Report ought in justice to have stated, that before the actual surrender of the Colony to the Crown, the number of apprentices had, by the very transaction we have recorded, been increased, according to their own account, to *one hundred and sixty five*. But to return to the transaction. If this be not a sale, we should wish to be informed in the name of common sense

sense what is. We really cannot but concur with Dr. Thorpe in his representation of the case.

"They say it was a novel case; novel indeed, for when vessels are carried to places where there is no Vice-Admiralty Courts, to try them, it is the practice to dispatch them to proper places for adjudication. Surely these vessels should have been sent to Barbadoes or England, and the slaves landed and taken care of until an account was received of their condemnation or liberation. Captain Parker, (who captured these vessels and slaves) was a friend of the Company's Directors; something was to be made for him; and accordingly without any trial the whole was sold for the benefit of the captors! Was not this unpardonable? Then they affirm the Slaves were not sold; I may be mistaken—but the Slaves were driven to a public market, they were publicly cried for sale, through Freetown, by the town crier, they were exposed at a public auction,—there was a seller, a buyer,—a price paid—the article purchased—delivered and carried away—yet this was no sale! Mr. Nylander, Mr. Hamilton, and Mr. Vanneck, were offered some, but declared they would not buy Slaves; Mrs. Forbes purchased two, and on leaving the Colony, she asked Governor Ludlam whether she might sell them? he answered 'she might,'—and accordingly she did sell them again for the same price, twenty dollars each, which was about the price of such slaves in the adjacent rivers." *Dr. Thorpe.* P. 30.

Even Mr. Macaulay, in a private letter to Mr. Ludlam thus expresses himself. "The twenty dollars ought not to have been given to the captors. It ought to have formed a fund for the benefit of the negroes themselves. It tells ill, because it looks something like a sale." Proceedings were instituted in the Vice-Admiralty Court of Sierra Leone, to which documents Dr. Thorpe refers for a confirmation of the fact. Let us now examine the answer given to this challenge by the Special Report.

"The proceedings which were instituted in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Sierra Leone respecting these one hundred and sixty-seven captives, with the view of establishing the strange allegation of their having been sold by Mr. Ludlam as slaves, and to which proceedings Mr. Thorpe refers, as his proof, appear to have been, indeed, most extraordinary. Mr. Thompson, the then Governor, was also at once *Prosecutor, Judge, and Counsel.* A number of witnesses were subjected to examinations, and cross-examinations, all conducted by himself; and to this body of what is called evidence, were subjoined several letters of Mr. H. Thornton and Mr. Macaulay, (some brief extracts of which appear in Mr. Thorpe's pamphlet) as proving that these one hundred and sixty-seven natives of Africa, were sold, dealt with, and treated as slaves by the  
the

the Sierra Leone Company and their agents. The whole forms a singular mass of heterogeneous materials, and manifests an entire disregard of the plainest rules of evidence, law, and equity." *Special Report.* P. 55.

The reader will form his own ideas on the validity of this defence. And here we shall take leave of the Sierra Leone Company, and of their management of the infant colony, which appears to have been attended with a more than ordinary share of disaster and misery. Against any men of such high honour and distinguished reputation as the Directors of this Company, we would not for a moment be supposed to prefer any charge, but that of efforts ill directed, and confidence misplaced. From all the concurrent testimonies which we have examined, it appears too plainly, that in point of morals, of cultivation, of order, and of religion, the Colony was in the lowest possible state. On all these accounts we conceive the blame to rest not upon the Directors, but upon their agents, many of whom appear to have practised, unknown to their masters, every species of extortion and fraud. But we are unwilling any longer to expend our time upon a system which is now no more, we would rather direct the attention of the reader to another, which springs up instantaneously from its ashes, the African Institution. The Directors of the old Company appear to have passed into the new association, with Mr. Z. Macaulay their Secretary and managing Agent. A few names of much respectability were added to the list, and a Royal Duke, supported by rather a strangely assorted body of Vice Presidents, became Patron and President.

Before, however, we enter upon the affairs of this new Society, our attention will be called to Mr. Z. Macaulay, their former Secretary, but now a Director. This gentleman is introduced to our notice first by the charges of Dr. Thorpe, and secondly by a letter which he has lately published in his own defence. The principal allegations of Dr. Thorpe against this gentleman are upon the score of rapacity and ambition. The answer to these is contained in the letter above-mentioned, which reflects much credit on the ingenuity of the author. This gentleman often speaks of the private sacrifices which he has made in the cause of injured Africa, and of the time which he has expended as gratuitous Secretary to the Institution. These sacrifices, however, Dr. Thorpe supposes to have been not altogether such unprofitable speculations. Let us hear, however, Mr. Macaulay in his own defence :

" Dr. Thorpe affirms also, that I had *nearly a monopoly* of the trade of the Colony. I utterly deny it. I never have had, nor could

could I have, a *monopoly*, or any thing which approached to a monopoly, of the trade of Sierra Leone. The three witnesses referred to by Dr. Thorpe, at p. 68 of his pamphlet, namely, Mr. Vanneck, Mr. Hamilton, and Mr. Nicol, whom he represents as men of respectability and intelligence, were fully examined in the month of January of the present year, in a Committee of the African Institution, of which Mr. Brougham was Chairman; and they all testified, in the most unqualified terms, that nothing of monopoly either existed now, or had ever existed, at Sierra Leone; and that they could not suggest any means by which the commercial system of the Colony could be improved.

"I have annexed a list of *seventy-eight* vessels which entered the harbour of Sierra Leone between the month of May 1812, and the month of June 1814; all of which landed goods there, and on board of only *six* of which had any goods of mine been shipped.

"I annex also a statement of *forty-one* vessels which exported produce from the Colony during that time; with only *three* of which I had any concern.

"Dr. Thorpe resided at Sierra Leone during nearly half of the above period, namely, from May 1812, to March 1813; and he must have known, that many ships, with cargoes on board, had entered the harbour and landed goods at Sierra Leone, and had also taken cargoes on board, and sailed thence during that time, which did not, either in whole or in part, belong to me. And yet he affirms, that 'the trade was secured to their managing Secretary;' (p. 8.) that he has 'nearly a monopoly of it;' that he is 'the only person that has regular ships in trade from England.' (p. 29.) *Macaulay's Letter.* P. 31.

To this defence, however, Dr. Thorpe replies in the following statement.

"I never, said Mr. M. had a monopoly of the trade, because the law did not allow it; but though I did not state it before, I now do affirm, he had in 1807 what approached to it, and Messrs. Vanneck, Hamilton, and Nicol would say the same, and even declare, that no person, not possessed of large capital, could venture to ship articles from England to traders in the Colony, fearful of encountering, not Mr. Macaulay's competition, but his persecution. Captain Thompson, when Governor, very properly encouraged competition in trade to the Colony, and he considered that encouragement to be one cause of his removal. As early as 1812, Governor Maxwell (as he informed me) wrote to Mr. Wilberforce, complaining of Mr. Macaulay's exorbitant charges being very injurious to the Colony, which could not have been necessary had there been a really free trade in existence.

"Mr. Macaulay then chooses a particular period, and publishes a list of seventy-eight vessels, which had landed goods at Sierra Leone in thirteen months. In this list he includes all the captured



sured ships (with, or without slaves) that had landed prize goods, the government and other little colonial vessels that carry articles for barter, or convey provisions from the adjoining rivers, and all the vessels that touch at the Colony, going up and down the coast for water, for wood, and to sell or exchange a little tobacco, rum, flour, hams, cheese, &c. &c. for any trifling articles they may want on board; and thus Mr. Macaulay would induce the public to believe from this list of vessels, and his own comment, that he has only one thirteenth part of the trade; whereas, as I have before stated, he has nearly the whole, and is the only person who has regular ships trading from England to Sierra Leone.

"Mr. George Frazer, of Commercial Buildings, has sent out some articles to Governor Maxwell and Mr. Carr, two or three times. Mr. Nichol, of Austin Friars, shipped some goods to Mr. Carr once. Mr. Stokes, of Throgmorton-street, has sent out articles once to Mr. Nichol. Mr. Allen, of Plough-court, sent a few things to the poor black settlers. An adventurer may sometimes stop at Sierra Leone with dry goods, &c. Wine, in small quantities, will occasionally come from Teneriffe; but except some large cargoes condemned in the Colony (which can have nothing to do with the regular trade of the place) Mr. Macaulay has landed ten times as much from one ship as all the others. Nevertheless this gentleman, having obtained a return from his relation, who is Collector of the Customs at Sierra Leone, makes this delusive display, to avoid the appearance of engrossing the trade, in the same way as he had done in the 'African Institution Report' of February last, to prove the captured Negroes were properly disposed of, by a similar sort of return, from the same relation, in his capacity of Superintendent of captured Negroes.

"The next thing to be noticed, is a return from the same person in the same way, of 41 vessels carrying produce from the Colony, as if the Colony itself produced any thing but a few bags of coffee for Governor Maxwell, and a few bags of cotton for Mr. Kenneth Macaulay, from the appropriation of the unrewarded labour of the captured Slaves.

"Camwood, ivory, and rice are brought to the Colony. Vessels leaving Sierra Leone may take a small portion of these articles; but, there are no vessels of any consequence regularly freighted from the Colony except Mr. Macaulay's, or on his account.

"Should the African Institution not have determination sufficient to force investigation, nor any active member of either Houses of Parliament, have leisure to bring this question forward, I hope some judicious discriminating reader will inquire of traders who frequent the coast concerning this return of vessels said to import to, and export from, Sierra Leone, and remark Mr. Macaulay's mode of converting it, to screen from the public eye the actual state of his trade to and from that Colony; he will be convinced of its being the most plausible piece of deception ever attempted to be imposed on the credulity of the nation." P. 217.

Now,

Now, as we have only the assertion of Dr. Thorpe, we cannot in justice convict Mr. Macaulay of a fallacious statement. It is somewhat extraordinary, however, that with such ample opportunities for information, Mr. Macaulay should have neglected to inform himself and his readers, which of those seventy-eight and forty-one vessels were in regular trade from England. We must confess, that this would have been the more satisfactory method of clearing himself from the charge of Dr. Thorpe. But Mr. Macaulay, according to his own account, does not appear to have made a losing concern of the cause of injured Africa.

*"I have had the prize-agency of almost every man of war that has gone to the Coast.—I have had the prize-agency undoubtedly of several ships; but neither for that, nor for the agency of the Governor and Garrisons, had I made the slightest application. I am grateful indeed for this proof of confidence, but by me it was neither expected nor solicited. The officers who made the nomination, can best explain why they made it. This point may be ascertained by applying to the Hon. Capt. Irby, Capt. Scobell, and Col. Maxwell.*

*"I have had also the supply of the Navy with provisions.—My agents have certainly supplied to the ships of war stationed on the coast, at different times, considerable quantities of provisions; but only, I apprehend, because they were to be procured from me on better terms than they could be procured from any other merchant. If this supposition is incorrect, the blame will fall, not on me, but on those gallant and honourable men who commanded his Majesty's ships on that station.*

*"I have had the whole controul of every thing attached to the Government. I arranged the offices, and recommended persons to fill them.—At the express solicitation of the Secretary of State, I took much pains and trouble, on the first transfer of the Colony to the Crown, to procure proper persons to fill the different offices in the Colony of Sierra Leone. I did so very much to my own inconvenience and loss of time; but I did so without the slightest advantage to myself. Of about twelve persons whom I engaged, on the behalf of Government, to go to Sierra Leone at that time, viz. in 1808, only one was in the slightest degree connected with myself. Of the other persons, several, particularly Mr. Grant, Mr. Vanneck, and Mr. Becket, were the intimate friends of Dr. Thorpe. They could doubtless have informed him what were the sordid motives which influenced my selection; whether it proceeded from a desire to execute conscientiously the commission entrusted to me by Government, or from a desire to serve some unworthy end of my own.*

*"On this and on every occasion, I have been most prompt to serve Government, in all matters connected with Africa, whatever expense of time or of thought, or whatever sacrifice of convenience,*

it might occasion. But for such services I never received, nor desired, nor even expected, any remuneration whatever. What I did was freely and gratuitously performed to the best of my ability. Lord Castlereagh did indeed make me a voluntary offer of the agency of Sierra Leone; and this offer I should probably have accepted. His Lordship, however, found that the agency had previously been promised to another person; and, as he will bear me witness, the circumstance never drew from me the slightest expression of disappointment, nor led me to found upon it the slightest claim to further favours." *Macaulay's Letter*, P. 38.

In another part of his letter, Mr. Macaulay informs us, that whatever part of the trade of Sierra Leone he enjoys, he will endeavour to retain, and even to enlarge. We think him perfectly justified in this resolution; we think him fully justified in taking every advantage of his numerous connections to enlarge a fair and honourable trade. But then we should not hear too much of gratuitous services, and disinterested sacrifices. It appears from his own account, that Mr. Macaulay has taken all the fair advantages of his connections, and as long as they continue fair, we wish him success. Dr. Thorpe, however, charges him with other views.

"When Mr. Macaulay induced the Board of Trade to control the quantity of gunpowder to be shipped for Africa, was it exclusively for the public interest that he prevailed on the Board to allow a large quantity of powder to be sent out at the same instant, by himself, to the exclusion of others who applied? Is it exclusively for the public interest that he is so active about African convoys, inducing them to be ordered or detained for his own convenience? so that when a merchant in London inquires when a convoy will sail for Africa, he is referred to Mr. Macaulay. Is it exclusively for the public service, that many respectable merchants vessels are detained, till Mr. Macaulay's ships are ready to sail? and all this when he wishes to prove from his list of vessels, that he has not a twelfth part of the trade even to Sierra Leone. However I suppose this is some of the trouble he undertakes gratuitously." P. lxii.

And again, in another part, Dr. Thorpe asserts,

"When I was in Sierra Leone, I reduced the licences for retailing spirituous liquors, from forty, to four, and placed those few in the hands of the most prudent persons I could find; but immediately on my departure, licences were again profusely and indiscriminately distributed, by the protected partizans of the Institution, and to supply those vendors of poison, I have been informed, that Mr. Z. Macaulay has lately shipped from Bristol to Sierra Leone about twenty puncheons of rum and gin, and from London about seventeen, which considering (as the Ninth Report informs us) the Colony contains only three or four hundred

ared settlers, must be esteemed a tolerable supply. This displays the real object of those who are said to have toiled to improve the morals of the settlers for above twenty years\* ; this establishes the motive which actuates that person of whom Mr. Wilberforce is reported to have said in the House of Commons, ' He never knew a greater public benefactor, a more disinterested and indefatigable individual!!' Next to diffuse this intoxicating morality, not only by wholesale, but by the glass, I have been assured that Mr. Z. Macaulay's Agents had obtained a licence for retailing spirits at Sierra Leone!! This Associate of the Duke of Gloucester, this affianced friend of Mr. Wilberforce, this great London Merchant, this Director of Directors, this Adviser of Statesmen, this Evangelical Editor has his Agent dispensing this moralizing beverage to the rich and the poor by wholesale and retail!!" *Dr. Thorpe.* P. 62.

These are grave charges, but it is to be remembered that they are charges only. They demand from Mr. Macaulay a clear and decisive denial, not in words only but in facts and evidence. We wish also that Dr. Thorpe would bring his evidence also from Bristol, &c. to substantiate these charges, and an impartial public will judge of their validity.

We now come, however, to some curious facts, substantiated upon the clearest testimony. The first document which we shall present to our readers is a private letter from Mr. Macaulay to Governor Ludlam, found among the papers of the latter by Governor Thompson.

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\* " Lest the really benevolent should be alarmed for the health and existence of the Colonists, I shall extract, from uncontradicted authority, an account of the *judicious* management of the *Pious* Agents of the Sierra Leone Company twenty-two years since, for the preservation (no doubt) of the *body* and *soul* of the inhabitants, which most probably has been *beneficially* practised to this time!! ' In the year 1793, the settlers complained of being charged above 100 per cent. when promised by the Sierra Leone Company that every article should be sold at 10 per cent. profit; they declared, if the goods had not been of the worst sort, they would not have grumbled even at that; but they had known the Agent order thirty gallons of water into each puncheon of rum, sell it at a more extravagant price, than before reduced, and then declare it arose from a *religious* motive, lest the consumer should neglect to dilute the spirit sufficiently.' " *Falconbridge,* P. 213.

“ ‘ London, 4th of Nov. 1807.

“ ‘ My dear Sir,

“ ‘ A word in private respecting the African Institution. I cannot help regarding it as an *important engine*. We have many zealous friends in it, high in rank and influence, who, I am persuaded, are anxious to do what can be done, both for the Colony and Africa. Mr. Perceval and Mr. Canning are with us decidedly. Lord Castlereagh, with whom our business more immediately lies, is good-humoured and complying, but his Secre-

*Caret in pencil.*

*In the margin in pencil*—and Mr. Wilberforce desires me to add, disposed from a point of honour to do the utmost for the Abolitionists.

I fear

tary Mr. Cook is hostile to the

may be disposed to whole thing and [will eagerly] seize any circumstance which will put it in his power to do us mischief.

*Interlineations in the original.*

*Words [will eagerly] defaced.*

*Words in italics underscored in the original.*

“ ‘ You will see how very important it is to be aware of this in your communications with Government. Indeed, in all the *ostensible* letters you write, whether to Lord Castlereagh, the African Institution, or myself, it will be right to consider the *effect* of what you say on lukewarm friends, and in the hands

of secret enemies, for such will unavoidably mix us. In such

hands there are truths which will be made to produce all the effect of falsehood, and instead of being used as they ought to be, as a spur, will be employed as checks to all exertion. I cannot mean, of course, that you should, in any degree, varnish your representations. I merely mean that you should not *unnecessarily* discourage the exertions of benevolence. People who do not know you, will suppose the case to be desperate where you seem to doubt; and your testimony, if convertible to an adverse purpose, would be formidable. Your own mind will suggest to you the guards, limitations, and exceptions, with which what I now say should be received.

“ ‘ I have NO DOUBT that Government will be disposed to adopt almost any plan which

*Words in small capitals underscored with a double line in the original.*

we may propose to them with respect to Africa, *provided we will but save them the trouble of thinking*. This you will see to

be highly important.’ ”

From

. From this letter, the publication of which has naturally enough incensed Mr. Macaulay, it is tolerably clear, that the African Institution was intended as an engine in the hands of its managers, for the government of Africa. With the concerns of this growing part of the British territory, Ministry seem to have been but little acquainted, and willing enough to listen to the suggestions of those who had dedicated so much of their attention to its affairs. This appears from many of the most important appointments, the source of which is easily to be traced. While, however, Government was to be saved the trouble of thinking, a conspiracy was formed for a most extraordinary purpose, for no less than the possession and controul of *all the forts and settlements on the coast of Africa*: a gigantic grasp at power and profit by a private party, which we believe unprecedented in the annals of the country. We extract Mr. Macaulay's own words from the Appendix to his own pamphlet.

"What has suggested itself to me as desirable to be done, I will now state in a few words.

"1. To appoint a Board which shall confine its attention entirely to Africa, and which shall comprise a few of those individuals, as Mr. Thornton, Mr. Wilberforce, &c., who have interested themselves about Africa.

"2. To place under the management of this Board not only Sierra Leone, but Goree, and all the forts on the Gold Coast.

"3. To station at different parts of the Continent, from the River Gambia to Angola, intelligent persons, under the name of Consuls, or any other name which may be preferred (perhaps about a dozen), with adequate appointments; whose business it shall be to procure accurate information respecting the neighbourhood and the interior countries, and to embrace every favourable opportunity of improving the British interests in Africa, either by making treaties with the native powers, or by introducing among them persons who may instruct them in useful arts, and, particularly, who may set them an example of profitable industry. Such a person might do much in opening the eyes of the Africans to their true interests, and pointing out to them the channels into which their industry might be advantageously directed." *Macaulay's Appendix*. P. \*17.

This private suggestion is backed up however by a public memorial (nearly of the same date, May, 1807) addressed to Lord Castlereagh by Mr. Macaulay.

"The British settlements in Africa form at present a very loose and disjointed whole, subjected to great diversity of management, and pursuing ends which widely differ from each other. Goree is a military government, immediately under the direction of his Majesty. Sierra Leone is at present governed by the Sierra Leone Company, by the authority of a Charter of Justice obtained

from the King. Bance Island, a fortified settlement in the same river, is the property of Messrs. J. and A. Anderson of London; who hold it by virtue of an Act of Parliament passed in the year of the reign of cap. who have hitherto used it as a slave factory. The forts on the Gold Coast, seven or eight in number, are in the hands of the African Company, who receive annually from Parliament the sums required for their maintenance, and who continue a company for the sole purpose of managing these forts, which were originally constructed, and have hitherto been supported, for the protection and encouragement of the slave trade.

"With a view both to the British interests in Africa, and to the improvement of Africa itself, it appears to deserve consideration whether these establishments, as well as any other which may hereafter be formed in Africa, should not be taken under the immediate government of his Majesty. Otherwise it is not likely that any uniform plan of policy can be pursued with respect to that country, nor any liberal and concurrent efforts made to amend the condition of its inhabitants. It will also in that case naturally become a question, whether the different settlements on the coast of Africa should be independent of each other, and subject only to the direct controul of his Majesty's Government at home; or whether a presidency should be established at one of those settlements, under the general controul and direction of which the others might be placed. Supposing the latter, which seems the better plan to be adopted, I should entertain no doubt, for reasons not now necessary to be specified, that Sierra Leone is the best situation for such a presidency." *Macaulay's Appendix*. P. \*31.

Now it happens, that so far from these forts on the Gold Coast being built for the purpose of protecting the slave trade, according to the assertion of Mr. Macaulay, that they were built in the 30th year of the reign of Elizabeth, being the year 1587\*, a trade with the Coast of Guinea having been established as early as the reign of Edward the Sixth. Now the first British settlers in the West Indies did not arrive there till 1629 or 1624, nor was Jamaica captured before 1655, consequently before that period no traffic in slaves could have taken place. So that these forts, "originally constructed for the encouragement and protection of the slave trade," were built forty or fifty years before that trade had any existence.

But let our readers cast their eyes upon the map of Africa, and then they will understand the gigantic extent of Mr. Macaulay's project. To make room for the "board to be composed of the few individuals," the African Company are to be dispossessed of their rights, and all principles of justice and policy

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\* Vide Postlethwaite's Dictionary of Commerce.

reversed.

reversed. It is true, that the slave trade, while it existed, was protected by these forts; but is there any reason, now it is abolished, that these forts should not return to the purpose for which they were first constructed, for the protection of a just and honourable traffic, and for the civilization of that part of the African Coast.

The cause of the African Company has been taken up with equal justice and spirit by the learned author of the pamphlet, which stands seventh in our list.

“ If proper enquiries are instituted it may be found, that the African Company, without making any pretensions, have really done what the African Institution, with all their pretensions, have failed in doing—promoted the civilization and industry of Africa; that they possess that local knowledge which the African Institution want, several of the Directors having filled the situations of Governors of the different forts on the coast; that they have offered suggestions to Government for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, which have been adopted, and of which the African Institution have taken the credit to themselves; and the public accounts will prove, that they maintain eight or nine settlements, at much less expence than Sierra Leone alone costs the country.

“ The African Company annually send from home, the supplies necessary for the different settlements under their management; and by laying in judicious assortments of goods purchased for ready money, and chartering vessels to take them out at a very low rate of freight, they make a considerable profit for the public on their investments; and yet supply their officers and servants on much more reasonable terms, than they could procure the same articles through any other channel. At Sierra Leone, supplies are bought on the spot, generally of persons connected with the African Institution, who, it is said, well know how to regulate their shipments, so as to meet the necessary demands of the settlement; and are paid for at a high rate in Government bills, which are usually sold at a very heavy discount. A comparison of the prices paid by Government at Sierra Leone, with those charged by the African Company for the same articles, would shew that a great annual saving of the public money might be made, by introducing the system of the African Company at Sierra Leone.” *Thoughts on the Abolition of the Slave Trade.* P. 82.

From all that we have collected upon this subject, we fully coincide with the decision of the author, that if an impartial investigation were to take place, the result would be not to dispossess the African Company of the settlements on the Gold Coast, but to place Sierra Leone also under their management. The great difference between the two Companies appears to be this; that with the African Company, Africa is the sole object of their speculations; but that with the African Institution, Africa



is but a mean of furthering their power and extending their influence at home.

We most heartily trust, that Government will not allow themselves "to be saved the trouble of thinking" upon these important points, but that now, whilst their attention is no longer exclusively demanded by the affairs of Europe, they will view with a scrutinising and jealous eye the abuses which have already grown so rank in the conduct of their own Colonies.

We now proceed to examine a few of Dr. Thorpe's charges against the African Institution.

First, as to the alleged neglect of education.

The first report of this body asserted, that "they were opening schools for teaching the Arabic and Soosoo languages, and endowing schools for reading and writing English." The second and third Reports state, that the Resolutions of the Board, on the subject of education, had been carried into effect. Even in the sixth Report, p. 29, we have the following passage, "The Directors are disappointed not to have had before this time some more specific details to produce, with respect to the progress of improvement in Africa, by means of schools, and other institutions under the patronage of the Society." Now, quibbling apart, what is the meaning which any man of plain sense would collect from this sentence? That there were, or that there were not, schools established under the patronage of the Institution at Sierra Leone? Clearly that there were, but that the institution had it not in their power to lay before the public any *specific* details of their progress. For of the *general* good effect arising from the education of youth mention is made in a preceding sentence.—Will not then the public be astonished to hear from their own confession, that no such schools were ever established, but that the establishment consisted solely in the offer. The reader will be curious to see the language of the Special Report upon this head.

"Mr. Thorpe observes in a note (p. 10); that the Second and Third Reports state that the resolutions of the Board on the subject of education had been carried into effect. These Reports did doubtless assume that those resolutions *would* be carried into effect, there being no reason at that time to suppose that the Governor would prove unfriendly to their designs. In a subsequent Report (Sixth, p. 29.) it is distinctly stated that they had not been carried into effect. The weight of Mr. Thorpe's charge (p. 15), and any supposed inconsistency in the different Reports are thus done away. It was not extraordinary that the Directors should express their disappointment not to have made more specific details to produce with respect to African improvement; because they had repeatedly urged on subsequent Governors their hope

hope and request, that every attention might be paid to this important object. It would not have been their fault if not one school had been set on foot in the Colony; and even in that case they would have been able most satisfactorily to answer Mr. Thorpe's charge. Their letters and offers of providing for the expense of schools are, of themselves, irrefragable proofs of their having *attempted civilization.*" *Special Report*, P. 69.

Now we refer it to the plain sense of our readers whether or not, in the passage of the Sixth Report which we have cited, the same delusion is not kept up, nor was it till the exposure of Dr. Thorpe, that the confession was made. Because a man means to do a thing, he is not therefore justified in asserting that he *has* done it; to our common understandings the predicaments of *in posse* and *in esse* appear very distinct. Since, however, the representations of Dr. Thorpe, a Master and Mistress, Mr. and Mrs. Sutherland, have actually been fitted out.

Upon the subject of plants, &c. sent out by the Institution, there is much assertion and counter-assertion on each side; as far, however, as we can collect, we are of opinion, that the Institution appear, in this respect, to have done their duty; and that if they had acted in every other case in a similar manner, they would have been entitled to the thanks of the nation. On the other hand, however, we must confess, that their pretended survey of the coast of Africa, even from their own account of the business, appears to us a perfect job.

We now come to another charge of Dr. Thorpe against the Institution, which involves much extraordinary matter, respecting the instructions sent out by the Directors to the Navy on the subject of capturing foreign vessels concerned in the trade. By the influence of the Directors, commentaries, framed by themselves on the Slave Trade Felony Act, and on the Treaties between Portugal and this country, were transmitted to the Commanders of his Majesty's ships of war on the West India and African stations, and to the different Courts of Vice-Admiralty, where they were received and acted upon as constituted authorities. We must confess, that Government suffered themselves "to be saved the trouble of thinking" in a very extraordinary manner, when they suffered these edicts of a society of private gentlemen, to be received as instructions by our Navy and our Courts abroad. As might be supposed, these instructions were erroneous in the extreme: and such representations were made on the part of the Portuguese and Spaniards, on the illegal captures and condemnations which they produced, that in May 1813, new instructions were framed by Lord Castlereagh and sent to the Admiralty, to remedy the evil. In addition to this, the nation have to place the loss of 300,000, <sup>pp</sup> <sub>this</sub>

this interference on the part of the African Institution, which sum was, by a convention with the Portuguese Government, dated January 21, 1815, paid to Portugal "in discharge of claims for Portuguese ships detained by British cruisers previous to the first of June, 1814, upon the alledged ground of carrying on an illicit traffic in slaves \*." After, however, having stated in Report VIII, that these subsequent instructions "substantially accord with the construction which the Directors formerly ventured to put on the article," when pressed more closely, they allow, in their Special Report, that these instructions were materially erroneous.

"Mr. Thorpe blames the Directors for the information they gave to the Navy in their Fifth Report. In one point, that information was certainly erroneous; namely, in their stating it to be necessary that vessels carrying on the Portuguese Slave Trade should have been built in the dominions of Portugal, or condemned in a Portuguese Court of Admiralty. But this, though an erroneous opinion, was one in which, at the time, Mr. Thorpe himself appears to have entirely and unreservedly concurred, as may be seen from several of his own decisions; particularly in the cases of the *Calypso*, *Urbano*, and *Paquete Volantè*."—*Special Report*, P. 84.

The Report then proceeds to recriminate upon Dr. Thorpe, who, in some instances, appears to have formed notions as erroneous as their own. Now all this, as our readers will observe, is an excellent answer to Dr. Thorpe, but a very bad one to the public, who have lost both money and character by their unconstitutional interference.

Dr. Thorpe brings forward another case, in which the violence of the friends of the Institution clearly led them to a most illegal act. Three men, Brodie, Cook, and Dunbar, were tried and condemned under the Slave Felony Act, for trading in the Rio Pongas, a territory not belonging to Great Britain, before Mr. Purdie, a surgeon, who had been appointed by the Governor, Judge of the Criminal Court during the absence of Dr. Thorpe. These three convicts were brought to England under their sentence, but have recently been pardoned by our Government, on the ground of their having been tried and convicted, according to the Special Report, without any lawful jurisdiction. But here again, in the usual style of recrimination, Dr. Thorpe is again referred to as having instituted a precedent, in the illegal trial and conviction of Samuel Samp, which was

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\* "Vide Papers respecting the Slave Trade, presented to both Houses of Parliament," p. 48.

followed by his successor, Mr. Purdie. Let us now hear Dr. Thorpe in his own defence.

"Governor Maxwell, without my knowledge, sent his Majesty's schooner Vesta to the Isles de Loss, had Samo and Hickson seized, and dragged from their houses, as prisoners to Sierra Leone on a suspicion of slave trading. I never had seen the 51st of the King, Chp. 23, at this time, it was only in Governor Maxwell's possession. I did not wish that the Slave Trade should be encouraged, by shewing that the authorities in the Colony had no power to control the traders residing in the Rio Pongas, nor did I wish that the Governor, who had ordered those men to be seized without sufficient authority, should be ruined by damages and disgrace, which inevitably would have been the case, if Samo and Hickson had been liberated, and had proceeded against Colonel Maxwell. It was also of the most vital importance to the cause of Abolition, that these men should not be permitted to escape without trial, because on their discharge they would have returned to their factories, revived the Slave Trade with increased vigour, and encouraged many others under the impunity by which they would have discovered themselves shielded. I therefore advised that Mr. Biggs should be sent to the Rio Pongas, to prevail on the King of the Soosoo nation, and the chiefs around him, to permit the process of our Court to extend to the white men in their dominions, which was granted, and a sufficient number of competent witnesses were subpoenaed and brought to Sierra Leone. Hickson was acquitted; and after the jury had given a verdict of guilty against Samo, I endeavoured to prove to Governor Maxwell that the prisoner could not be legally convicted under the act. He would not be convinced, and produced the *Edinburgh Review* to satisfy me I was wrong; however, I told him, as I could not pass sentence on Samo, he had better induce the native King, the Chiefs, and the Slave Traders, in the country where Samo had so long resided, to petition for his pardon, and, as an inducement to have it granted, solemnly promise that they would renounce the Slave Trade for ever; this they did, and Samo was liberated. When the miserable predicament into which I was thrown is considered, I leave it to the nation to determine, whether I served the Abolition cause, and saved Governor Maxwell or not." Dr. Thorpe. P. 59.

Now allowing, as we must do, that Dr. Thorpe went somewhat too far in the conviction of Samo, yet it cannot be maintained that the case was a precedent for any future proceedings, but on the contrary was a warning against them. The framers of the Special Report, in their zeal against Dr. Thorpe, too often appear to forget that fairness, which, in their self-constituted appointment of judges, they are bound to maintain.

The next point to which our attention is turned, is to the treatment of the captured Negroes, which appears even from the confession of the Special Report, to be very little better than Dr. Thorpe would represent it.

"Mr

"Mr. Thorpe exclaims with great vehemence against the practice of entering the captured Africans into his Majesty's sea and land service, as being *slavery* under another name. It is obvious, however, that here, if his complaint were ever so well founded, the law, and the law alone, is in fault; and no blame fairly attaches either to the servants of Government, or to the African Institution. The Directors indeed, have great reason to fear, that abuses may have existed in the recruiting department; but they believe that those abuses exist no longer; and that the only question which need now be agitated respects the expediency of continuing the present system of enlistment, as the same is authorized by Act of Parliament." *Special Report*, P. 114.

Now it is somewhat extraordinary, that in their Fifth Report, the Directors claim the credit of this very Act of Parliament, as founded upon their own resolutions. Be this as it may, the *compulsory* enlistment of these recaptured captives, who are shipped off to the distant colonies, to America, or wherever it may be convenient, appears to our understanding, much the same sort of thing as slavery in the West Indies; the only difference seems to be, that in the one instance a spade is forced into their hands, in the other a musquet.

The *apprenticeship* also, as it is termed, of these poor captives, is, in reality, a state very little removed from actual slavery. From our ears being long accustomed to the term in England, we are apt to suppose that the condition of an apprentice in England and in Sierra Leone, are the same thing, whereas no two conditions can be more opposite. In England, the advantage is justly considered to be so far on the part of the boy, that the master receives a sum of money, and the profit of the boy's work during the apprenticeship, as a recompense for the benefits which he confers on the boy in teaching him his trade. Whereas, in Sierra Leone, the advantage is all on the side of the master, who, as we have seen, is willing in many cases, to purchase this advantage with money. It has been customary in this Colony, to apprentice, and re-apprentice, or to enslave, and re-enslave grown men, who thus work for their master's advantage, learning no trade by which they may be enabled after the term of their apprenticeship to maintain themselves, but continuing in a state of wretched subjection for food and cloathing, without any claim upon their masters in their age. If the public would have a proper idea of Sierra Leone apprentices, let them witness the labour of the convicts from the hulks. Here then there is an intended delusion in the name; since, however, this matter has been agitated, the Special Report has given us an extract from a private letter from the Colony, in which we are triumphantly informed in italics, that "*Of late there have been no more apprentices.*"

*prenticed.*' A tolerably clear confession of the wretchedness of that condition.

We shall now present our readers with a painful view of the miseries undergone by these poor negroes, on their landing at Sierra Leone, extracted from the first letter of Dr. Thorpe; observing at the same time, that in the Special Report, it stands not only uncontradicted, but in part allowed.

"As soon as the captured negroes were landed, and delivered to the care of the Superintendent, a party from the African Corps was sent to examine them; and as many as they found peculiarly fit to be made soldiers, were marched to the fort, and as it is termed, enlisted; though the poor negro knew not what was said, or done to him. The remainder were dispatched to what was called an hospital, a wood building, composed of two rooms, with an open communication, where the whole were huddled together in promiscuous intercourse, men, women, and children. The recruiting party for the West Indian regiments were afterwards allowed to select the men and boys that were fit for, or might shortly become fit for military service.

"The women and girls were next selected for the basest of purposes\*.

"The best of the rising generation were reserved for the plantations and farms of those in authority over them; and lastly, the settlers obtained the refuse as apprentices for fourteen years, to make them hewers of wood, carriers of water, and drudges on their Cassada ground.

"Thus we seized our allies property, because under their treaty, we declared they had no right to enslave those unfortunate beings; and then, without any treaty, in violation of our national declaration, and the promulgation of our determination to dispense impartial justice and universal benevolence to the Africans, we disposed of, and dispersed them with arbitrary appropriation; we allowed them to touch the law of England, only to be torn from its protection; to change their masters, not their condition; and fortuitously better or embitter their original destinations! Surely this is a national disgrace that cannot be suffered to continue!

"The captured negroes are delivered by the marshal of the court into the care of the superintendent, who is answerable for every one of them; let him be obliged to make a return of all the

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\* "To induce the black soldier to regularity, he was allowed a wife and a ration a day, but the lady he changed as he thought proper; whatever woman he called his wife, got the ration; and when a party was sent to the West Indies, the situation of the women became most deplorable. The conduct of those high in office, with respect to the captured negro girls, is now under consideration."

thousands of captured negroes brought to Sierra Leone since the year 1807; how they were disposed of, and where they now are to the best of his knowledge and belief: you may then learn how the benevolent objects of the British nation have been carried into effect, by those placed in their stations at your recommendation; from whom your representations are derived; and who look to you at this moment, for patronage and promotion.

"Had the captured negroes, when liberated from their prison ship been suffered to enjoy the blessings of British protection; had villages been established, the families unsevered allotted farms, supplied with implements of agriculture, and with seeds and plants to cultivate for their support, the beautiful amphitheatre of hills enclosing Sierra Leone, would have become an asylum of happiness for five thousand souls, who looked to us for relief, and to whom we were bound and pledged to extend it. They would have been a bulwark of protection to the Colony, furnishing a granary of provisions for the inhabitants, and exhibiting the finest African monument of British philanthropy." *Dr. Thorpe. P. 28.*

The Special Report admits (p. 117.) that in Dr. Thorpe's account of the low state of morals at Sierra Leone, "There is doubtless much truth;" but by way of parrying the charge, "doubts whether the example of even Dr. Thorpe was peculiarly calculated to diminish the evil." We leave it to our readers to determine, how far the Institution have either consulted their character, or removed the weight of responsibility from their own shoulders, by this sort of vague insinuation, and recriminating hint against the private character of their accuser.

In the Ninth Report, however, the public are informed,

"It could hardly have been believed possible, that the wretched creatures drawn up from the holds of slave-ships, and relieved from their fetters, and from the very lowest extremity and degradation of misery, should in the course of a few months become so comfortable, and so useful;\* that much appears to have been done for the present comfort and future prosperity of the captured negroes in the island of Sierra Leone, and that they appear now to be as happy and as comfortably situated, and are as likely to rise in the colony, as any class of persons in it†." *Thoughts on the Abolition of the Slave Trade. P. 63.*

Now it is somewhat extraordinary, that at the very time this Report was given to the public, accounts had reached England, of a meeting being called at Free-town, in consequence of information, that these very captured negroes, had joined the natives

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\* "Report IX. p. 60."

† "Ibid. p. 62."

in a conspiracy to massacre all the white inhabitants in the settlement. We shall leave it for the Directors in the Tenth Report, to reconcile these two opposite statements.

In his Postscript, Dr. Thorpe makes a powerful attack upon what he terms the misrepresentations and delusions of the Ninth Report; in which the state of the recaptured negroes at Sierra Leone, is held out to the public as comfortable and desirable in the extreme. Against Governor Columbine, Governor Maxwell, and Mr. K. Macaulay, as superintendent of these negroes, some very strong charges are preferred. Those against the latter were lodged with the Secretary of State, and are as follows.

“Charge—That the aforesaid Mr. Kenneth Macaulay, in his capacity of superintendent of the captured negroes, did coerce and chastise the said negroes most cruelly; that he allowed them, at one time, to be almost \* starved, and at other times suffered their hospital to be most shamefully neglected; that he permitted them to stray away from the Colony †, many of them to be kidnapped and inveigled from the Colony, and intrusted them to persons who sold ‡, or placed them in slavery; that he has neglected to make suspected persons, to whom they were intrusted, account for them, or to enforce the penalties against such as had used them ill; that he has even entrusted them to a woman of infamous character, who was known to prostitute them in the Colony; that if he was forced to account for those delivered to his charge, (as he is bound to do,) hundreds would be proved missing; that he not only suffered them to be employed on the Governor’s houses and farms, but employed numbers himself on his own farms and plantations,

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\* “Captain Columbine, convinced he could not otherwise dispose of the Ferrean Flour \* found in the Slave Vessels he had captured, induced the Superintendent to purchase it for the negroes; and it was served to them for food, even when sour, until they were almost famished: they were obliged, for the preservation of life, to devour morbid offals wherever they could find them, and became so covered with a wretched disease called the *Craw-Craws*, that existence was protracted misery.”

† “In Governor Columbine’s administration, many captured negroes fled from the Colony, many were taken away, and others hid themselves in the mountains; a public whipping post was erected, and many of these unhappy creatures were unmercifully lashed, for merely seeking subsistence in the streets.”

‡ “Woodbine, the master of a vessel, to whom some were intrusted, having sold them in the adjacent rivers, returned to the Colony, and was not punished!”

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\* “A most wretched food made from Cassado root, for the Slaves.”

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while they were maintained at the King's expense; that he was known to have debauched many of the girls, and to have lived with them in the most profligate state, and that he bartered the public money with Governor Maxwell for the various things wanted in the captured negro department." *Dr. Thorpe. P. 9.*

It is rather extraordinary that no notice of these charges should be taken in the Special Report, but that Mr. K. Macaulay should be quietly deprived of his office, and return again to the Colony as the agent of his relation.

"Mr. Kenneth Macaulay was in England for two months after I had laid this charge, with others, against him; I presume if it could have been defended, he and the powerful friends of his relative would have insisted on impartial inquiry, and have prevented the stigma; he was quietly deprived of his appointments, but considered by Mr. Z. Macaulay as most happily qualified to be his Agent at Sierra Leone; since his return to the Colony, he has again crept into office, and his services in collecting materials for the benefit of the Institution, are fortunately continued." *Dr. Thorpe. P. 11.*

To sum up the whole of this investigation, we must observe, that as far as relates to Dr. Thorpe as an individual, he must have had very considerable opportunities, in his high official situation, of acquainting himself thoroughly with the subjects upon which he brings forward his charges; his testimony is, therefore, worthy of considerable attention. As a man of honour, he appears to stand unimpeachable; for excepting the recrimination of general abuse, neither the Special Report, nor Mr. Macaulay, who seem to lose no opportunity of retaliation, have made out any case against him in this respect; his testimony, therefore, is worthy of considerable credit. His failures arise from violence, both of representation and expression, and from neglecting to render his charges both in manner and in matter, sufficiently tangible and compact. In his latter publication, he writes with the feelings of a persecuted man, for sufficiently persecuted he has been, by the influence of those whose conduct he has dared to arraign. All these circumstances have given his adversaries a considerable advantage in parrying his accusations, and in attacking some flaw in the indictment, rather than in answering the main body of the charge.

The style of the Special Report is infinitely more calculated to promote its object. Specious, plausible, and insinuating, it contrives to divert the attention of the reader from the principal charge, which it is often forced to admit, by directing it to some minor error in the proof, into which the impetuosity of Dr. Thorpe too often plunges him. One leading feature, also, in this publication, is that personal and pointed recrimination, which

is but a bad proof of innocence, and a worse substitute for justification. There is a sort of cool and deliberate malice against the individual, which does not look well, and which is surely most unworthy of the Directors to sanction.

Another point also cannot have escaped the observation of the reader, that in this matter, the Directors of the African Institution, are, in most instances, both party and judge. Certain charges are preferred both against them and their agents, of which they pronounce themselves, with sufficient formality, "not guilty," they themselves being judges upon their own trial. Now this sort of edict may satisfy themselves, but it will not satisfy the public, who will not be inclined to receive assertion for innocence. It is too often, indeed, the case in this controversy, that accusation without evidence on the one hand, is met with contradiction, without proof, on the other; leaving the reader amidst this double battery of assertion and counter-assertion to collect as much truth as he can. But notwithstanding the unsatisfactory state in which many points of the question are still left, much important matter has come to light: and we think that Dr. Thorpe deserves much credit for his perseverance, considering the rebuff which he experienced from the Institution, in December 1813, when, after having preferred almost all the charges made in his pamphlet, a Committee of the Institution pronounced them, naturally enough, fallacious and unfounded. The controversy is now in the hands of the world at large, who will be enabled to judge from the documents before them, from the admissions made in the Special Report, and especially from Dr. Thorpe's answer, how far that Committee consulted their duty to the public, by quashing in so arbitrary a style, the first accusations of Dr. Thorpe.

For the Directors of the African Institution, as individuals, with scarcely an exception, we profess the most sincere respect. They are men of tried honour and humanity, and are incapable of any mean or selfish motive. But considered as a body, and in that character alone they can be judged, we are sorry to confess our opinion, that they must fall considerably in public estimation. They have disappointed the high expectations which they have raised; they have not only failed in the fulfilment of their promises, but have endeavoured to conceal that failure from the public; and have been clearly convicted in certain instances, of suppressing truth, and of giving currency to delusive and fallacious statements. They have taken to themselves a fictitious credit, for much which has been done by others, and for still more which has been left undone by themselves.

We would not <sup>entirely</sup> impute to the many honourable men who <sup>are</sup> ~~constitute~~ this body, a cool and deliberate design of deluding the public. They have suffered themselves first to be deceived

deceived on their weakest side, and then to be made parties in propagating that deceit. The money also of their subscribers has been lavished in profuse and useless expenditure. Their income is not large, nor indeed should we wish it to be, when it is exhausted in maintaining power and popularity at home, instead of extending the cause of civilization abroad. We extract the following account from the Ninth Report, of 1,865L. expended in petitioning Parliament in 1814, on the subject of the Slave Trade.

" By the following expences incurred by the Committee appointed to carry into effect the Resolutions of a Meeting held at Freemason's Hall to petition Parliament on the subject of the Slave Trade :

<b>Advertising and Cost of Newspapers sent to all parts</b>			
of the kingdom	-	-	£557 4 1
Porterage, postage, carriage of parcels, stationery, &c.	302	1	10
<b>Clerks and persons in attendance at different taverns</b>			
to take signatures, &c.	-	-	108 3 0
Parchments for petitions	-	-	448 5 0
<b>Committee rooms, and hire of rooms at various taverns, &amp;c.</b>			
	-	-	186 6 8
Pamphlets on the Slave Trade	-	-	23 12 3
<b>Printers' bills for printing resolutions, general notices, &amp;c.</b>			
	-	-	172 13 6
<b>Translating small Tracts on the subject of the Slave Trade into French, German, and Italian</b>			
	-	-	54 7 0
<b>Balance in Clerk's hands, there being yet several small outstanding demands</b>			
	-	-	12 6 8
			£1,865 0 0

*Ninth Report.*" P. 77.

The Directors know, and the nation knows, that these petitions neither had nor could have the slightest practical effect. What was done at Congress would have been equally done by the English ministers, had not one of these petitions been presented; nor can the public fail to remember that the quackery and absurdity exhibited in their promotion, were a caricature upon the very cause of humanity. In the Special Report we are told, that the annual income of the Society (exclusive of donations to the amount of 9,850l.) does not reach 400l. Yet we find in the last Report, a resolution of the Governors to erect a monument in Westminster to the late Granville Sharpe. We should agree with the Directors, that there are few men in the present age who better deserve that honour for his unwearied exertions in the cause of Christianity than Mr. Sharpe. Yet that the money for this purpose should be taken out of a fund for civilizing Africa, appears to us a most extraordinary sort of proceeding.

proceeding. So heartily do we wish success to the cause of the abolition, to the cause of humanity, and of African civilization, that we must confess our indignation at seeing these high and noble ends perverted to such unworthy purposes; to encrease the emoluments of a few jobbing agents, and to promote the influence, enlarge the power, and extend the influence of a self-created party. We would willingly see this good cause entrusted to better hands; to those, who would steadily, honestly, and laboriously pursue the objects committed to their care, neither concealing failure, nor magnifying success; to those, whose prejudice would not miscalculate the means, and whose interest would not pervert the ends of so admirable an institution; to those who, above all, would not make the civilization of Africa a stalking-horse to influence and popularity in England.

The Ninth Report of the Institution opens a wide field for much thoughtful discussion. To those who are inclined to enter upon the question, we strongly recommend the Pamphlet which stands the seventh in our list, which for the knowledge and ability displayed by its author throughout, and for the new points of view in which the whole of this very important subject is taken, deserves the most serious and unprejudiced consideration.

We cannot conclude our remarks upon this controversy in a better manner than by calling the attention of our readers to the summing up of this excellent Pamphlet, and by presenting them with a just and masterly portrait of the principal actors in this complicated concern; in which they cannot fail to recognize at once the fidelity of the design and the ability of the execution.

“ These wild and visionary doctrines, and the projects founded upon them, have chiefly originated with a certain class of Methodists; a sect who profess superior sanctity, and who, under the influence of strong enthusiasm, act as if they had a right to fix a standard of morality, and oblige the rest of mankind to square their conduct accordingly.

“ The leading men among them, have a sort of compound character, and may be described as political theologians, or theological politicians; for their religion has a twang of politics, and their politics have a twang of religion. In the House of Commons, they form a party well known by the name of the Saints; who, by adroitly trimming between the Administration and the Opposition, have so managed, when parties have been nearly equal, as to hold the balance of power in their own hands: and have thus acquired an importance, to which neither their numbers nor their talents would otherwise have entitled them. In the distribution of the loaves and fishes, they are said to avail themselves, to the fullest

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possible extent, of the hopes and fears of the Minister of the day; and thus to secure an ample share of patronage, for their friends and adherents.

“ Formidable as they are, in a political point of view, from their numbers, they have become infinitely more so, from the superior manner in which, like the Jesuits, they have organized a regular system of communication, throughout the kingdom; which enables their followers to receive their impulse, and support their measures, on every political question in which they take a part, with unexampled promptitude and unanimity. On such occasions, they have literally so covered the floors of the Houses of Lords and Commons with petitions, as almost to awe the Legislature into an acquiescence with their wishes.

“ Although Sectarians, many of their preachers make no scruple of accepting Church preferment; and while their friends in the State promote the interest of their candidates for the Church, their friends in the Church support the interest of their candidates for the honours of the State. At a late county election, one of their popular preachers is said to have openly boasted, (and probably with great truth,) that he had decided the contest by his own personal interest and exertions. Thus their political strength is continually increasing, and is as constantly rendered subservient to their religious interests. In short, they make religion and politics play the game into each other's hands.

“ Their evangelical preachers, as they are termed, modestly contend that they alone preach the true doctrines of the Church of England. If so, the present heterodox clergy of the establishment, ought to resign their stalls and benefices, to the orthodox divines of the methodistical persuasion; who probably are looking up to their political leaders, in pious hope of some new Act of Conformity, that may, in good time, eject the present ministers, and seat them in their places.

“ As, by the laws of nature, whenever sulphur and iron meet in the bowels of the earth, they occasion a combustion; so, in the moral world, the union of fanaticism and love of power, have a similar tendency. These were the great characteristics of the Puritans, in the reign of Charles the First; when their effects were felt, in the convulsion that overset both Church and State; and these are the leading features in the character of the Methodists of the present day. The Puritans left succeeding generations at a loss, whether most to admire the political sagacity, or wonder at the fanatical absurdity, which marked their proceedings; and those of the Methodists are stamped with the same seal.

“ These reflections furnish abundant proof of the danger that threatens our present establishment, from the ascendancy of methodistical principles and projects; and yet, by an unaccountable supineness, the friends of the establishment, instead of checking, have promoted them, by joining with the Methodists in various institutions, (entered into undoubtedly for the most useful and laudable

laudable purposes,) and then leaving them entirely under their direction. Such was the case with the Bible Societies, and the Lancasterian System of Education; both which, in their hands, were conducted on such a system as would have prevented the principles of the Church of England from being inculcated on the minds of the rising generation. Such is also the case with the African Institution; which is principally under the management of some enthusiastic Methodists, who pursue their own projects, and publish their own sentiments, under the authority of the high and honourable, but less active members, whose names grace the list of their subscribers." *Thoughts on the Abolition of the Slave Trade*. P. 229.

ART. VIII. *Il tesoro della Devotione, partitamente figurato secondo l'ordine, e le Cerimonie del Sacramento della Penitenza, del Sacrificio della S. Messa, e della santissima Comunione. Dal P. M. Francesco Maria Battaglia, dell' Ordine Eremiti di S. Agostino.* 1815.

AMONG the arguments urged in favour of what is popularly called Catholic Emancipation, we know not that any have been of late years more commonly used, or more favourably received, than those which attempt to prove the harmlessness of the measure from a gradual diminution in the strength, and alteration in the doctrines of Popery. It is asserted, that the former is become too contemptible to be feared, and the latter so much ameliorated, or rationalized, that very little real distinction exists in the present day between a conscientious Catholic and a sensible Protestant. Could we admit for a moment that these assertions were true, we should still deprecate the employment of them as an argument in favour of the Roman Catholic petitions; it has always appeared to us an unfair and unsatisfactory method of advancing their merits; unfair, because it directs our attention rather to the contingent than the vital properties of the case, and so far misleading our judgment; unsatisfactory, because when admitted as a fact in its full force, so far from settling the question at rest, it only removes the difficulty one very small step from the place where it found it. It remains only for the opponent of the measure, who allows the fact, to doubt of the cause; and though the advocate may consider it as the proof and result of a permanent and radical alteration in the spirit of the Religion: the adversary may perhaps as reasonably assert, that in as far as regards these kingdoms, it is a salutary yet only temporary change attributable to the very regulations which it is proposed to abolish. In this state, as every one sees, the dispute is very far from a settlement;

settlement; the spirit of Popery, its nature and durability, come necessarily under discussion, and so the 'weary disputants enter once more into the very centre of that Land Debateable, from which it was their intention to have escaped for ever.

These remarks are thrown out neither superciliously, nor uncharitably—we feel all the difficulties of the Catholic Question, and however we may have made up our own opinions, we can feel in perfect good humour with those, who still doubt or honestly differ from us. Neither is it our purpose to draw the attention of our readers in the present article to the general merits of the Question. Nothing calls upon us to do so; and it is at once so hacknied, and so difficult a subject, that both reader and writer may be well spared the discussion. Still whenever it is again argued, we are certain that this topic, as heretofore, will be much insisted on; and we therefore propose to examine to what extent it is true, that the tenets of Popery have undergone alteration, or approximated to those notions which the Church of England enjoins her children to believe and maintain. For ourselves however as to the main question, we protest against being concluded by the issue of the inquiry—if the Romish Church added all the errors of Paganism to her own, we can conceive it *proper* to admit her members to all the community of political privileges which they claim; if she had purged her creed of every objectionable doctrine, still we hold that it might be *just* to deny them.

In this examination, it will not be necessary to enter into any deep theological discussions; the points in dispute between us are sufficiently popular, and we have nothing to do with the merits of either party. All that is required of us is to examine if certain tenets, condemned by our Church, (whether truly or falsely matters not to the argument) be still inculcated popularly by the Roman Catholic Clergy. It must be admitted too, we imagine, on all hands, that not only the least offensive, but the most equitable mode of considering the Question, will be by examining it with reference to countries with which we have no connection, and where the religion labours under none of the disadvantages, which it has to contend with in these kingdoms. To judge fairly of its movements, we must see its limbs in full play and unrestrained. For this purpose the little book before us is quite sufficient; whether it be well or ill written, whether or not it contain the exact and whole creed of the Ministers of the Church, or the enlightened classes of the community, is not important to the present enquiry; it is enough for us, that it is a book of prayer and exposition, published in a cheap (a very cheap) and portable form by an Ecclesiastic for general circulation, and that the copies are actually dispersed in great numbers among the people. The copy, which lies before us, was purchased for a few soldi at Alessandria, and

and we were assured by the bookseller, that it was very generally used by the Faithful. It may indeed, in every thing but merit, be compared to the Guide to the Altar, and other devotional tracts, which are so important instruments in our system of religious instruction.

The work is divided into three parts; the first contains instruction, and prayers relative to the Service of Confession and Penance; the second to the Mass, and the third to the Holy Communion. It may be worth our while to examine rather minutely each of these parts, and we think we shall extract matter from each, that may amuse and surprise many of our readers. Not that we are about to disclose mysteries; but the majority of Englishmen are, we believe, in great ignorance as to the practical exercises of the Roman Catholic Religion. A very small portion of them, comparatively speaking, have the opportunity of witnessing the performance of those rites; and accustomed to the rational, the decent, and yet the impressive simplicity of our own service, they may well be surprised on becoming acquainted with one which insults the reason, without even the poor compensation of exalting the fancy.

Yet we shall be disappointed, if the surprise of our readers should be unmixed with more serious and worthy feelings—for in truth the contents of this little volume present a melancholy confirmation of all that pains the traveller's eye in passing through the oppressed country from which it was brought. The pilgrim with his cockle shell, the female prostrate at the shrine, the sinner purchasing an easy and ineffectual pardon in the confessional box, and the aged on their knees in the highways telling their beads, are still every day objects. But that which is more painful and more general, is the blind ignorance of the lower orders, and the heartless indifference of all to every thing but the forms and exterior of religious duties. Even these shows and semblances are performed with a shocking coldness; of the congregation in a Church on Sunday full one half are usually promenading in the aisles; and of the other half, the attention is to be diverted by the slightest interruption; the lips indeed continue to go, but the head is continually turned round, and this or that object regarded, as if the suppliant had nothing to do with the prayer he offered. It is impossible not to feel at one time disgust, pity, and gratitude; disgust at those who continue to lead their flocks in so thick a cloud of error, pity for those who wander there, and gratitude to the mercy, that has for so many centuries dissipated the darkness that once lay equally heavy upon us, and visited us with the ever flowing day-spring from on high.

The first thing remarkable in the volume under consideration, is the small quantity and slight nature of the proof adduced to support



port dogmas on the most difficult and doubted questions. In a work of this sort, deep research or laboured argument, was not to be expected, or desired; but even in the most concise and popular manual, it appears to us that some sufficient grounds should be offered for the belief that is inculcated. In the book before us, on the contrary, there is scarcely any argument, and very little citation to the purpose; at best a single text, sometimes mutilated, and often wrested from its natural application, is offered as sufficient to answer all inquiry, and settle all opinions. This is a circumstance very important; because it implies certain habits very destructive of all religious improvement. If the hearer is taught to surrender his powers of inquiry, and to bow rather to the authority than the arguments of his teacher; while the teacher accustoms himself to be satisfied with the implicit, and not the rational assent of his hearer, it is easy to see what must be the consequence to both. Wherever the human mind wants all stimulus to the acquisition of farther information, and wherever it is deprived of all instruction, (and this, as far as regards religion, is precisely the case with a community purely Roman Catholic) the same consequence in both cases must uniformly follow; and that consequence must be ignorance, and a gradual weakening of the intellectual powers. In our zeal, however, for the conviction of reason, let it not be imputed to us that we trench on the province of faith; we feel, and to members of the Church we need not explain, either how distinct are the empires, or how intimate the union of these mighty instruments of holiness. There is a beauty, a sublimity, a something of heavenliness in their harmony which no words can aptly convey an idea of—it is only when this harmony is unbroken, that our sacrifice is perfect.

The book commences with a few remarks on the Office of Guardian-Angels, whose existence and ministry are considered to be sufficiently proved by the solitary citation of the 11th verse of the xcth Psalm; unless indeed a reflection of St. Girolamo, which follows, may be thought to add any strength to the demonstration. These remarks serve to introduce a prayer addressed to this invisible companion, and guide; in which he is implored to fulfil that office of illuminating and sanctifying the heart, which we usually attribute to the Holy Spirit. There is nothing very remarkable in the prayer; it is indeed perfectly impossible to distinguish it from any of those addressed to God himself. But that which follows to our Saviour, and which is to be used immediately before confession, contains such a ground of intercession, as we really were not prepared for even in *this* book. The common, and perhaps the scriptural notion of the Magdalene, was of a repentant, and indeed pardoned sinner, of one who had found mercy from the God of mercy, but who had rendered it doubly

doubly necessary by years of public and shameful vice ; yet " through her merits" are we taught to pray for the divine favour, and what is worse, if worse can well be, we are to couple them with the blood of our Saviour. To avoid all imputation of an ungrounded charge, we quote the whole prayer at length—it is besides a fair specimen of the contents of the volume.

" Orazione da farsi a Dio benedetto avanti la confessione.

" O dolcissimo Gesù, amoroso redentore dell' anima mia, giacchè per vostra mera bontà vi siete compiaciuto di risvegliar il mio cuore alla vera penitenza, *in virtù del vostro preziosissimo sangue, e per i meriti della penitente Maddalena* umilmente vi prego, che vogliate degnarvi di fare, che io pianga amaramente i miei peccati, e che possa poi tutti perfettamente spiegarli al mio Confessore, acciò che dopo l'assoluzione di questi venga a godere gli effetti benigni della vostra santissima, e desideratissima grazia. Amen."

" Prayer to be used to Blessed God before the confession.

" O sweetest Jesus, loving Redeemer of my soul, since of thy mere goodness thou hast been pleased to awaken my heart to true repentance, in virtue of thy most precious blood, and through the merits of the penitent Magdalene, I humbly pray thee, that it may seem good to thee to make me bitterly lament my sins, and grant that afterwards I may perfectly unfold them all to my confessor, to the end that after the absolution of them I may come to enjoy the benign effects of thy most holy and most longed for favour. Amen."

This is followed by a few miscellaneous prayers, the titles of some of which are sufficiently curious ; to the first is prefixed the following. " A very devout prayer to be addressed daily to the Lord, in which are contained all the acts of virtue necessary for every faithful Christian." If this be comprehensive, that which follows, is inviting ; and considering the excellent evidence, on which its promises rest, all prudent people will of course learn it by heart, and commence the use of it without the smallest delay.

" Orazione Efficacissima—a Gesu Crocifisso per impetrare buona morte, la quale essendo recitata da un servo di Deo ogni volta, che passava avanti all' immagine d'un Crocifisso, riferisce Cesareo, che perciò meritasse di andare subitamente al Paradiso, senza toccare le pene del Purgatorio, secondo ch'egli stesso rivelò dopo la morte al suo Superiore." P. 24.

Or, (for we should be sorry if an ignorance of Italian should deprive a single reader of the benefit of this important communication) A most Efficacious Prayer to Jesus Crucified, in order to obtain a good death, which being repeated by a Servant of God every time that he passes before the image of a Crucifix, Cesareo relates, that he would on that account be deemed worthy to pass

immediately to Paradise without tasting the pains of Purgatory; according as he himself revealed after death to his Superior.

After the mediatory merits of the Magdalene, and the prayer to the Guardian Angel, we cannot be at all surprised at those which follow, to the Virgin, to Joseph, or to St. Anthony of Padoua. This latter personage enjoys a very high, and well-flavoured reputation in Italy; he is here celebrated in a ludicrous, and it must be owned rather an ambiguous manner, as a wonderful finder of things lost; prodigioso ritrovator delle cose. In these degenerate days, and in these despaired of realms, St. Anthony's talents would not meet the "honor due;" "trover" in our minds is intimately allied to "conversion;" we are not however so uncharitable, and will rather suppose that the saint was a Bow-street runner, or a white-witch, than one of that sagacious fraternity, who, by the annals of the Old Bailey, appear to have found the watches or handkerchiefs of half the careless citizens of our metropolis.

Bating the humour all these prayers are in the same style; as specimens of composition infinitely simple and sublime. The morning prayer to the Virgin begins thus.

"Dalle tenebre della notte sorgo a riverirvi col principio del gioruo, o pietosissima Vergine, perchè voi siete quella aurora celeste, che producendo il vero sole delle grazie ogni influsso benigno a noi mortali tramanda. *Con la bella luce deglie occhi vostri fuggate, vi prego, l'ombre nojose* de' miei mancamenti, e risguardate *amorosamente* la povertà dell' anima mia, che insieme col corpo alla vostra materna pietà umilmente raccomando, &c." P. 27.

"From the darkness of the night I rise to worship thee with the beginning of the day, Oh most merciful Virgin, because thou art *that heavenly Aurora, who producing the true sun of graces*, transmittest every benign influence to us mortals; *with the beautiful light of thine eyes*, chase, I pray thee, the noisome shades of my failings, and regard lovingly the poverty of my soul, which together with my body I humbly recommend to thy maternal pity."

With the same freedom from conceit, and the same simple energy, the Virgin is to be addressed in the evening.

"Nel mare purpureo della Passione di nostro Signore Gesù Cristo, e nel profondissimo abisso della vostra pietà tutti i miei mancamenti, e tutte le mie colpe sommergo o beatissima Vergine, &c." P. 28.

"In the purple sea of the Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, and in the profound abyss of thy mercy I drown, Oh most blessed Virgin all my failings, and all my faults, &c."

A great variety of prayers but all conceived, and expressed with  
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the same happiness, are addressed through the volume to this same personage; at the conclusion of one of them is a representation of Venus and Cupid. The "cuts" which adorn the prayers, are worthy of them; "Cythera's queen, and the blind boy," doves, car, clouds, floating drapery, nakedness, every thing in short with classical verity. Is this an error of the printers? perhaps it is; we hope so, and certainly do not mean to impute it as a charge on the editor: but it really is no unmeet emblem of the style and taste of Catholic devotion. For even more objectionable than the wire-drawn conceits, which we have just quoted, is that strange, and indecent union of ideas, that neither from similarity in kind, or equality in dignity, should ever meet in the same sentence. It is among the amusing sophisms of Corinne to account for, and excuse the mixture of Pagan and Christian ornaments in St. Peter's at Rome; much may be plausibly said even for that excessive reverence of the sublime and beautiful in the works of art, or for that misguided devotion, whichever it be, that has produced this strange effect; whether it be an instalment of the finest statues in the noblest edifices, or a sacrifice of visible and material beauty to the invisible dweller of their most cherished temple; sit they there as equals, or as captives; still if the examination be not pushed too far, there is nothing in this absolutely incompatible with right notions of the Deity; but what must be the confusion of that man's mind, who feels no absurdity in coupling the passion of Christ with the pity of the Virgin, or the virtue of his Saviour's blood with the merits of the Magdalene.

Let us, however, proceed to the second part of this most valuable compilation; which, our readers will recollect, relates to the Office of the Mass. In this the important feature is, we think, a belief attempted to be imposed on the mind of the reader, different from that entertained by the writer himself. This is a very serious charge against the ministers of the Gospel, and we would not make it without due consideration; it is the sober, and reluctant conviction, which arises after a very attentive perusal of the pages in question: In all that has gone before, the differences, however wide and important, being principally of a speculative nature, it is not absolutely impossible, that persons educated and informed, may be sincere in their belief of the opinions they profess. But we confess in what follows, we want faith or charity to believe in this possibility. We will not, however, prejudice the judgment of our readers, let them determine for themselves by the sequel.

The Mass then, as our readers probably know, is in its exterior form, made up of a great many motions of the officiating Priest, symbolical of different parts of our Lord's history, from  
his

his entering the garden of Gethsemane to his Ascension; the coming of the Holy Spirit, and the preaching of the Gospel by the Apostles. In the present work, this whole ceremony is broken into thirty-six parts; each of these parts is shortly applied, and a prayer added to be said at each. These prayers, however, are prefaced with a pretty long exhortation to the constant attendance on the Mass, and of this we propose to give a full analysis, founding thereon the opinion we have just ventured to express.

We know not when it was written; the composition and arrangement savour extremely of the Father Francesco Maria Battaglia himself: the spirit and the doctrine are more like those of his predecessors many centuries ago; the darkest ages can produce nothing more gross; if it be written in good faith, or in bad, what a priesthood; if it be read with attention or deference, what a laity. The author, whoever he be, commences with a general assertion of the lofty nature of this sacrament, and of the superior benefits resulting from it to the faithful attendant over every other spiritual instrument of the Church. According to him the souls of men by it are nourished with heavenly food, and preserved in spiritual life, by it a perpetual sacrifice is offered for our sins; by it we are assisted in our perils, and relieved in our wants; and while we return thanks for past mercies, we obtain new blessings not only for ourselves, but for those dear to us, and not only for the living but the dead. It is a sacrifice not only propitiatory and satisfactory, but impetratory; and its efficacy extends over all the earth; it ascends to the highest heaven, it dives to the lowest hell, and reaches to that undiscovered region, where all souls are purged of their sins by the bitterest torments. The prayers put up by the congregation in union with the Priest during this ceremony, have such force, that every thing demanded by them, will most assuredly be granted. Indeed S. Girolamo says more; he promises us not only what we ask, but even what we do not.

“ Absque dubio dat nobis Dominus, quod in Missâ petimus, et quod magis est, sæpe dat quod non petimus.” P. 46.

All this however, immense as to us it may seem, is but mere skirmishing, in fact to what follows; and like most skirmishing, is not so much intended to make a serious impression, as to cover the ulterior movements, and designs of the main body. The advantages offered to constant attendance in this preliminary flourish, are scarcely gross or tangible enough for minds so qualified, as theirs to whom the work is principally addressed. An ignorant man, long accustomed, and indeed only accustomed to a religion very formal and ceremonial, where from each rite performed, each *opus operatum*, an individual, and assured benefit is asserted to result, demands motives of a more selfish and calculable

ble nature, than it would be necessary to address to the disciples of a spiritual or enthusiastic profession. Accordingly we have them here; first it is promised, that the attendance on the Mass will be considered as a compensation in some measure for the casual neglect of other rites and ceremonies of the utmost importance. Nothing, for example, can be more indispensable to Catholic salvation, than Confession, and the Sacraments of the Eucharist, and Extreme Unction before death. But we are now assured, that he who dies after hearing the Mass, though he shall neither have performed the first, or received the two last, shall yet be taken to have done, and received both. That is to say, as our learned judges sometimes by fiction of law after verdict, so God will here *intend* that all formalities have been duly performed, and the devil shall not be suffered to produce evidence to the contrary. It is St. Augustin, who reports this "rule of court;" his words are cited:

"Qui devotè interest Missæ, si illâ die *contritus* moriatur, licet actualiter non potuerit recipere Sacramenta, tamen recepisse, et obtinuisse intelligatur."

We presume that the analogy of the rule would hold, if the party came by his death otherwise than by *contrition*; and that this word is only *exempli causâ*.

The next inducement is rather of a more disinterested nature at first sight; but this also, after a few doubles, centers in self. It is prefaced with a dreadful character of Purgatory; the poor defunct (i poveri defunti) there suffer torments more bitter than in this world we can see, feel, or conceive. How delightful then to be told, that the Mass is the very "sesame" of this horrible prison; at every celebration of it open fly the gates, and a number of happy souls escape to Paradise.

"Missâ celebratâ, says St. Girolamo, plures animæ exeunt de Purgatorio; and the commentary is \*; non solo saranno dagli ardori di quelle fiamme voraci speditamente sottratte, ma fatte libere dalle stesse molte voleranno a godere l'eterna gloria del Paradiso."

Supplications therefore for the dead are not to be omitted, says a saint, and why? because whatever consolation we afford to them, the same shall we ourselves receive in recompensè.

"Quantam consolationem defunctis impendimus, tantam vice versâ recipimus."

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\* They shall not only be speedily withdrawn from the heat of those voracious flames, but being freed from the same, many shall fly to enjoy the eternal glory of Paradise.

Hence

Hence it is, (and we pray our reader's attention to this uncommonly happy specimen of apposite citation) that David the Prophet in the xli<sup>th</sup> Psalm\* says, "Blessed is he that considereth the poor and needy, the Lord shall deliver him in the time of trouble;" i. e. in the day of judgment, he shall be delivered by the Lord from eternal death. Whether the Psalmist, in penning this beautiful exhortation, actually contemplated Masses for the *poor defunct*, Protestants may perhaps take liberty to doubt. But *n'importe*—we are coming to a more choice sentence. If then those, who compassionately assist (we are aware of the imperfect translation of the word *suffragano*) the souls of the poor dead, derive from God in return so great favours and benefits, what punishment shall not those ingrates receive from him, who, refusing to pay the legacies of their kinsfolk, whose substances they enjoy, not only barbarously deprive them of the assistance due to them (i. *dovuti suffragj*) in not causing to be celebrated the masses bequeathed by them in their testaments, but even refuse to hear the mass for their sakes?

"E se da Dio ne riportano tante grazie, e beneficj coloro, che pietosamente suffragano le anime de' poveri defunti, che gastighi non avranno da Dio quegli ingrati, che non pagando i legati de' suoi parenti, de quali godono le sostanze, non solo barbaramente li privano di dovuti suffragj, perchè non ne fanno celebrare le messe da loro per testamento lasciate, ma nemmeno per loro l'ascoltano †. Costoro, continues our Editor, sono assai più crudeli degli stessi demonj, perchè questi tormentano solamente i cattivi, ed i dannati, ma quelli addolorano anche i buoni, e gli amici di Dio." P. 56.

It is hardly worth while to comment upon certain logical inaccuracies of this passage; but may we be allowed to infer from its temper and tenor, that in default of legislative provisions, a kind of practical mortmain law is gaining ground in Italy?

But however efficacious are our Masses for the repose of the dead, they are exactly one thousand times more beneficial in their effects, when offered for ourselves in our life-time. We are now coming to the argument of all others, except the baculine, the most tangible; the logic of Cocker. "More availeth," saith St. Anselm, "one Mass heard in life-time, than a thousand said after death for the same person; and one Mass exceeds the virtue of all other prayers in procuring the remission of sin and punishment." And so far from over-stating the matter, we suspect St.

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\* In our Prayer-Books the xli<sup>st</sup>.

† They are much more cruel than the devils themselves, for these torment only the wicked and damned, but those afflict even the good and the friends of God.

Anselm's calculation to be a little too moderate ; perhaps, however, he was not aware, or did not recollect, or lived in times anterior to the following important facts, which makes us rate the Mass somewhat higher than his calculation.

“ Molte Sommi Pontifici a' tesori preziosi di tante grazie, e virtù della santa Messa hanno voluto (per darci occasione di frequentare con maggior divozione questo santo Esercizio) piamente aggiunger- vi anche quelli delle Indulgenze, fra' quali Urbano IV. Martino V. Sisto IV. Eugenio IV. concedono ducento anni d'indulgenza per ano, ed Innocenzo VI. trenta mila a tutti quelli, che celebrano, o di- votamente ascoltano la santa Messa, che in tutto sono trenta mila, ed ottocento anni d'indulgenza per ogni volta.”

“ Many Pontiffs to the precious treasures of so great graces, and powers of the Holy Mass have been pleased, (to give us cause for frequenting with greater devotion this holy exercise) piously to add those also of Indulgences, among whom Urban the IVth. Martin the Vth. Sextus the IVth. Eugenius the IVth. grant 200 years of In- dulgence for one attendance, and Innocent the VIth. 30,000 to all those who celebrate, or devoutly hear the holy Mass: which in all are 30,800 years of indulgence for every time.”

This is indeed level to the lowest capacity ; the man, who hears unceasingly of the horrors of purgatory, attends the Mass, and coming home each day scores up a creditor account of 30,800 years of indulgence in the following items.

	Years.
To a Mass on Account of Urban IV.	200
To ..... Martin V.	200
To ..... Sextus IV.	200
To ..... Eugenius IV.	200
To ..... Innocent VI.	30,000
	<hr/>
	30,800

At this rate, one Mass per diem for one year alone, produces, if we mistake not, a saving of eleven million two hundred and forty-two thousand years of Purgatory. Seriously, is there any thing more absurd in the Hindu doctrine of self-operative prayer, than the unqualified language of such a passage as that which we have just quoted ?

This spiritual and speculative passage is followed by a string of miraculous interpositions in favour of those, who have diligently attended the Mass ; this is not the least entertaining part of the book ; the miracles are of all sorts, and performed towards all classes of people. The first, we have, is on the authority of a great man (but to these deponents utterly unknown) Cæsar Cam-  
pana,



pana, and shews how the fortress of Agra, in Hungary, was maintained inviolate, and 150,000 Turks and Thracians killed before the walls, not by the vigorous sallies and hard knocks of the Christian garrison, but by the Masses, which by order of a council of war they daily attended. Ma non è meno raguardevole, but not less remarkable, says our compiler, with great truth, is the story of Eusebius, Duke of Sardinia, whose capital having been surprised in his absence by Eustorgius, Duke of Sicily, was retaken principally by the unexpected assistance of a numerous and well appointed (body we can hardly say) of cavalry in white armour; the said cavalry being in truth neither more nor less than so many happy souls, whom the Masses of Eusebius had freed from purgatory, and who had gratefully "volunteered" from Paradise on this "particular service." St. Antoninus, Archbishop of Florence, vouches the next story, which is rather well told, of three companions travelling, who were suddenly overtaken by a thunder-storm; two of them in an instant were reduced to ashes, while the third heard a voice resounding in the air, which angrily cried kill! kill!—the dæmon replied, I cannot kill, for this man hath heard this morning *verbum caro factum est*, the concluding words of the Mass. Vicarious Masses are not always, it seems, applied to the good of departed souls in purgatory; for we have a well authenticated story of a poor miner who was buried alive by the falling in of the rock. Providentially he was unhurt by the ruins, but without food or light, a lingering death seemed his only prospect. His wife, however, who concluded him dead, was anxious for his soul, and contributed a weekly Mass for its benefit, bringing always with her as an offering some bread and wine, and a large taper. Nothing could be more suitable to the relief of the poor man's real situation; the taper was lighted, no matter before whose picture, or graven image, and presto, an invisible hand, conveyed it with the good things to the poor man's prison. In this manner a whole year passed away, and the weekly arrival never failed except once, when the good lady forgot her Mass, and the prisoner was on banyan allowance with continual curfew for seven days. At the end of a year the mine was re-opened, and he and his story came to light, fresh and well conditioned, as an antediluvian toad from the centre of a stone. But enough of this trifling.

Such is this precious exhortation, of which we solemnly declare we have given a simple unexaggerated account; we leave it to the reflections of all considerate people, without a needless comment. It is followed by thirty-six short prayers, to be used by devout Christians during as many different operations, which the Priest goes through in the celebration of the Mass. We do not observe any thing in them, which demands particular notice; but  
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their titles are somewhat curious, as they explain the numerous and inconsistent parts which the poor priest has to perform in this grand pantomime; sometimes he represents our Saviour, sometimes he stands for our Saviour and the Disciples; sometimes he is Pilate, Herod, the Jews, the Roman Soldiers, Judas—any body. But if one person, from the scantiness of the corps dramatique, does many parts; so also in some instances, different persons or things do the same part; thus our Saviour is represented in different places by the Altar itself, by the Cup, by the Host—by one moiety of the Host, and finally by that part of it which the priest eats.

The closeness of the symbol too, to the thing intended to be expressed, is not a little worth our notice. We take at random the 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th Prayers, which are thus entitled\*.

“ The Priest kissing the Altar, which represents our Lord Jesus Christ when he was betrayed by Judas with a kiss, you shall say this, &c. The Priest going to say the Introitus, which represents Jesus Christ when he was made prisoner by the Jews, you shall, &c. The Priest beginning the Introitus, which represents our Lord Jesus Christ led to the house of Annas, and buffeted there, you shall, &c. The Priest saying the Kyrie Eleisons, which represents our Saviour conducted to the house of Caiaphas, where he was denied by St. Peter, you shall, &c. But these are not equal to some that follow; uncovering the cup is the stripping him of his raiment; covering it again, the crowning him with crowns; the Priest praying for the ‘Living,’ is Christ weighed down by the burden of his cross; and the placing the hands upon the cup, is his meeting with St. Veronica with her handkerchief†. In the course of the celebration, the Priest washes his fingers twice; the first time, he intends to repre-

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“ \* Baciando il Sacerdote l'Altare, che rappresenta nostro Signor Gesu Cristo, quando con un bacio fu da Giuda tradito, dirà la, &c.

“ *Andando* il Sacerdote per dire l'Introito, che rappresenta Gesu Christo, quando fu fatto prigioniero dagli Ebrei, &c. *andando* “going” refers to the circumstance of the Introitus being said by the Priest not standing in front of the table, but at the south end of the principal (the western) side. It may be as well to observe here, that all the movements of the Priest are regular, and significant of something.

“ Principiando il Sacerdote l'introito, che rappresenta nostro Signor Gesu Cristo condotto, e schiaffeggiato in casa d'Anna, &c.

“ Dicendo il Sacerdote li Kyrie eleison, che rappresenta Gesu Cristo condotto in casa di Caifasso, ove fu da S. Pietro negato, &c.”

† In an enquiry of this sort, it should not be forgotten that il Santo Sudario, the sacred handkerchief is still preserved in the principal church at Turin, has a costly chapel of black marble dedicated to it, and performs miracles as copiously and as effectually as ever.

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sent Pilate washing his hands before the Jews; the second time, *the anointing of the body of our Saviour by Joseph of Arimathea*, as recorded by St. John alone of the Evangelists; the prayer upon this is worthy of our compiler. — Oh most merciful Saviour, who after thy death wast pleased that thy body should be anointed (*we give this as the most moderate translation of imbalsamato*) and wrapped in pure linen by Joseph and Nicodemus, grant me grace, that when I shall receive in the most holy communion, thy most sacred body, *I may imbalm it with the spices of devotion*, and preserve it with all purity for ever within at my heart. Amen.”

“Salvator mio clementissimo, che dopo morte voleste, che il vostro corpo fosse imbalsamato, e nella Sindone monda da Gioseffo, e Nicodemo rivolto, fatemi grazia, che, quando sarò per ricevere nella santissima comunione il vostro sagratissimo corpo, con gli aromati della divosione lo imbalsami, e con ogni purità lo conservi per sempre dentro al mio cuore. Amen.”

It is time to draw to an end; we have said nothing of many of the fundamental points of difference between the Roman and Reformed Church, because no serious Catholic desires his adherence to the old persuasion in these points to be called in question. It was not necessary, therefore, to press these into the argument, but in truth they are supposed or asserted in every page of the book. All that King Philip once, or King Ferdinand the Beloved now, would have us believe as to the number and nature of the sacraments, the *intercession* of saints and guardian angels, the *power* of the Virgin, suffragatory masses and purgatory, is here taught as essential to true Catholic belief.

The argument then, as we put it, is at an end; the same difference in faith subsists now as ever between the “conscientious Romanist and sensible Protestant.” Whether, if we are pressed with the other branch, which grounds itself on the *diminished* power of Popery, we have any case to stand upon in reply, we will leave to all those who possess a map of Europe, and have read its history during the last five years.

ART. IX. *The History of Merchant Taylors' School, from its Foundation to the present Time; in Two Parts. I. Of its Founders, Patrons, Benefactors, and Masters. II. Of its principal Scholars. By the Rev. H. B. Wilson, B.D. Second Undermaster.* 4to. 1254 pp. Rivingtons. 1814.

A GOOD-SIZED quarto this, but our review of it may be short. It will not be supposed, that, in a volume containing  
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more than 1250 pages, many of them necessarily abounding with notes, we have read every word; but there is hardly a page, the index excepted, which we have not examined with care, and have scarcely found a single fact to rectify, a mistake of any moment to correct, or a sentiment to controvert, in the whole volume. It is precisely such a work as each of our illustrious seminaries, not to say every College in either University, should be ambitious to produce; but which, if we except Master's History of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, published in 1753, very few of them have yet produced.

A concise account of the work will be its best recommendation. It consists, as the title intimates, of two parts, each containing five chapters. In the first part, beginning with the foundation of the School by the Worshipful Company of Merchant-Taylors in 1561, the author deduces the history, in the form of annals, to the present time; allotting to each chapter, as nearly as the duration of the successive Masterhips, by which the narrative is regulated, would allow, the space of about fifty years. The chapters of the second part, bounded by the reigns of our sovereigns, as the first are by the masters of the school, comprise similar positions of time, each of them about half a century. This arrangement, as will be seen at once, has two advantages; it is natural, and it is commodious. Chronology is the light of all history, biographical as well as civil. That method therefore is here pursued, but with the liberty which the great writers of antiquity assumed, to defer sometimes, or to anticipate, minute circumstances, as the connection of matter or of persons may suggest.

The work being necessarily of a miscellaneous nature, to be once perused, and consulted often, not only by persons educated at Merchant-Taylors, but by all, who, in this inquisitive age, are curious to investigate the literary history of the kingdom, to facilitate the use of it, there is not only prefixed a circumstantial table of the contents of each chapter, but a most copious index is subjoined; each of them, the latter especially, a work of immense labour, which can only be adequately estimated by those "harmless drudges," (to borrow an expression of Dr. Johnson's) who, whether in compiling a dictionary or composing an index, are contented to toil without fame for the benefit of others.

The volume is inscribed, in a neat and appropriate dedication, "to the Master, Warden, and Court of Assistants, of the Worshipful Company of Merchant-Taylors;" and is embellished with six portraits, of so many distinguished ornaments of Merchant-Taylors' School, the Archbishops Juxon, Dawes, and Boulter; and three of the Masters, Townley, Bishop, and

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Cherry,

Cherry, which are finely engraved by Thieleke from original paintings.

From the second part of the work, where many memorable transactions, in the civil, ecclesiastical and military annals of our country, (connected with those great men, educated at Merchant Taylors, who sustained a principal part in them,) are sketched with an able hand, it were easy to bring forward passages innumerable of commanding interest and importance. But "*inopes nos copia fecit.*" Variety, though we could not choose amiss, makes selection difficult. The worthies also, though here fresh chaplets adorn their brows, were already, most of them, well known to fame. We therefore confine our attention to such passages (a few out of many) as exhibit the author himself in connection with his subject; and evince the rectitude of his judgment, the integrity of his patriotism, the purity of his faith, and what is generally apparent, the accuracy and (no mean grace) simplicity of his language.

At the election to St. John's in 1601, there being two vacancies, a boy who had been elected the year before, when no vacancy happened for him, had a considerable majority in his favour; and Matthew Wren, afterwards Bishop of Ely, father of the famous Sir Christopher Wren, had the second number of votes, but in consequence of a second scrutiny lost his election.

"But the disappointment, which he experienced," says our author, "in thus being dashed from the pinnacle of his hopes, laid the foundation of his future greatness."

One of the learned men who attended the examination was Lancelot Andrews, an incomparable judge and promoter of merit, at this time Residentiary of St. Paul's and Master of Pembroke Hall, who had himself received his education at Merchant Taylors' School. He therefore,

"Pitying the hardship of Wren's case, took him under his protection, and patronized him till his death. I will interrupt the narrative no longer," says the historian, "than while I observe, that this interesting occurrence should restrain the immoderate depression of those who miss the election to St. John's, and be an assurance to them, that if they do not fail through their own negligence, Providence will open for them other, and, perhaps, fairer prospects of advancement." P. 142.

The remark is not more just in itself, than it is seasonable in a work calculated throughout to animate and direct the hopes of youthful aspirants. In the limited circle of our own acquaintance we could mention more than one, now removed from the career

career of mortal honours, who, in middle and later life, looked back with gratitude to disappointments, which, though naturally painful at the time, proved the very hinge and occasion of subsequent preferment.

It is matter of much satisfaction to the historian, as it doubtless will be to his readers, that in the Grand Rebellion,

"While the headship of almost every other school in the land was disposed of by the Presbyterian sequestrators, as best suited the views of their party, that Merchant-Taylors was saved to the successors of its founders, by the temper and firmness which they displayed on the occasion." P. 268.

And by similar address and management, when James the Second, to forward "his project of establishing Popery and making himself absolute," "set himself above the rights of lawful patrons," and attempted to obtrude upon the Company a master of his own choice, they had again "the happiness to escape." P. 387.

The effect of the restoration on the youthful seminary is well described. It

"Produced a change of scene at school as well as in the realm at large. The countenances and manners of the boys were different from what they had been. Instead of demurely wearing their hats over their eyes, in imitation of the men who had now, for twelve miserable years, set the fashion in every thing, they assumed a more liberal air and English deportment. The clouds of discontent and chagrin at being obliged to stifle and subdue the generous feelings and buoyant spirits of youth, vanished as soon as they perceived those around them looking cheerful and gay. Glad of an opportunity of shaking off the Presbyterian discipline, which ill accorded with sports and pastimes, they omitted nothing, whereby they might testify their joy at what appeared to them a return of the golden-age."

We cannot wonder however that this was carried rather too far, and that "for some time, mirth and merriment superseded all application to books." P. 331.

At the close of the mastership of "the venerable Criche," who expired in 1759, "at the honourable age of fourscore," we have the names of some of his pupils:

"To whom the present generation have looked up as to fathers, friends, and instructors. The greater part of them, after serving mankind usefully and honourably in their several professions, have long since fallen a prey to the great destroyer. But some few remain, like the last oaks to which the woodman lays his axe, to shew us, by example, what their brethen were. And may they long remain an ornament to the school that trained them, and an honour

to the Company that patronized them; a blessing to their more immediate connections, and instruments to the last of promoting the public weal!" P. 454.

Mr. Wilson himself was educated under Mr. Bishop, known and admired for many of his poetical productions, equally elegant and original:

"Nor was he more respected by the Company than revered by the scholars, who still glow with affection for his memory, gratefully recollecting the judgment and ability with which he presided over the school, and opened to them the treasures of information."

The names of some of these, "known and dear to science," are given:

"After whom, and many others that might be mentioned as the pride and boast of Merchant Taylors', may it be permitted to the writer of this work to rank himself, though in the back-ground of the piece, in the groupe of grateful pupils, from whose minds, neither the follies, nor the pleasures, nor the labours, nor the cares of this life, have been able to efface the fond remembrance of an instructor whom they loved!" P. 520.

Mr. Bishop's successor was Mr. Cherry; and

"How far the choice has been justified by experience, the flourishing state of the school can bear witness. It need only be observed here that he has uniformly inculcated that principle of disinterested loyalty, which has in every age been a distinguishing characteristic of Merchant Taylors'. P. 521.

Though we had not the honour of being educated at Merchant Taylors, nor have the pleasure of being acquainted with any of the worthy Masters of the School, we cordially say, "esto perpetua!" May it flourish, as the author, towards the close of his work, fervently "hopes and prays," "till all institutions for the benefit of mankind merge in that general and grand melioration of the human race, which the Christian religion teaches us to expect." P. 1143.

We rejoice to see a numerous and respectable list of subscribers to a work, which in the collection of materials required indefatigable industry and multifarious research, and in its general form and structure displays much good taste and discriminating judgment. It is not a little satisfactory, that, in a work of such magnitude, there should be so few mistakes, and none of material consequence. Biography is, of all other species of writing, the most liable to error both in names and dates. Mr. Warton wrote, as Mr. Wilson does, "cotemporary," (p. 506.

584.) but notwithstanding this authority, and that also of general usage, analogy seems to decide, that it should be "contemporary," retaining the *n* before a consonant, and omitting it before a vowel. The adverb *needs*, and the verb of the same family, are often confounded; according to grammatical strictness in the expression, "It *need* only be observed," (p. 521.) it is the verb which is used, which should consequently be formed like other verbs, and written, "It *needs*." "*Scarcely* was—the royal vault closed,—*than* it was again opened," (p. 629.) is an impropriety of expression, which, though we have met with it once only in the whole volume, it is necessary to mention, as it seems to be a growing evil. When we encountered a slight misnomer in the learned Walter Moyle, here written "*Mayle*," (p. 996. n. \*.) we supposed it to be merely a typographical error; but as it stands so in the index likewise, it is probably an oversight of the author. But "the most learned man in Europe"—generally so acknowledged, though Mr. Wilson, cautious of extolling his worthies too highly, has not called him so—was Dr. Bernard, interred at St. John's College, of which he had been Fellow, with this affectionate memento, of his own suggestion a short time before his death: "*Habemus cor Bernardi*." (p. 872.) He was presented in 1691, by his school-fellow and fellow-collegian, Mews, Bishop of Winchester, one of the *Eighteen Prelates* (unless some have escaped our notice) that shed a lustre on the annals of Merchant-Taylors, "to the rich rectory of Brightwell in Berkshire." (p. 860.) Brightwell has been fortunate in its Rectors; and the venerable Mr. Wintle, lately deceased, though inferior certainly to the illustrious Bernard in depth of science and multiplicity of languages, strongly resembled him in meekness and modesty, in theological erudition and solid judgment. He too, like Bernard, now and then, to the last, graced the University with his presence; but Brightwell is not, as our author, following the *Biographia*, inadvertently says, "but about *nine* miles from Oxford," but we believe (for we once visited the sacred spot!) by any practicable road, at least twelve or fourteen miles distant.

We thank Mr. Wilson heartily for the entertainment which his book has afforded us. We shall often refer to it, and sincerely wish it may find a place, as it well deserves, in every public library and every extensive private collection in the kingdom.

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ART. X. *Remains of the late John Tweddell, Fellow of Trinity-College, Cambridge; being a Selection of his Letters, written from various Parts of the Continent; together with*  
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*a Republication of his Prolusiones Juveniles, &c. : to which is prefixed a brief Biographical Memoir, by the Editor, the Rev. Robert Tweddell, A.M.; illustrated with Portraits, Picturesque Views, and Maps. 4to. pp. 660, 3l. 3s. Mawman. 1815.*

ART. XI. *Letter to the Editor of Edinburgh Review. By the Earl of Elgin. Third Edition. 2s. 6s. Murray. 1816.*

ART. XII. *Postscript to Ditto, Second Edition. 1s. 6d.*

WHEN we first cast our eyes upon this title-page, we entertained the pleasing hope of seeing a part, if not all, of those treasures brought to light, which it was well known the labour and ingenuity of the accomplished Tweddell had accumulated in his interesting travels. He is universally acknowledged by his contemporaries to have been so conversant in the stores of antient literature, so patient in his investigations, and so accurate in his deductions, that we anticipated a rich feast even in the relics of his table. In addition to this, he was an acute observer of men and manners, and eminently endowed by nature with all those graces, both of body and mind, which conciliate the favour and secure the esteem of society. Mr. Tweddell was as amply qualified as he was nobly inclined to contribute to the gratification and improvement of his countrymen, not less by his observations on the laws, manners, and customs of modern Europe, than by his researches into the antiquities and monuments of those nations which, from early associations, we are accustomed to reverence with a kind of filial piety. We must confess, however, that we found our expectations cruelly disappointed, for instead of reaping a luxuriant harvest, it appears that we must rest contented with a few gleanings from his private correspondence, and a tedious detail of those transactions which were entered into with a view of recovering his invaluable memoranda. In this expression of our disappointment, let not the Reverend Editor of the present volume suppose that we attach any blame to him: on the contrary, he is entitled to no small share of the public gratitude for his zealous, though unsuccessful, endeavours to rescue from oblivion the materials of his brother's fame, and above all, for enabling us, by means of his correspondence, to follow the steps of this amiable and accomplished scholar, from the time he left his native shores until he mingled his dust with the departed heroes of antient Greece. Highly gratifying, however, must these letters prove to those contemporaries of the author, who enjoyed his friendly converse in the academic groves of Alma Mater, and watched those opening buds of genius which the cold hand of fate has prevented from arriving at maturity. If the pure flame of affection still  
burns

burns brightly in their breasts, if, conscious as they must have been, that the powers of Tweddell's mind were never suffered to languish in apathy and indolence, they have cherished a hope that his memory would be rescued from undeserved oblivion, and posterity receive the invaluable legacy he had bequeathed to them, they, like ourselves, must experience a mournful satisfaction in the perusal of these documents, which serve to shew us the extent of our loss in the disappearance of his more important papers and journals.

This disappearance the editor endeavours to account for in an Appendix, which contains a relation of his unsuccessful efforts to bring them to light, and involves so deeply the character of a noble Lord, (universally noted for his love of the fine arts,) that he has thought proper to defend his character in two pamphlets, addressed to the Conductor of an eminent Literary Journal, who, overstepping the limits of his province, had assumed the rites of magisterial authority and convicted the noble Lord, upon ex-parte evidence, in a most heinous moral delinquency. How far this extra-judicial interference was called for, we shall not pretend to determine: there certainly are many cases in which every voice may fairly raise itself in defence of injured innocence, or in the execration of abandoned profligacy; when the literary censor ought to hold the mirror up to vice, and stigmatize moral turpitude with as much zeal as he corrects the errors of a depraved style or a prurient imagination: and frequently the pen of the critic will reach offenders who are secure against the rod of the civil magistrate; but this extra-judicial authority ought to be used with the greatest caution, and only in cases where the proofs of guilt are manifest, and the danger to society great; and above all especial care must be taken lest this self-appointed judge unawares lend himself to a party, and decide upon the supposed guilt of an individual before he has had time or opportunity to bring forward testimony in his favour.

Such being our sentiments, we shall notice briefly the substance of the editor's accusation against the noble Lord, and his lordship's reply, rather with a view to satisfy the curiosity of our readers than to direct their judgment: as we think it will be more generally interesting to examine minutely the remains of a scholar who acquired so great a share of praise and esteem from his contemporaries, that every relic which may be handed down to them concerning him, will be treasured as the memorial of a long-lost friend, and regarded with a kind of pious veneration.

The dedication of this volume is addressed to the Governor and Court of Assistants of the Levant Company, to whom the editor

editor professes himself much indebted for their assistance in his researches after the lost property, to which we have alluded. We next meet with a biographical memoir of his lamented brother, in which, without parade or ostentation, the leading incidents of his short career are detailed, and many honourable testimonies produced to his amiable disposition and extraordinary talents. Among these the foremost in interest are two charming copies of Latin heudeasyllables, by his friend and contemporary Mr. Abraham Moore, of King's College, who, with equal elegance and fidelity has subjoined to each a translation in English verse. Dr. Parr's Letter to Mr. Lusk shews how highly Tweddell was esteemed in his life, and lamented in his death by that profound and distinguished scholar. We ought not to omit that this part of the work is adorned with a very accurate and beautiful representation of the Temple of Theseus, in which the mortal remains of our lamented traveller are deposited. We would quote the inscription engraved on his tomb, if we thought that one leaf need be added to the well-earned laurels of the amiable and accomplished scholar, from whose pen it proceeded. We shall present our readers with a copy of the Epitaph, supplied by the courtesy of Lord Elgin, having been favoured with it by one of our friends who has lately returned from Athens.

" O. H. S. S.

IOHANNIS. TVVEDDELLII. ANGLI  
IN. PROVINCIA. NORTHUMBRIÆ. NATI.  
CANTABRIGIÆ. LITERIS. IMBVTI.  
CONLEGII. TRINITATIS. SOCII.

OMNESQ. GRADVS. ACADEMICOS. SVPERGRESSI.  
QVI.

DVM. ESSET. IN. ITINERE. PER. GRECIAM.  
ATHENIS. FINEM. VIVENDI. FECIT.

VIII. KAL. SEXTIL. ANN. CXCXCIC.  
TOMAS. DE. ELGINO. COMES. :

AMICO. OPTIMO. OPTIMEQ. MERITO.  
M. C. F. C.

QVISQVIS. HAC. TRANSIS.  
SIVE. PEREGRINVS. SIVE. HOSPEX.  
TVVEDDELLIVM. INSALVTATVM.  
NE. PRÆTERI."

Mr. Walpole's Greek inscription was engraved and patronized by Mons Fauvel; and the Latin one, just quoted, by Lusieri, Lord Elgin's great ally in the work of spoliation. A curious account of the rivalry of these two modern demagogues of Athens, even in so trifling a circumstance as the engraving an epitaph on a tombstone, is given in a letter to Mr. Walpole by an anonymous author, in whom we recognize one of the most intelli-

intelligent, indefatigable, and inquisitive travellers whom this country has to boast of. It is much to be wished that this gentleman, whose stock of materials must be as valuable as it is extensive, may be induced to gratify the curiosity and augment the information of his countrymen, by publishing the result of his observations upon the various countries which he has had the courage and good fortune to explore. If his own inclination be not wanting, he is in possession of every other requisite for the amusement and instruction of the public. After presenting our readers with what we conceive to be a very faithful and well drawn character of his highly-valued brother, by the editor, we shall proceed to make some remarks upon the correspondence, which forms the chief bulk of the present volume.

“ Mr. Tweddell in his person was of the middle stature, of a handsome and well-proportioned figure. His eye was remarkably soft and intelligent. The profile or frontispiece to the volume gives a correct and lively representation of the original : though it is not in the power of any outline to shadow out the fine expression of his animated and interesting countenance. His address was polished, affable, and prepossessing in a high degree ; and there was in his whole appearance an air of dignified benevolence, which portrayed at once the suavity of his nature and the independence of his mind. In conversation he had a talent so peculiarly his own, as to form a very distinguishing feature of his character. A chastised and ingenious wit which could seize on an incident in the happiest manner—a lively fancy which could clothe the choicest ideas in the best language—these, supported by large acquaintance with men and books, together with the farther advantages of a melodious voice and a playfulness of manner singularly sweet and engaging, rendered him the delight of every company : his power of attracting friendships was indeed remarkable : and in securing them he was equally happy. Accomplished and admired as he was, his modesty was conspicuous, and his whole deportment devoid of affectation or pretension. Qualified eminently to shine in society and actually sharing its applause, he found his chief enjoyment in the retired circle of select friends ; in whose literary leisure, and in the amenities of female converse, which for him had the highest charms, he sought the purest and the most refined recreation. Of the purity of Mr. Tweddell’s principles, and the honourable independence of his character—of his elevated integrity, his love of truth, his generous, noble, and affectionate spirit, the Editor might with justice say much ; but the traces and proofs of these, dispersed throughout the annexed Correspondence, he cheerfully leaves to the notice and sympathy of the intelligent reader.” P. 21.

Before, however, we notice the correspondence itself, we ought to observe that the editor apologizes for the introduction  
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of so many private letters, which evidently were never intended to meet the public eye.

“ The candid reader will not fail to recollect, that the following letters were not meant for the public eye ; that they were generally written in the greatest haste, and under circumstances the most unfavourable. Even had Mr. Tweddell allowed himself leisure for more full and elaborate compositions, it would have been hazardous to transmit important or particular intelligence, while the disturbed state of the continent prevented both facility and safety of communication. The author therefore contented himself with a correspondence general in its nature, and colloquial in its style ; carefully and laboriously storing up in his journals the result of every day’s research and information.” P. 20.

Upon the whole, though some letters in the collection, and parts of others, would have been perhaps judiciously omitted, we recollect few instances of a private correspondence, written without the least view to publication, which will bear a severer scrutiny, either in point of good sense, elegant taste, or honourable sentiments. Full of candour and discrimination, Tweddell portrays with great spirit the manners and customs, and characters of the different nations he visited, imbued with classic lore, and blessed with a fine imagination, he paints in glowing colours the magnificent scenery of nature in her wildest regions, and throws a double interest over the deserted relics of antient art ; educated in the strict principles of morality and religion, by the most excellent of parents, he repays their care and solicitude by the strong and vivid sentiments of attachment displayed throughout his whole correspondence, which is undefiled by a single sentence of a licentious tendency. Unfortunately, minds like his, of the highest class and of the finest sensibility, as they are susceptible of the most enthusiastic affection, when they meet with congenial virtues in the other sex, so are they liable to proportional depression if the keen breath of misfortune blast their early hopes. To a calamity of this kind, which he met with before his departure from England, and to which he not unfrequently alludes, is to be ascribed the despondency which pervades many of his letters. At times the pleasures of society lost their relish for him, and the aspirings of ambition were extinct ; his excellent principles alone and his sense of duty determined him to persevere in the pursuit of useful knowledge, to mix in the circles of society, and dedicate his talents to the service of mankind. In this point of view, assiduity became to him not only a duty but a source of happiness ; he laboured to improve his talents and turn to account every opportunity of acquiring knowledge, he so regulated his diversions and  
amuse-

amusements, that even by recreation he refreshed his own strength and increased the satisfaction of others, he armed himself with cheerfulness against the disappointments and vexations to which a traveller is constantly subject ; he so resisted the temptations of luxury and vice, as to acquire the esteem of the good and virtuous wheresoever he went ; in short, he beheld virtue and utility in the most attractive light, and engaged in their cause all the energies of his soul. In one place, giving his mother an account of his occupations, " you see," he observes, " that my time is fully employed, and I hope very profitably ; the surest promise of its continuing to be so is, that I am never comfortable when it is not."

We shall now follow him through the several stages of his interesting tour until death untimely arrested his progress and deprived society of one of its most promising ornaments. His first five letters are dated from Hamburg, where he arrived October 5th, 1795. Here he remained three months, in order to acquire a knowledge in some of the continental languages, a thing too much neglected by many of our English youth, who, as soon as they set foot upon a foreign shore, and feel themselves free from the restraint of tutors and guardians, and the inspection of those whose presence is always some check upon their conduct, pick up just as many phrases of French, German, or Italian as will suffice to abuse a postmaster or assail the virtue of a chambermaid, and then by the help of an accomplished valet they scour the continent in search of pleasure and vice, read now and then a gazette in a coffee-house, and call it studying the policy of a government ; buy a few modern antiques, and call it patronizing the fine arts ; run to see some remains of antient magnificence while the horses are changed, and fancy themselves complete antiquarians. Thus are the manners and customs of the continent learnt in brothels and taverns, and they then return home, ignorant of other countries, and despising their own ; degraded in moral principle, and without the acquisition of a single particle of useful knowledge. Let these young gentlemen read the correspondence of Tweddell and blush, if the power to blush still remains.

Mr. Tweddell occupied also his time at Hamburg in forming the best connexions, and frequenting the most polished society, whence he not only received immediate instruction and gratification, but procured introductions which proved a source of infinite advantage to him in his subsequent travels. His curiosity was here gratified by an acquaintance with the illustrious Klopstock, the Milton of Germany, with the republican General Dumourier, the Comte de Rivard, the Abbé de Montesquieu, Madame de Genlis, and many other personages who had played  
consi-

considerable parts on the great theatre of life: nor did his fashionable engagements cause him to neglect to acquire a knowledge of the trade and commerce of this once-flourishing emporium of the north, or to seek the society of its most eminent merchants, to whom he had been strongly recommended by our celebrated countryman Matthew Boulton, of Birmingham. In the third letter to his mother, he observes that he has just commenced anew with a French master, and letter the fourth, addressed to his friend Mr. Digby is composed in that elegant language, of which we shall extract a specimen, as well to shew our readers the rapid progress he made in his acquirements, as that it contains a most interesting account of a personage who has lately been much the subject of conversation, and whose subsequent conduct has not belied the promise of his early years.

“ J’ai reçu les details suivans de ce qui est arrivé au jeune Duc D’Orleans. Ils peuvent vous intéresser. Ils m’ont été communiqués par une personne qui est trop étroitement liée avec lui pour être trompée elle-même, et qui est trop bonne & trop sincere, pour qu’elle sache tromper les autres. Aussi vous pouvez compter sur la vérité du récit. Lorsqu’après avoir éprouvé un decret d’arrestation, le jeune Duc D’O. se decida à passer hors de France, ce ne fut jamais avec l’intention de porter les armes contre sa patrie; et même lorsque l’Archduc Charles, lui offrit d’entrer au service de l’Empereur avec les honneurs dûs à son rang, le grade, et les appointemens de lieutenant-général, il s’y refusa, ne resta à Mome que le tems d’avoir un passeport (environ 24 heures), et partit pour la Suisse avec à peu près cent louis, qui étoit tout ce qu’il possédoit. Dès qu’il fut arrivé en Suisse les aristocrates l’y persecuterent; sachant aussi que RONSPIERRE vouloit rendre sa famille responsable de son émigration, il resolut de disparaître si parfaitement, qu’on put croire en France, qu’il n’existoit plus. Il se retira donc dans les montagnes les plus élevées de la Suisse. N’osant point aller dans les endroits fréquentés par les curieux, il a fait un voyage d’autant plus intéressant, qu’il avoit necessairement pour but les lieux les moins connus. Comme il avoit laissé à sa sœur la peu d’argent qui lui restoit, c’est au milieu des plus grandes privations qu’il a passé quatre mois. Les grands jours, les jours des fêtes, il depensoit 30 sols pour son gîte, sa nourriture, et celle d’un ancien valet, qui n’avoit point voulu le quitter. Celui ne possédant plus qu’un louis, il fut obligé de se separer de ce dernier serviteur, de cette dernière consolation: et ayant appris qu’il vaquoit une place de professeur de géométrie, dans un college des Grisons, il fut s’y presenter. Il y resta six mois, sans que personne sut qui il étoit, se faisant si bien chérir par les ecoliers, respecter par les maîtres, qu’un des Messrs. DE SALIS, qui l’avoit persecuté comme Duc D’O. frappé de la sagesse et du merite du jeune professeur, lui fit proposer d’être précepteur de ses enfans. Le jeune Duc D’O.

s’y

s'y refusa, resta dans son collège à montrer la géométrie en allemand, et ce ne fut qu' après la mort de Robespierre, que ne craignant plus pour sa mère et ses frères, il sortit de sa retraite, reclama l'attachement de quelques amis, et depuis il a toujours vécu dans une petite ville de Suisse avec la même simplicité, et aussi inconnu. Dans ce moment il est décidé à aller dans l'Amérique Septentrionale jouir de la liberté pour laquelle il a tant souffert. C'est là, c'est au milieu des forêts, qu'il achevera une éducation que le malheur a si bien commencé. Je ne doute point qu'il n'y déploie encore ce courage simple et grand, qui l'a toujours rendu supérieur à le bonne et à la mauvaise fortune. C'est avec la même pureté des mœurs, la même grandeur d'âme, qu'on l'a vu, Prince à 16 ans sans orgueil; Général d'armée à 17, raillant trois fois les troupes à Gemappe; professeur de géométrie à 20, comme s'il eut consacré de longues années à l'étude des sciences; et partout, dans toutes les circonstances, comme s'il fut né pour l'état qu'il remplissoit. Enfin, je ne puis mieux peindre la force et en même temps la modération de son caractère, qu'en vous donnant copie d'une lettre, qu'il écrivoit l'autre jour à un Américain qui lui avoit proposé des terres incultes à défricher; ' Je suis très disposé à travailler pour m'acquiescer l' indépendance; le malheur m'a frappé, mais, grâce à Dieu, ne m'a pas abattu, trop heureux dans mes revers, que ma jeunesse m'ait empêché de contracter des habitudes difficiles à rompre, et que la fortune m'ait été ôtée avant que j'ai pu en user ni en abuser.' Dites-moi, qu'en pensez vous." P. 41.

The date of his first letter from Berlin is January 23d, 1796. He was now in the midst of the Carnival, the noise and bustle of which seems not to have well suited the state of his mind; the Court, however, at this time was particularly attractive, and his reception from the chief members of it was extremely flattering. We shall extract his character of the Prince Royal, now Frederick William the Third, and an anecdote of his beautiful and accomplished consort, the unfortunate victim of Buonaparte's brutality, and the never-ceasing regret of her affectionate husband.

" I have been at court almost every other day since I came here, and have been at two or three suppers at the king's and the prince royal's. With the latter I have had several long conversations. He is not extremely popular: they find him here too grave and unbending. He appears to me, however, to have a character, and to think for himself. He is a passionate admirer of the late king, but no zealot of the present ministers—at least it is supposed so (for he does not avow it). He thinks that the military, which composes the great strength of this government, has been too much slighted; and that, by a neglect of the finances, which are not at present ably conducted, trouble may be occasioned to the state upon his succession." P. 54.

" Royalty



"Royalty has been extremely civil to me. Last Sunday night at the queen's one of the princes engaged the lady whom I meant to have danced with: at that time almost every other lady was engaged, and I was for a moment without a partner. The Princess Royal asked me why I did not dance, and upon telling her the circumstance, asked me to dance with her. You see to what honours a traveller may advance! She is really a charming woman, much the handsomest in Berlin." P. 60.

For the benefit of Monmouth-street, we must not omit a note of profound erudition by the learned editor, which occurs p. 51, and is introduced in the plenitude of information; as a commentary upon a suit of English uniform.

"Lappel is called in French *revers*; being merely the reversing or turning back of the front lining: *facing* seems to be the proper equivalent in English; *lappel* applying more specifically to the *cut* or *outline* than to any difference of colour." P. 51.

This is really forcing knowledge down our throats. Britannicus, and Grangæus, and Heinsius, and all the Scaligers, vanish into nothing, and even gentle Lubin hides his diminished head. Neither must we forget our grateful acknowledgments for the information so kindly communicated, that by Carnival is meant the season of flesh-diet. In serious justice, however, we ought to remark that, with these and a few other exceptions, the value of the volume is much encreased by the notes, especially the biographical ones, which the editor has liberally interspersed through it.

From Berlin we trace our traveller to Dresden and Vienna; at this latter place his residence was rendered particularly delightful to him, by a most familiar intercourse with the amiable families of the Marshal Prince de Ligne and of the Duke de Polignac; to the Duke he seems to have attached himself by the strongest ties of friendship: he appears, indeed, to have taken the utmost advantage of the strange and awful times, during which he resided on the Continent, when the French Revolution, confounding all classes of society, and sparing none, had driven from the bosom of their country many of the most distinguished and affluent families and individuals, and reduced them to a state of comparative degradation. Under these circumstances, many were found who rose superior to their adverse fortune, and proved by the energy of their minds and the dignity of their principles, that the lustre of true nobility is not so easily extinguished. Among these bright examples, none shine with greater lustre than the families of Polignac and De Guiche, and no part of Tweddell's correspondence will be read with greater pleasure and interest than

than his description of their characters, and of the hours he passed in their society.

"The greatest treasure to me was the society of the Polignacs, with whom I dined always three or four times a week, and spent the whole day. It is truly a rare thing to see women who have lived so much in the great world, and on its pinnacle, and who while they appeared made only for that, so highly possessed of every thing which gives a charm and a relish to private life. The Duchesse de Guiche and the Comtesse de Polignac are among the few women whom I could live with for ever; with every grace of person and manners they unite more solid accomplishments; and so attached to each other, not a sentiment of rivalry ever entering into the imagination of either, I shall see them once more in passing to the Crimea, and then, perhaps, never more; this is, I assure you, a serious regret." P. 147.

We cannot forbear quoting the first paragraph of the 12th letter in this collection, written to his mother on the anniversary of her birth-day, as it thoroughly shews the state of his mind at this period, as well as the excellence of his heart and the soundness of his principles.

"This is a day which I do not recollect ever to have let pass without commemorating by the expression of my sincere duty and affection. I am still less likely to omit that welcome office at this moment, when rendered naturally more thoughtful by the accession of time, and sobered by a disappointment, the effects of which will never be effaced, I am better enabled to estimate the value of so great a blessing as that of the most affectionate friend in the person of the kindest parent. At this moment, when both pleasure and pain are to me of a very temperate cast, and sometimes approaching almost to indifference; when I am no longer a prey to very piercing sorrow, nor capable of being acted upon by the delirious follies of an earlier age, from which I dare not say that I have quite been free; I find that my attachments become concentrated by degrees, and that I prize more highly those which are most deserving. Certainly, therefore, I have every reason to look at my own family with comfort and with consolation, with gratitude for their goodness, and with hope to convince every branch of it, one day or other, that the sense which I retain of it is accurate and just. You, my dear mother, will easily believe the sincerity of that homage which I render to your early cares of my infancy, and your continued protection and kindness to my youth. I hope that you will long enjoy a portion of health and other human blessings, sufficient to make it desirable that you should stay among us, for our and your own happiness; deferring to reap, so long as it may please Providence to spare you, that reward which awaits

awaits your many and great virtues elsewhere. This wish comes from my heart: it is expressed only because it is felt." P. 75.

The insertion of this admirable woman's answer required no apology from the editor: did the limits of our work permit, we could gladly lay the whole of it before our readers, as a fine specimen of genuine feeling, true philosophy, and christian resignation.

On the 15th of June, Tweddell left Vienna, and proceeded by way of Salzburg and Munich, entering Switzerland in the canton of Zurich. It appears that he made a more extensive and accurate investigation of this interesting country than any other English traveller had done, and the loss of his journals relating to this part of his tour is a subject of the greatest regret. The fatigue, however, which he suffered in these Alpine excursions, brought on a complaint in his breast, from which he never thoroughly recovered: he informs his sister, that in each of the cantons through which he passed, he left nothing unseen behind him; that he travelled where neither carriage nor horse could have followed his route, and that his course was considered by the best informed people of the country as the most complete that ever had been pursued: in one place he observes, "wherever I go, I always wait upon the men of information most celebrated in the place." This we apprehend is the true method of profiting by foreign travel: accordingly this excursion procured him the acquaintance of the learned and amiable Professor Wytttenbach, the humane Mr. Fellenburg, the patriotic Count Rumford, &c. and introduced him to the society of the ex-minister Necker, and his accomplished daughter Madame de Stael, was their guest for nearly a fortnight, during which time he contributed so much to the amusement of Necker in his retirement, that Madame de Stael observed, she had never seen her father for many years so interested and abstracted from his own thoughts. Our traveller, whilst he was resident in Switzerland, had full opportunity for investigating the character and deploring the effect produced by the multitude of French agents, who at this time were busily employed in disseminating the baneful principles of the Revolution, and poisoning the sources of morality, religion, and legal government. Hence we may trace the reason of his altered tone and subdued sentiments with regard to the conduct of the Gallican revolutionists. His mind, now enlightened by experience and matured by reflection, easily saw through the views of a set of men, who aimed at the subversion of all civil order and social rights, for the gratification of their own evil passions and the satisfaction of their base and infuriated ambition. From Switzerland he returned to Vienna, from whence

we have but one letter during this his second sojourn in that city. We next hear of him (January 8, 1797) in the Ukraine, at Tulczyn, a chateau belonging to the Countess Potozka, about half an hour's drive from the residence of his friend the Duke de Polignac. The Countess had here a very princely establishment, about 150 persons daily in family; a wing of the palace was occupied by Marshal Suvarrow and a great number of his officers. During a visit which Tweddell was one day making to the Duke de Polignac, this nobleman received a letter from the late Emperor Paul of Russia, couched in the following terms.

"I have this day made a grant to the Duke of Polignac of an estate in Lithuania, containing a thousand peasants; and I have the pleasure of signifying it to him with my own hand. (Signed) PAUL." P. 183.

We quote the following passage in his second letter from the Ukraine, as it is interesting, both from the character which he draws of Suvarrow as well as of the Emperor Paul, and his prognostications of the fatal event which so soon followed his predictions.

"At present we are reduced to about sixteen persons, and our society is somewhat select and pleasant. Among these is the Marshal Suvarrow, the hero of Ismaël. He is a most extraordinary character. He dines every morning about nine o'clock. He sleeps almost naked. He affects a perfect indifference to heat and cold, and quits his chamber, which approaches to suffocation, in order to review his troops, in a thin linen jacket, while the thermometer of Réaumur is at 10 degrees below freezing. His manners correspond with his humours. I dined with him this morning, or rather witnessed his dinner; he cried to me across the table, 'Tweddell!' (he generally addressed by the surname, without addition) '*the French have taken Portsmouth. I have just received a courier from England. The King is in the Tower; and Sheridan Protector.*' A great deal of this whimsical manner is affected. He finds that it suits his troops and the people he has to deal with. I asked him, if after the massacre at Ismaël, he was perfectly satisfied with the conduct of the day? He said, he went home and wept in his tent. The Russian soldiers are inhuman beyond conception. The Marshal has given in his resignation, and has written a very imprudent letter to the Emperor. The answer is arrived to night; but the result is yet secret. The reforms which the new Emperor is introducing in this empire, are, I fear, somewhat precipitate. I wish he may succeed in all his undertakings, for they are wisely aimed; but I have fears. Above 1500 officers have given in their resignation, the Emperor's edicts all militating against plunder, the hopes of which are the motive of entering into his service. I think there will be some great event soon in

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the Russian empire. I dare not say more; but I fear it. The Emperor at the head of his guards, the other day, drew his sword, and said, that he drew it once for all against all peculation and all injustice; and that as soon as he departed in any shape from his own principles of equity, he cared not if any one did as much for him. It is not wise for Emperors to talk in this way in these times, particularly before Russians. The officers are \*\*\*\*\* in general. The Empress entreated the Emperor the other day to proceed more deliberately; he replied, that he was determined to perish or to introduce a spirit of justice and order in his dominions. If that be the alternative, ..... Every part of Paul's conduct is firm and bold, but he has undertaken a fearful task." P. 135.

By the way, we cannot help remarking the great similarity in Tweddell's portrait of the Russian character with that of one of the most enlightened travellers of the present day, whose opinions have been in some instances rejected by bigotry and attacked by impertinence. For our own parts, we have the best reasons for believing that slavery and oppression, united with a semi-barbarity, have not failed to produce in Russia the same effects which they have ever produced in all ages and in all countries; let us hope that the far-famed magnanimity (as it is called) of the present Emperor, will now find within his own realms a proper object for its exercise, and that he will not have visited the land where liberty has fixed her throne, without imbibing some portion of that divine influence, which brings to perfection the noblest qualities of the mind, which would soften even the rigour of climate, and make Siberian snows preferable to the luxurious gardens of the East.

From Tulczyn he pursued the road to Moscow: let us take the account of his journey and the Russian character in his own words.

" From Tulczyn hither, I was eighteen days and fifteen nights upon the road. Such a road! The roads of Brunswick and Wolfenbüttel are bowling-greens in comparison. I was overturned twice, and broke three axle-trees. Of all the scoundrels I have yet seen the first is a Russian peasant. I had the satisfaction of putting those into prison at Toula, who, after overturning my carriage, refused to assist to lift it up again. Mr. De Riviere, myself, and our servants, after many fruitless efforts, at length succeeded; and were then obliged to drive the horses ourselves to the end of the station, about fifteen miles. As soon as I arrived at Toula, I addressed myself to the Governor, who, by a wide deviation from the principles of Russian humanity, had the justice to afford us redress. In short, if we had not been well armed with sabres and pistols, we should never have arrived at all. Were I to recount to you one half of the difficulties we encountered from the

the roads, the rivers, the boats, the snow, the ice, and the peasants, I should seem to be travelling again over the same ground, and I am content with one experience." P. 139.

He was present at the coronation of Paul, whose character and deportment are sketched with great spirit in a letter to his friend Mr. Bigge. Here he became acquainted with the unfortunate Stanislaus, the deposed King of Poland, whom he thus notices.

"I supped with the King of Poland last night. We had a very small party, about ten persons. His manners are very engaging, and his person very interesting; but he is much dejected. I am going there again to-night." P. 146.

After having made an excursion to St. Petersburg and Stockholm, he continued his route to the Crimea, from whence we first hear of him as the guest of that distinguished ornament of literature and science, Professor Pallas; of whom he thus speaks:

"J'ai passé une semaine chez le Professeur Pallas, qui s'est établi dans la Tauride a Simpheropol. J'ai peu vu de gens de lettres qui soient aussi doux et aussi aimables que lui."

Having been furnished with letters to all the Governors by Prince Kurakin, the comptroller-general, he made a complete tour of this delightful country, observing the manners of the people, copying antient inscriptions, and sketching the superb features of nature, with the costume of the different tribes. His journal relating to this part of his travels, which he had kept with unusual care, is among the other losses which posterity will have to regret. In January, 1798, we have a letter from him to his father, dated at Woitovka, the seat of his friend the Duke de Polignac, to whom he had returned after his tour in the Crimea, in which he gives the most satisfactory reasons for extending the time of his absence, having it now in contemplation to visit the classic scenes of Greece and Asia: previous to his departure from this hospitable mansion, he addresses a letter to his sister, (the 42d in this collection) which for genuine feeling, elegant diction, tender affection, and excellent advice, we have not often seen surpassed: we strongly recommend to the serious perusal of every young lady who is desirous of acquiring more solid claims to admiration than those of an elegant figure or a beautiful face. The 44th letter is dated May 28, 1798, from Pera, one of the suburbs of Constantinople, where he was received with the utmost attention by Mr. Spencer Smythe, the English envoy, to whose kindness and friendship he constantly

expresses himself as highly indebted. Numerous and late travellers have been so profuse in their descriptions of this magnificent capital, that Pera and Galata seem as familiar to us as Greenwich and the Borough, and the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus are not less known than the Serpentine and the Thames. We shall therefore omit his description of these beautiful scenes, and carry him safe from the infection of the plague, and what he seems at this time to have dreaded worse,—French principles,—and accompany him to the more interesting and not less beautiful regions of Greece. It may not, however, be either amusing or uninteresting to those who remember his youthful and inconsiderate declamations in what he hastily conceived to be the cause of liberty, to contrast with them his sentiments at this period, when nearly the whole atmosphere of Europe being already contaminated by the spirit of revolution, the French had chosen the East as the scene of their revolutionary intrigues and infuriated ambition.

“ I am the most decided enemy of the *great nation* ; their monstrous and diabolical conduct makes me ashamed that I ever could imagine that their motives were more pure, or their ends more salutary. My opinions are not changed with regard to our mode of commencing the war, and the views of dismemberment, &c. &c. but they are most completely changed with respect to the nature of French principles, French morals, French views, and the final result of the French revolution. The conduct of the present government towards America and Switzerland, but especially Switzerland, is the *ne plus ultra* of barbarous despotism, rioting in the consciousness of impunity and the lust of evil. There is no longer any good to be expected from these ruffian trumpeters of false freedom. I am strongly convinced, and have the best and most melancholy proofs, that there is less liberty in France than in almost any country of the earth. In short, I lose all patience upon this subject. I abhor and execrate the pretended republic, with all her compulsory affiliations, in the exact proportion of my former hopes from her efforts in the cause of mankind. I prefer the downright sincere despotism which avows its nature and publishes its maxims, to the hollow workings and masked designs of an hypocritical liberty.” P. 239.

Having had the good fortune to engage in his service Mons. Preaux, an eminent artist, who had been employed by the Comte de Choiseul, he embarked at Scutari, with a full determination to explore the classic regions of Greece, to illustrate its antiquities and delineate its remains. Having touched at the island of Tino, where he remained a short time, he re-embarked and landed at the Piræus in the month of December, 1798.

The

*Remains of the late John Tweddell.*

The feelings of an enlightened traveller on his arrival at these scenes of past renown, may be better imagined than described. The soft and varied outline of the Attic scenery, the sublime remains of ancient art, the sepulchres of heroes, poets, orators, and historians, the recollections which crowd upon the mind, will ever render Athens the delight of him who shall be blessed with an ardent and excursive mind, a refined imagination, and a cultivated taste. Tweddell's emotions of admiration are best described in his own emphatic language.

"I have not yet had time, as you will easily imagine, to examine what is to be seen—yet my impatience to visit some of the principal monuments of this illustrious spot, would not permit me either to eat or to sit down, till I had made the circuit of the Acropolis, and had venerated the successful labours of Attic genius. I have seen these stupendous remains only with a glance, and cannot collect words to express my admiration. I feel as if hitherto I had seen nothing—since no comparison can be instituted between all the efforts of human talent which I have hitherto witnessed, and the objects which have this day struck my astonished senses. When I shall have been here a fortnight more, I shall be able to give you a better account of all that surrounds me." P. 275.

Congenial as the soil which he now pressed was to his feelings, yet we cannot but think that his correspondence from thence is the least interesting part of the volume. This may be accounted for from the difficulty and hazard of sending letters in that country, by which means many of his may have been lost, from the monotony of his manners, and want of polished society to employ his pen; and above all, from his constant and assiduous labour of investigation and research.

"Depuis que je suis ici," he observes to Mr. Bigge, "je n'ai pas eu un moment de repos: depuis huit heures du matin jusqu'à onze heures du soir je m'occupe de la maniere la plus assidue. Je ne sais si je tire grand fruit de mes recherches; vous en jugerez à mon retour."

Posterity we are afraid will have to regret the loss of these researches; for a mysterious, though, without doubt, wise, Providence forbade his return to his native shores. After a tour through the northern provinces of Grecia Propria, and a visit to Mount Athos, where he led the way to the discovery of some antient MSS. which have since, we hear, been brought away by some English travellers, he died at Athens, July 25, 1799, and was interred, with all the honours that the poor inhabitants of this once-celebrated city could bestow, in the Temple of Theseus.



### *Remains of the late John Tweddell.*

*\* Si miserandus in morte  
Saltem in sepulchro felix.*

Having followed this amiable and enlightened traveller from the time he left his native land, until he closed his short but bright career, in the prime of youth and vigour of intellect, it remains for us to say something concerning the disappearance of his journals, papers, and drawings, a very large collection of which he had diligently prepared for the amusement of his friends and the information of his countrymen.

As soon as Tweddell had breathed his last, in the house of Spiriction Logotheti, the interpreter attached to the English consularship at Athens, the consul, Procopio Macri, attended by six witnesses, proceeded immediately to affix the official seal to the effects of the deceased. Accordingly, in three successive visits which they made for this purpose, they secured the whole of the literary and other property of the defunct in one trunk and three boxes. These were put on board a ship for Constantinople, under the special care of a Greek priest, named Simeon, and consigned to Mr. Spencer Smythe, the British minister then resident at the Porte: the ship was unfortunately wrecked on the coast of Anadoli, and great part of the property much injured by the salt water, though it appears that most of it, if not all, was preserved. Upon the arrival of the vessel at Constantinople, the property was taken possession of by an order under the hand of Lord Elgin, who had just arrived as ambassador extraordinary from England. It was then deposited in the vaults of the English palace, about the latter end of November, 1799, without any notice being taken of it until near the end of January, 1800, when it was opened under the inspection of an artist, who was desired to exercise his skill in saving or restoring the drawings which had received injury from the effects of the sea-water: at the same time Lord Elgin ordered Mr. Thornton, an English merchant of Constantinople, to bring to the English palace, certain packages which had been left under his care by Mr. Tweddell at the time of his departure for Athens, and which, besides other kinds of property, contained his journals of Switzerland and the Crimea, with a valuable collection of views and costumes, &c. These were opened with the rest, and

“The contents,” as the editor observes, “spread abroad for inspection and examination upon the chairs and tables of the room, and when the parties present withdrew, they were left ex-

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\* These lines are quoted from the epitaph, written by Lord Byron, on Mr. Watson, whose ashes repose in the Theseum, by the side of Tweddell.

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posed in that state, the door of the room being locked by Lord Elgin, and the key kept in his own possession.

"Several weeks after this transaction, Mr. Thornton, on going one morning to his warehouse in Galata, found some boxes which had been brought there from the English palace: he examined the contents of them; they appeared to correspond to a certain extent with those which he had seen unpacked from the trunks formerly in his possession—with this material exception, however, *that all the drawings and manuscripts were missing*; these, after the most diligent and repeated research among the returned boxes could not be found; no satisfactory intelligence of them could be procured at the time; no subsequent communication on the subject was ever made; *and in fact they never were returned.*" P. 353.

The property is now traced fairly into Lord Elgin's hands, who acknowledges the same in a letter to a friend, dated Constantinople, Dec. 19, 1809, in which he also intimates his intention of transmitting it to England; when a considerable time, however, had elapsed, and neither the effects arrived, nor any communication whatever on the subject was made by Lord Elgin to the family of the deceased, when their own hopes also were much diminished by the arrival of a letter from Mr. Spencer Smythe, in which he expresses "strong regret that his good offices towards procuring an arrangement of Mr. Tweddell's affairs, had been frustrated by an interference *highly officious and indelicate*, and which condemned him to be an impotent spectator of such mismanagement;" under these circumstances measures were set on foot in concert with the late Dr. Raine, Dr. Parr, Mr. Losh, and other friends, in order to investigate the causes of the loss or detention of the property. All personal application in consequence to Lord Elgin produced no other answer than a general declaration, "that the property had been sent home in compliance with the instructions of Mr. Tweddell's father; and that the interference of the gentleman referred to was equally superfluous and unauthorised;" and to this declaration he adhered upon his own arrival in England. Affairs remained in this state until the attention of the Editor was excited by a discussion of this subject in the Naval Chronicle for the year 1810, which induced him to renew his applications to Lord Elgin for information regarding his brother's property: his Lordship annoyed by successive importunities now affirms, that

"His memory, however, he is sorry to say, does not supply him with any recollections sufficiently precise for that purpose; though he is not without some 'impressions' remaining on his mind, by the help of which he ventures to state, in substance, as follows:

"That certain effects of Mr. Tweddell, sent from Greece by  
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sch, were brought to the residence of the English mission at Péray after having first suffered shipwreck; that among them were several drawings executed by a French artist, some memoranda of inscriptions, and a few 'trifling notes' on his tour in Greece; and that the whole had been so much damaged by salt water as to warrant the description (for so it is expressed) of being 'in a very deplorable state.' His Lordship's 'impression' further is, that some of the gentlemen attached to the embassy did charge themselves with the more immediate care of the property in question; and he believes that it was sent home, either under the personal care of the late Professor Carlyle, or, by his direction, in a merchant-ship called the Duncan, along with several boxes of presents to Mr. Pitt and Lord Grenville." P. 352.

Upon the questions being put to him whether he had not allowed the drawings and manuscripts to be copied whilst they were in his possession, and whether he ever received two trunks from Mr. Thornton, containing the journals of Switzerland and the Crimea, together with other literary effects; he replies, to the first, that it is possible that some of the notes or inscriptions may have been copied, "being in the hands of the several gentlemen of the embassy, engaged in similar researches; but he has none in his possession, nor does he know of any." And to the second, "that he has no recollection of any such delivery being made by Mr. Thornton." Though he wishes it to be understood, that such things might have been received into the custody of the Mission, without coming under his own knowledge. After this communication, Lord Elgin declines entering into any further explanations.

The Editor then gives a recapitulation of facts, the chief of which we have laid before our readers, and ends with the following remarks.

"It has already been intimated, that Lord Elgin caused Mr. Tweddell's effects, just arrived from Athens, to be removed from the British Chancery, where on landing they had been deposited by the orders of Mr. Smythe (awaiting his early examination and disposal), and to be brought to his own mansion, which, at that time, was within the precinct of the French Palace, and had been granted by the Porte as a temporary residence for the ambassador, after the British Palace had been destroyed by fire. It is not for me, doubtless, to attempt to fathom those reasons which influenced this proceeding; but it may be allowed me to observe, that property thus deposited in the public office of an embassy (especially that of a British subject dying intestate), seems to become, from that moment, a sacred thing; and that in this instance it could not, without a violation of law, be taken from under the public security, by any individual however exalted, and transferred to his own residence, without any reason being assigned for such removal,

removal, or any certified account thereof being rendered to the representatives of the party deceased. Whatever be the true light, however, in which this matter is to be viewed, it is an undeniable fact that Mr. Tweddell's Athenian effects were not only transferred at that time in the mode described, but that very shortly afterwards they underwent a second removal, and the whole of the property was then taken by his Lordship to his private villa in the village of Belgrad, at the distance of about twelve miles from Constantinople; and if I am to credit information which rests on authority the most respectable, derived on the spot and in circulation at the time, my brother's journals and various collections were not only accessible to the eyes of all visitors at the villa, and to the hands of certain individuals, but so notorious was this circumstance, that it was a common theme of conversation, not only amongst the English, but with persons of other nations; indeed it was even confidently said, that a certain learned traveller deceased, and his reverend friend and companion, then proceeding on a journey to Mount Athos, and other parts, took along with them a part of Mr. Tweddell's Grecian journal, as a guide and *vade-mecum* on their travels, and that it proved the means of introducing them to some local antiquities at Mount Athos of a secret and very valuable description. I mention this report as such, exactly as I have received it; pledging myself for nothing but the respectability of the sources through which it has come to me, and the fact of its being in current existence at Constantinople.

"It is ascertained from positive testimony, that so late as the end of 1801, which was nearly two years from the arrival of the effects from Athens, his Lordship being then at Bouyukdéré, and walking there on the quay, entered into familiar conversation with the late Mr. Thornton; with feelings of evident vexation, he expressed the severe disappointment he had just experienced, in the refusal of one of his retinue to proceed to Athens, for the superintendence of his 'Pursuits in Greece'—'particularly after I had prepared him for the purpose, by allowing him the use of Tweddell's papers and collections.'

"A single additional circumstance shall close the present account. A quantity of drawings, known to have formed part of Mr. Tweddell's collection, and exhibiting *costume* in singular beauty, were *seen* in Lord Elgin's possession at different times, and at distant periods from the date of the original transaction; they were kept by his Lordship with the avowed intention of having them copied, and with a further view of their being taken home by himself, or, on his own account, by a confidential person. Sixty-nine drawings of Levantine dresses, copied by an artist at Naples, from the originals, once in the portfolio of Mr. Tweddell, but, at the time when they were copied, in the custody of a gentleman who received them from Lord Elgin, are now in the possession

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sion of the gentleman adverted to, resident in this country, and who acknowledges them to have come into his hands in the way above described; still farther, there is every reason to conclude, that on the noble Lord's return to this country, in 1806, those *original* drawings, with others of a similar description, were duly restored to him: be it also observed, that one ostensible reason for his having detained these effects, was, that they might the more safely be conveyed into the hands of the family." P. 367.

The remainder of the Appendix is chiefly taken up with letters and extracts of letters relating to this unfortunate affair; the greatest part of these are from Mr. Thornton, in whose care Mr. Tweddell's effects were left at his departure from Constantinople. He describes the state of the property, as uninjured by the fire which destroyed his own house at Pera, his sending the boxes to the English palace at the order of Lord Elgin, his being present at the opening of them, and his afterwards receiving them with a part only of their contents, the drawings and MSS, being withheld. He moreover denies all knowledge of their having been shipped on board the *Duncan*, or any other vessel for England. We have two letters from the Rev. P. Hunt, Chaplain to the Embassy, in whose presence the packages were opened, who expresses his opinion, that much of the property sent from Athens, upon Mr. Tweddell's decease, was lost when the vessel was wrecked in the sea of Marmora. In one place he affirms, that he saw the property carefully packed up, and shipped on board the *Lord Duncan* transport, after it had been directed by Professor Carlyle to the care of Mr. Losh at Newcastle or Carlisle; in another, he qualifies this assertion, only expressing his firm belief that such a transaction took place, under the superintendence of the Professor, thus weakening very considerably his own testimony. Nor must we omit to mention, that Professor Carlyle himself, in his personal communications with Mr. Losh, disclaims this superintendence. However, since Lord Elgin and Mr. Hunt had both of them specified the *Lord Duncan* transport, as the ship selected for the conveyance of the effects to England, it was natural to make all possible enquiries concerning the fate of that vessel. The result of these is detailed in a note to the Appendix.

"It has been ascertained, by the most minute and patient enquiry, that the ship *Duncan*, Captain Thomson, took her departure from Constantinople on the 5th of October, 1800 (which was *ten months* after the effects from Athens had come into Lord Elgin's possession), and sailing direct to Smyrna, was there taken up as a transport, by the commissaries for the expedition on the coast of Egypt. That, in consequence, she had made a transfer of the whole

whole of her cargo, with the exception of a very few packages for private individuals in England, to the *Princessa*, Captain Wm. Lee; who, in the most direct and unqualified terms, asserts his perfect knowledge that no consignment for Mr. Tweddell, addressed to the care of James Losh, Esq. or otherwise, was amongst the cargo taken on board by him. It further appears, that after the *Duncan* had fulfilled her service on the coast of Egypt, she fell in on her return with the *Flora*, merchant ship, 327 tons, Captain David Merrylees, in the port of Malta; and that the *Flora* being the first ship sailing for England, those few packages which had remained on board the *Duncan* since her departure from Constantinople, were then transferred to that vessel (the *Flora*), and by the latter safely conveyed to England. On examining the Custom-house report of the *Flora*, the most careful scrutiny affords no notice of any consignment for Mr. Tweddell, or his friend in Northumberland; the only specification of packages at all remarkable as private property, is the following: 'For H. Nisbett, Esq. 5 packages, 4 pieces, 1 marble-pillar, 1 window-sash, and a cask of wine.' This is the intelligence obtained concerning the *Duncan*, and the transfer of her cargo. The result of the whole is this: that, as the whole and every part of the Lord *Duncan's* cargo, of whatever denomination, was certainly taken on board the *Princessa* and the *Flora*, and as neither the one nor the other of these two vessels did receive on board the property in question, it follows that no consignment of Mr. Tweddell's effects could ever have been shipped at all in the *Duncan*." P. 362,

When we have mentioned, that the Editor has inserted a memorial presented to the Levant Company, complaining of the arbitrary manner in which Lord Elgin took possession of his brother's property and his apparent detention of it, together with the communication the company made to his Lordship on the subject, as well as the result of an investigation set on foot by their direction at Constantinople, all without any beneficial result, we shall have made our readers acquainted with the principal facts contained in this extraordinary allegation which, as might have been expected, has called forth the indignant refutation of the noble Lord, who felt himself aggrieved. Instead, however, of replying directly to the author of the charge, he has addressed himself in two small pamphlets to the Editor of the *Edinburgh Review*, who in some measure had made himself a party in the affair, by the acrimony and decisive tone in which he had commented upon his Lordship's conduct.

In his first letter to the Reviewer, Lord Elgin begins by expressing the surprize and indignation he felt on the perusal of the article in question; his answer is addressed to the Reviewer, because the book itself had not yet come into his hands, and his only knowledge of the charges preferred against him came through the *Review*.

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Upon this we must observe, that it really *does* happen fortunately for his Lordship, that he is in possession of these documents; for though a simple denial of a charge may in some cases be considered as a kind of indication, yet this cannot be the case when that charge involves much of testimony, much detail, and much presumptive evidence. Lord Elgin next proceeds to a circumstantial account of his acquaintance with Mr. Tweddell, his arrival at Constantinople, Mr. T.'s unfortunate death at Athens, and the receipt of his effects in the English Palace; a fact which his Lordship observes he never denied though considerable pains have been taken to prove the circumstance. Let us now see how he rebuts the several charges; first with regard to the value of the property, his Lordship thinks that it has been highly overated. He produces a letter (No. I. Appendix) from Mr. Thornton, who expresses himself as uncertain whether a partial loss was not sustained by the fire, which consumed that gentleman's house in Pera, when Mr. Tweddell's effects were saved, as it were by miracle. At all events, as Mr. Thornton broke open the trunks himself for inspection, and as they remained a long time in his custody in that state before they were sent to the English Palace, there is at any rate less security on this subject.

The other part of the property sent from Athens was wrecked in the sea of Marmora, and appears to have been plundered by the natives, as according to the testimony of Dr. Hunt, the medals and some other articles were missing, and Mr. Thornton only speaks of a port-folio of drawings, and a book of Greek inscriptions; and both these gentlemen were present at the opening of the packages. The reason of his Lordship's taking possession of the property of Mr. Tweddell, is thus accounted for.

When Mr. T. died at Athens, the English Consul there transmitted the property to Mr. Spencer Smythe, as head of the mission at Constantinople; but Lord Elgin having arrived as Ambassador Extraordinary in the interval, Mr. Smythe, from motives of etiquette, refused to take charge of it, and it was at the request of Mr. Thornton deposited in the English palace; when the packages were opened, Mr. Thornton, at Lord Elgin's recommendation, sent the remaining property which had escaped the fire, to be inspected at the same time, that the literary and valuable articles might be all kept and sent home together. With respect to a charge which has been made against his Lordship, of allowing the drawings to be copied, he observes that Mr. Barker, the Panorama-artist, being present at the inspection, he was desired to repair the paintings, which had suffered by the sea-water; but that no copies to his knowledge

ledge were taken. The main question still remains. How has the property, which was preserved, been disposed of? To this Lord Elgin replies, that harassed as he was at the time by the incessant and intense exertions of his official duty, there is every reason to suppose, that he left the transmission of it to the care of those gentlemen of the embassy, whose literary pursuits, or knowledge of Mr. Tweddell's family, would interest them in its preservation.

Dr. Hunt's testimony is adduced to the fact of his having seen the property put on board a ship for conveyance to England, and the objection started against his evidence, from his having in a second letter to Mr. R. Tweddell expressed only his firm belief that he saw it, is answered by attributing this variation of tone to a commendable desire of accuracy; the unfavourable expressions of Professor Carlyle towards Lord Elgin are referred to the unfriendly bias of his mind, from his views being disappointed, which induced him to accompany the embassy. His Lordship conceives also, and with some justice, that after so long an interval had elapsed between his embassy and the demands of Mr. Tweddell's family, that too much stress is not to be laid upon a few inaccuracies: for instance, when it is found that no property belonging to Mr. Tweddell was shipped on board the Duncan, Lord Elgin is not to be convicted, because he had given a reference to that ship, aboard of which he had embarked other effects, and among them presents for Mr. Pitt and Lord Grenville; any man conscious of his innocence, at such a length of time and under such circumstances might probably make such a mistake.

Lord E. moreover brings forward a passage from one of Mr. R. Tweddell's own letters (Appendix, No. 4.), which he considers a triumphant refutation of the calumny with which he has been aspersed.

"Since I had the honour of receiving your Lordship's favour of the 9th of February last, I have taken occasion, so far as a tedious indisposition would allow me, to look over, with particular care, my father's papers and records of correspondence, and I find it mentioned in a very circumstantial manner, that you had complied with Mr. Tweddell's directions, in transmitting the papers and other effects of his late son." P. 15.

This distinct assertion of a fact, observes his Lordship, completely refutes the charge now made against me, and which no sophistry can explain away. On this point, we should have no hesitation with concurring with his Lordship's opinion, had we not some doubts that he has mistaken the passage in the letter to  
which



which he refers. If Mr. Robert Tweddell means to say, that he discovered among his father's papers an acknowledgement of his having received the effects of his late son, transmitted to this country by Lord Elgin, no clearer acquittal of his Lordship can be required; but if he only refers to one of Lord Elgin's own letters, in which he may have stated the fact of their transmission, this is no proof at all; it is only an assertion backed by the affirmation of the asserter; we expect, therefore, that this ambiguity will be cleared up.

Before we close this article, we cannot help acknowledging the great difficulty and hazard which attends the conveyance of all kinds of property in the Levant; and we are convinced, that few travellers have not experienced some inconvenience from the carelessness or roguery of the Levantine traders. We are very willing to believe, that the loss of the property in question is to be ascribed to some cause or other of this kind, rather than to any overt act of a British Nobleman and Royal Ambassador, from which the mind recoils with horror. Lord Elgin concludes his statement with the following observations:

"Let it then be supposed, that I am capable, upon any possible motive of conduct so degrading; it is fair to ask, what motive can be assigned for it?"

"1. As sixteen years have now elapsed, and neither I nor any other member of the embassy have ever given, or intended to give, to the world, a Tour in Switzerland or in Greece; it may be inferred that I could not be influenced by a desire of profiting by the observations of Mr. Tweddell, or of suppressing the competition of a formidable rival.

"2. My collections of drawings have been exhibited, both in Edinburgh and in London, for many years; and as not one of Mr. Tweddell's has ever appeared among them, nor any drawings coinciding in their subjects with his, there is not, I think, any ground for alleging that I have enriched my collections at his expense.

"3. Least of all shall I be suspected of having acted under the influence of personal hostility to Mr. John Tweddell, whose friends (if his correspondence has done me justice) must know, that I invariably treated him with the greatest respect and kindness; and to whose remains I had the melancholy satisfaction, upon my return from Turkey, of preparing for them an appropriate monument in the temple of Theseus.

"I add but one consideration more. It is well known, that, previous to my arrival in Turkey, I had projected the formation of those collections of the precious remains of ancient art, which for so many years have been the object of my anxiety and exertion. What, then, could be so desirable to me, as any publication, by a person so eminently qualified as Mr. J. Tweddell, on subjects

subjects so nearly connected with the objects of my endeavours, and so likely to interest the public in their success?

"While, therefore, not one rational motive can be even conjectured, in explanation of the conduct imputed to me, every motive existed which could possibly impel me to preserve to the world the fruits of Mr. Tweddell's learning, taste, and industry. P. 35.

The second pamphlet of Lord Elgin's which has appeared, is in the shape of an Appendix to his former letter, addressed to the Editor of the Edinburgh Review. This is written after he has had the perusal of what he calls Mr. Tweddell's enormous volume. As he finds the Review is but the condensed detail of Mr. R. Tweddell's charges, he deems his answer to the Reviewer a sufficient reply to the Editor of the work. His Lordship recapitulating his former defence, observes,

"The charge against me was, that *the whole* of Mr. J. Tweddell's papers were unwarrantably taken into my possession, and are still withheld by me. My defence, therefore, was naturally rested upon these three propositions: 1. That a part of these collections never was in my possession at all, having perished by various accidents; 2. That the remainder came into my possession without any improper interference on my part; and, 3. That, after having been for some time in my possession, it was transmitted by me to Mr. Tweddell's family, agreeably to their directions.

"These propositions receive much additional illustration from Mr. Tweddell's Appendix." P. 4.

We shall pass over the first and second articles of this defence, and see what additional proofs the noble Lord adduces on this third and fundamental proposition. First then he appeals, in his justification, to the very words of Mr. Carlyle, which the Reviewer had suppressed from motives of delicacy.

"Let me premise," says his Lordship, "that Mr. Carlyle appears to be a prejudiced witness. I was aware that the object of his Eastern journey had not been attained; and that, however unreasonably and unjustly, he visited his disappointment on me. But, till I read Mr. Losh's letters, I certainly had no idea of the extent of his animosity; indeed I am possessed of letters from himself, expressive of sentiments so opposite, that I am almost tempted to suspect some inaccuracy in Mr. Losh's recollection of his conversations with him. In the direct proportion, however, of Mr. Carlyle's hostility, he is to be believed, when he expresses any opinion, or states any fact, favourable to my vindication.

"What, then, are Mr. Carlyle's words? Mr. Losh describes him as saying, that 'he thought his Lordship would not take the property

property in question, because he did not see how he could convert it into money.' All that is material to this statement is, that he thought *I would not take the property in question*. This is the deliberate opinion of an enemy. The ground of that opinion gives me no uneasiness. Those who know my character, and especially those who know that I have seriously impaired my fortune in pursuits, which, from their very nature, could have no object of private advantage, will reject, as I do, with utter scorn, the insinuation put into the mouth of Mr. Carlyle.

"It is only necessary to add, that Mr. Carlyle expressly states, that '*he had seen packed* such of Mr. Tweddell's papers as Lord Elgin thought proper;' a statement which corroborates his opinion, that I did '*not take the property in question*,' especially when it is considered that, as the friend of Mr. Tweddell's family, the particular charge of these effects was entrusted to himself." P. 16.

His Lordship then, in very feeling terms, appeals to the candour of any unprejudiced person, whether in his correspondence with Mr. R. Tweddell, and his letter to the Reviewer, some allowance is not to be made for want of accuracy, when he is called upon to relate transactions which occurred at the distant period of twelve years, and when during the interval he had been suffering under accumulated and unexampled calamity? Under these circumstances his Lordship finds it not difficult to explain the mistake about the property having been transmitted in the Duncan. He find that precise instructions were sent by Mr. Tweddell, sen. with regard to the transmission of his son's property, and that, after taking the best advice, he recommends the property to be sent by a ship of war rather than a merchant ship. When his Lordship was first questioned concerning the transmission of the property, he recollected that he had sent home valuable effects in the Duncan, and an impression was on his mind, that Mr. Tweddell's MSS., &c. were among them. Now, upon seeing in the correspondence, that Mr. Tweddell, sen. had sent out these instructions, he is convinced that the impression on his mind was false, and he conceives it more probable that he put the effects on board the *New Adventure*, an armed transport, which was carrying some of his own relics to England, and which was unfortunately wrecked. Now we are not disposed to deny that this may really have been the case, or that a man who was involved in the anxieties of a diplomatic mission, harassed by a tedious imprisonment, and distracted by domestic calamities, might have complied faithfully with directions for sending home the property of a private individual, and yet, after the lapse of twelve years, be unable to fix precisely the time, or point out the method by which the property

perty was conveyed. We heartily wish his Lordship success in the enquiries which (in a note, page 21) he says he has directed to be made abroad with regard to the fate of the transport that was lost, and from which he hopes to obtain further information. We must, however, declare, that from the evidence already before us, his Lordship is fully entitled to an honourable acquittal, in which verdict we are assured that the public mind, unless evidence of a very different nature is brought before them, may safely acquiesce.

To return to Mr. Tweddell's work.—It is his correspondence from Athens which will be read with most peculiar interest. This was the spot which was most congenial to his soul. The soft and varied outline of the Attic scenery, the sublime remains of art and grandeur, the sepulchres of the greatest heroes, poets, orators, and historians that ever existed, with the scenes celebrated by their pens and immortalized by their actions, will always render Athens the delight of every traveller of refined taste and cultivated imagination.

The limits of our work will not allow us to make many extracts from this part of his correspondence, which we could willingly have laid before our readers; but we can safely refer them to the work itself, promising them ample recompense for the time they may bestow upon it.

ART. XIII. *Paul's Letters to his Kinsfolk.* 8vo. pp. 468.  
12s. Longman and Co. 1816.

WE have every reason to believe, that the public in ascribing this publication to their old friend Walter Scott, have not fallen very far short of their mark. That clearness of description, *naïveté* of remark, quaintness of style, and above all, that genuine feeling and high principle which mark the productions of this favourite author, are here to be found in unabated force. The volume is partly historical, and partly descriptive, as the author has given us not only the journal of a tour which he accomplished in the summer of 1815, but has added a narrative of those recent events which distinguished the places through which he passed. Early in the work we find a passage descriptive of an evening in Bergen-op-Zoom, which marks strongly the high-wrought feelings of a poetic mind.

“ I did not, you may believe, fail to visit the unfortunate spot where Skerret, so celebrated for his gallantry in the peninsula,

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Gower,

VOL. V. APRIL, 1816.

Gower, Mercer, Carleton, Macdonald, and other officers of rank and distinction, fell upon this unfortunate occasion. It is said that General Skerret, after receiving a severe wound by which he was disabled, gave his watch and purse to a French soldier, requesting to be carried to the hospital; but the ruffian dragged him down from the banquette only to pierce him with his bayonet.

"Whilst I listened to the details of this unhappy affair, and walked slowly and sadly with my conductor from one bastion to another, admiring the strength of the defences which British valour had so nearly surmounted, and mourning over the evil fate which rendered that valour fruitless, the hour of the evening, gradually sinking from twilight into darkness, suited well with the melancholy subject of my enquiries. Broad flashes of lambent lightning illuminated, from time to time, the bastions which we traversed; and the figure of my companion, a tall, thin, elderly man, of a grave and interesting appearance, and who seemed, from his voice and manner, deeply impressed by recollection of the melancholy events which he detailed, was such as might appear to characterize their historian. A few broad and heavy drops of rain occasionally fell and ceased. And to aid the general effect, we heard from below the hollow roll of the drums announcing the setting of the watch, and the deep and sullen WER DA of the sentinels, as they challenged those who passed their station. I assure you this is no piece of imaginary scenery got up to adorn my letter, but the literal circumstances of my perambulation around the ramparts of Bergen-op-Zoom." P. 25.

The progress of the opinions, feelings, and events which led to the momentary restoration of Buonaparte, is described with all the clearness and acumen of a professed politician. Mr. Scott is a careful observer of nature in all her recesses, whether of mountains and torrents, or of men and manners. He is, therefore, enabled, in some instances, to present a more just solution of the great ænigma of human affairs, than those whose minds are in pursuit of higher game, and are more employed in commanding effects than in calculating causes.

A very long detail of the momentous struggle on the plains of Waterloo follows next in succession, and we are happy to congratulate our author on the success of his military dispatches. He appears to have been indefatigable in collecting those materials of information which could be most surely depended upon, and to have been equally happy in putting them together with clearness and precision. The whole account is no less conspicuous for its spirit than for its accuracy, and presents to the mind of the reader a living picture of the tremendous fray. As a specimen of our author's powers of description, we present our readers with the following extract.

"In the meantime a brigade of horse-artillery, commanded by the

the lamented Major Norman Ramsay, opened its fire upon the columns. They retreated repeatedly, but it was only to advance with new fury, and to renew attempts which it seemed impossible for human strength and courage ultimately to withstand. As frequently as the cavalry retreated, our artillery-men rushing out of the squares in which they had found shelter, began again to work their pieces, and made a destructive fire on the retiring squadrons. Two officers of artillery were particularly noticed, who, being in a square which was repeatedly charged, rushed out of it the instant the cavalry retreated, loaded one of the deserted guns which stood near, and fired it upon the horsemen. A French officer observed that this manœuvre was repeated more than once, and cost his troop many lives. At the next retreat of his squadron, he stationed himself by the gun, waving his sword, as if defying the British officers again to approach it. He was instantly shot by a grenadier, but prevented by his self-devotion a considerable loss to his countrymen. Other French officers and men evinced the same desperate and devoted zeal in the cause which they had so rashly and unhappily espoused. One officer of rank, after leading his men as far as they would follow him towards one of the squares of infantry, found himself deserted by them, when the British fire opened, and instantly rode upon the bayonets, throwing open his arms as if to welcome the bullet which should bring him down. He was immediately shot, for the moment admitted of no alternative. On our part, the coolness of the soldiers was so striking as almost to appear miraculous. Amid the infernal noise, hurry, and clamour of the bloodiest action ever fought, the officers were obeyed as if on the parade; and such was the precision with which the men gave their fire, that the aid-de-camp could ride round each square with perfect safety, being sure that the discharge would be reserved till the precise moment when it ought regularly to be made. The fire was rolling or alternate, keeping up that constant and uninterrupted blaze, upon which, I presume, it is impossible to force a concentrated and effective charge of cavalry. Thus, each little phalanx stood by itself, like an impregnable fortress, while their crossing fires supported each other, and dealt destruction among the enemy, who frequently attempted to penetrate through the intervals, and to gain the flank, and even the rear of these detached masses. The Dutch, Hanoverian, and Brunswick troops, maintained the same solid order, and the same ready, sustained, and destructive fire, as the British regiments with whom they were intermingled." P. 158.

In the most anxious hour of the whole day, when our lines were weakened by constant losses, and no succour from the Prussians had yet appeared, while his friends were all perishing round him, the Duke of Wellington undauntedly maintained his resolution of never quitting the field alive.

"In the meanwhile it seemed still doubtful whether those sacri-  
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fices had not been made in vain; for the French, though repulsed in every point, continued their incessant attacks with a perseverance of which they were formerly deemed incapable; and the line of chequered squares, hitherto successfully opposed to them, was gradually, from the great reduction of numbers, presenting a diminished and less formidable appearance. One general officer was under the necessity of stating, that his brigade was reduced to one-third of its numbers, that those who remained were exhausted with fatigue, and that a temporary relief, of however short duration, seemed a measure of peremptory necessity. "Tell him," said the Duke, "what he proposes is impossible. He, I, and every Englishman in the field, must die on the spot which we now occupy." "It is enough," returned the general; "I and every man under my command are determined to share his fate." A friend of ours had the courage to ask the Duke of Wellington, whether in that conjuncture he looked often to the woods from which the Prussians were expected to issue. "No," was the answer; "I looked oftener at my watch than at any thing else. I knew if my troops could keep their position till night, that I must be joined by Blücher before morning, and we would not have left Buonaparte an army next day. But," continued he, "I own I was glad as one hour of day-light slipped away after another, and our position was still maintained." "And if," continued the querist, "by misfortune the position had been carried?" "We had the wood behind to retreat into." "And if the wood also was forced?" "No, no; they could never have so beaten us but we could have made good the wood against them." From this brief conversation it is evident that in his opinion, whose judgment is least competent to challenge, even the retreat of the English on this awful day would have afforded but temporary success to Buonaparte." P. 170.

We cannot pass over this part of the volume without recommending the narrative of the battle to our readers as the best which we have yet seen. It would be, perhaps difficult to frame an account, in which so much is condensed into so short a compass, with so much spirit, and with so much clearness. The various anecdotes here detailed are from the authority of officers high in command on that memorable day, and are there-entitled to the highest credit.

But let us accompany our author to the scene itself, to those very fields, on which has been poured forth so much of our country's dearest and best blood, for the redemption of Europe from the chains of returning captivity. The honest Flemings appear to have been much surprised at the eagerness and enthusiasm of the English in visiting this consecrated spot. We cannot wonder at this—In a country which has ever been the scene of so much contention, whose fate it has always been, and al-

ways will be, to be fought for and to be fought upon, military operations are events of course, and a battle passes over as any other ordinary occurrence. Far different were the feelings of our author, who was conducted to the spot by Lacoste, the peasant, who was pressed into the service of Buonaparte as a guide.

"It was, however, with no little emotion that I walked with Lacoste from one place to another, making him, as nearly as possible, show me the precise stations which had been successively occupied by the fallen monarch on that eventful day. There was a deep and inexpressible feeling of awe in the reflection, that the last of these was the identical place from which he, who had so long held the highest place in Europe, beheld his hopes crushed and his power destroyed. To recollect, that within a short month, the man whose name had been the terror of Europe, stood on the very ground which I now occupied, that right opposite was placed that commander whom the event of the day hailed, *Vainqueur de Vainqueur de la terre*—that the landscape, now solitary and peaceful around me, presented so lately a scene of such horrid magnificence—that the very individual who was now at my side, had then stood by that of Napoleon, and witnessed every change in his countenance, from hope to anxiety, from anxiety to fear and to despair,—to recollect all this, oppressed me with sensations which I find it impossible to describe. The scene seems to have shifted so rapidly, that even while I stood on the very stage where it was exhibited, I felt an inclination to doubt the reality of what had passed." P. 196.

The description of the field itself, as it appeared to our author so soon after the battle, cannot fail to interest our readers.

"The field of battle plainly told the history of the fight, as soon as the positions of the hostile armies were pointed out. The extent was so limited, and the interval between them so easily seen and commanded, that the various manœuvres could be traced with the eye upon the field itself, as upon a military plan of a foot square. All ghastly remains of the carnage had been either burned or buried, and the reliques of the fray which yet remained were not in themselves of a very imposing kind. Bones of horses, quantities of old hats, rags of clothes, scraps of leather, and fragments of books and papers strewed the ground in great profusion, especially where the action had been most bloody. Among the last, those of most frequent occurrence were the military *livrets*, or memorandum-books of the French soldiers. I picked up one of these, which shows, by its order and arrangement, the strict discipline which at one time was maintained in the French army when the soldier was obliged to enter in such an accompt-book, not only the state of his pay and equipments, but the occasions on which he served and distinguished himself, and the punishments,

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if any, which he had incurred. At the conclusion is a list of the duties of the private soldier, amongst which is that of knowing how to dress his victuals, and particularly to make good soup. The *livret* in my possession appears to have belonged to the Sieur Mallet, of the second battalion of the 8th regiment of the line: he had been in the service since the year 1791, until the 18th of June, 1815, which day probably closed his account, and with it all his earthly hopes and prospects. The fragments of German prayer-books were so numerous, that I have little doubt a large edition had been pressed into the military service of one or other party, to be used as cartridge-paper. Letters, and other papers, memorandums of business, or pledges of friendship and affection, lay scattered about on the field—few of them were now legible. Quack advertisements were also to be found where English soldiers had fallen. Among the universal remedies announced by these empirics, there was none against the dangers of such a field.

" Besides these fragments, the surface of the field shewed evident marks of the battle. The tall crops of maize and rye were trampled into a thick black paste, under the feet of men and horses, the ground was torn in many places by the explosion of shells, and in others strangely broken up and rutted by the wheels of the artillery. Such signs of violent and rapid motion recorded, that

Rank rush'd on rank, with squadron squadron closed,  
The thunder ceased not, nor the fire reposed.

Yet, abstracting from our actual knowledge of the dreadful cause of such appearances, they reminded me not a little of those which are seen upon a common a few days after a great fair has been held there. These transitory memorials were in a rapid course of disappearing, for the plough was already at work in several parts of the field. There is, perhaps, more feeling than wisdom in the wish, yet I own I should have been better pleased, if, for one season at least, the field where, in imagination, the ploughshare was coming in frequent contact with the corpses of the gallant dead, had been suffered to remain fallow. But the corn which must soon wave there will be itself a temporary protection to their humble graves, while it will speedily remove from the face of nature the melancholy traces of the strife of man." P. 198.

In his road to Paris, our author passes through Antwerp, and the newly-created kingdom of the Netherlands, which gives rise to some exceedingly good observations upon the practice of interchange of territories, the substitution of natural for moral boundaries, the *arrondissements*, indemnities, and all the jargon of modern political legerdemain. The supposition that districts and kingdoms can be transposed from one sovereignty to another, as fields and plains under a commission of inclosure, is to suppose the moral feeling of the inhabitants little above the

the live stock upon the land which they cultivate. For if it be not, experience has shewn, that this unnatural transfer, has only increased the affection of the inhabitants to their original Lord, and exasperated their hatred against their newly created Sovereign. The effect of this measure, where there is power enough to repress the rising spirit of former attachment, can only be, by destroying these very prejudices, to destroy those finer feelings of the mind which spring out of them, and to damp the ardour of all honest patriotism and public spirit.

In his review of the cathedral at Antwerp our author is struck with the paltriness and incongruity of those little dirty wax figures in tawdry dresses, which are a disgrace to the noble fabrics in which they are so absurdly displayed.

"While the English traveller is called upon for once to acknowledge the moderation of the French, who have left at least one monument of art in the place to which it was most appropriate, he will probably wish they had carried off with them the trash of wax figures, which, to the disgrace of good taste and common sense, are still the objects of popular adoration. Abstracted from all polemics, one can easily conceive that the sight of an interesting painting, representing to our material organs the portrait of a saint, or an affecting scene of Scripture, may not only be an appropriate ornament in the temple of worship, but, like church-music, may have its effect in fixing the attention, and aiding the devotion of the congregation. It may be also easily understood, and readily forgiven, that when kneeling before the very altar to which our ancestors in trouble resorted for comfort, we may be gradually led to annex a superstitious reverence to the place itself: But when, in the midst of such a cathedral as that of Antwerp, one of the grandest pieces of Gothic architecture which Europe can show,—when among the long-drawn aisles and lofty arches, which seem almost the work of demi-gods, so much does the art and toil bestowed surpass what modern times can present,—when, in the midst of such a scene, we find a wax figure of the Virgin, painted, patched, frizzed, and powdered; with a tarnished satin gown (the skirt held up by two cherubs,) paste ear-rings and necklace, differing in no respect, but in size, from the most paltry doll that ever was sold in a toy-shop; and observe this incongruous and ridiculous *swamy* the object of fervid and zealous adoration from the votaries who are kneeling before it, we see the idolatry of the Romish church in a point of view disgusting and humiliating as that of ancient Egypt, and cease to wonder at the obstinacy of the prelate of Liege and his brethren, who fear the light which universal toleration would doubtless throw upon the benighted worship of their great Diana." P. 231.

"We shall not follow our author over all the ground over which he travels, but shall conclude our extracts from the volume, with  
his

his account of the religious and moral state of France at this present moment, an account which we are sorry to assert, is far too true. The distinction which he draws between the temper of the French and English, in their moral feelings, is at once just and original. We have never before seen the characteristic features of the two nations brought so closely into comparison, nor so accurately and successfully displayed.

“ To return to the religious and moral state of France. It is remarkable that the dissolution of religious principle, the confusion of the Sabbath with the ordinary days of the week, the reduction of marriage to a state of decent and legal concubinage, from which parties can free themselves at pleasure, have, while thus sapping the foundations of the social affections, as well as of religious faith, introduced more vices than crimes, much profligacy, but less atrocity than might have been expected. A Frenchman, to whom you talk of the general decay of morality in his country, will readily and with truth reply to you, that if every species of turpitude be more common in France, delicts of that sort against which the law directs its thunder, are much more frequent in Britain. Murders, robberies, daring thefts, such as frequently occur in the English papers, are little known in those of Paris. The amusements and habits of the lower orders are, on all occasions of ordinary occurrence, more quiet, peaceable, and orderly, than those of the lower English. There are no quarrels in the street, intoxication is rarely practised even by the lowest of the people, and when assembled for the purpose of public amusement, they observe a good-humoured politeness to each other and to strangers, for which certainly our countrymen are not remarkable. To look at the thousands of rabble whom I have seen streaming through the magnificent apartments at Versailles without laying a finger upon a painting or an article of furniture, and afterwards crowding the gardens without encroaching upon any spot where they could do damage; to observe this, and recollect what would be the conduct of an English mob in similar circumstances, compels me to acknowledge, that the French appear, upon such occasions, beyond comparison the more polished, sensible, and civilized people. But release both parties from the restraints imposed by the usual state of society, and suppose them influenced by some powerful incentive to passion and violence, and remark how much the contrast will be altered. The English populace will huzza, swear, threaten, break windows, and throw stones at the Life Guards engaged in dispersing them; but if a soldier should fall from his horse, the rabble, after enjoying a laugh at his expence, would lend a hand to lift him to his saddle again. A French mob would tear him limb from limb, and parade the fragments in triumph upon their pikes. In the same manner, the Englishman under arms retains the same frank, rough loyalty of character, without the alert intelligence and appearance of polished gallantry which  
a French

a French soldier often exhibits to strangers. But it would be an outrage to our countrymen to compare the conduct of the two armies when pursuing a defeated enemy, or entering a country as invaders, when every evil passion is awake, and full licence is granted to satiate them.

“ The cause of so extraordinary a contrast may, I think, be expressed in very few words. The French act from feeling, and the British from principle. In moments, therefore, when the passions are at rest, the Frenchman will often appear, and be in reality, the more amiable of the two. He is generally possessed of intelligence and the power of reflection, both of which are great promoters of that limited sort of honesty which keeps the windy side of the law. He piques himself upon some understanding and perception of the fine arts, by which he is told his country is distinguished, and he avoids the rudeness and violence which constitute a barbarian. He is, besides, habitually an observer of the forms and decencies of society, and his ample means of indulging licentious passions without transgressing. The Frenchman is further, by nature and constitution, a happy and contented mortal, content with little, and attached to luxuries of the more simple kind; and a mind so constituted is usually disposed to extend its cheerfulness to others. The Englishman is, in some degree, the reverse of all this. His intelligence seldom goes beyond the art to which he is trained, and which he most frequently practises with mechanical dexterity only; and therefore he is not by habit, unless when nature has been especially bountiful, much of a reasoning animal. As for pretending to admire or understand the fine arts, or their productions, he would consider such an effort of taste as the most ridiculous affectation, and therefore readily treats with contempt and disrespect what he would upon system be ashamed to understand. Vice and crime are equally forbidden by the Englishman's system of religious morals; if he becomes stained with gross immorality, he is generally ready to rush into legal dilect, since, being divested of the curb of conscience, and destroyed in his own esteem, he becomes, like a horse without a bridle, ready to run upon any course which chance or the phrenzy of the moment may dictate. And this may show why, though the number of vicious persons be greater in France than in England in an enormous ratio, yet the proportion of legal criminals is certainly smaller. As to general temper and habits, the Englishman, less favoured in climate and less gay by constitution, accustomed to be a grumbler by his birth-right, very often disdains to be pleased himself, and is not very anxious to please others. His freedom, too, gives him a right, when casually mixed with his betters, to push, to crowd, to be a little riotous and very noisy, and to insult his neighbours on slight provocation, merely to keep his privileges in exercise. But then he is also taught to respect the law, which he invokes as his own protection; to weigh and decide upon what is just and unjust, foul and fair; to respect the religion

religion in which he has been trained, and to remember its restraints, even in the moment of general licence. It might indeed be wished that some of the lighter and more amiable qualities of the French could be infused into our populace. But what an infinitely greater service would the sovereign render to France, who should give new sensibility to those moral feelings which have too long lain torpid in the breasts of her inhabitants!" P. 407.

Of the remainder of the volume, containing reflections on the manners, the amusements, and the politics of Paris, we can speak in terms of equal approbation, and we can fairly recommend it to our readers as a most amusing and instructive detail both of observations and of facts. Of all the various visits and tours with which the world has been inundated, this, as far as it goes, is decidedly the best. We only wish that the author had seen more and penetrated farther, as we should then have seen, what we seldom wish to see on these subjects, a larger and more substantial volume.

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ART. XIV. *The Siege of Corinth. A Poem. Parisina. A Poem.* 8vo. pp. 89. 5s. 6d. Murray. 1816.

THE private histories and domestic feuds of living authors, are subjects so entirely beyond our jurisdiction, that not even our chivalry in the cause of injured innocence, nor our detestation of oppressive brutality, shall provoke us to enter upon their discussion. The voice of public indignation has been raised in a manner almost unprecedented, against the noble author of the Poems before us, but with how much justice it is not our province to decide. If the charges preferred against him be false, it is for another arm to expose and to punish the slander; if they be true, it is for the same public which gave him the reputation which he now enjoys, to withdraw it in a manner the most exemplary. Upon one principle alone we think it our duty to make a firm and decided stand; that no talent, however commanding, no reputation, however splendid, shall protect a delinquent against the first great laws of national morality. We should view with just resentment a coterie either of poetical or political adherents, marshalling their forces not to vindicate the innocence, but to protect the guilt of some idol whom they had set up, and worshipped from feelings, more perhaps of fear than of love. There is, however, and, we trust, there will long continue to be, that sturdy justice in the British people, which will shame the palliations of reciprocal flattery, and silence the batteries of clamorous

ous licentiousness. The noble Lord has thought it worthy of himself to circulate, privately, a pair of poems in his defence, which, from the numberless copies since published, would fairly become the objects of criticism. The first appears to be a schoolboy's lamentation over the loss of a mistress, with all the common place prettinesses which such an occasion might have suggested; the second is a lampoon, more conspicuous for its bitterness than its spirit, upon some old governante. Upon these we shall only remark, that if the truth of the first is to be measured by the manliness of the second, neither his Lordship's character nor his cause will have been much advanced by their publication.

Leaving, however, the review of these effusions to those who may find themselves interested in so extraordinary a matter; we shall hasten to those Poems which are more immediately the objects of our consideration, and involve the character of his Lordship as an author and not as a man.

The first of these is the *Siege of Corinth*. The historical event which gave rise to the Poem is as follows. The army of the Turks, in 1715, under the prime Vizier, designing to force a passage into the heart of the Morea, and to lay siege to Napoli di Romania, thought it advisable first to possess themselves of Corinth. The garrison being weakened after many attacks, the governor thought it advisable to open a negotiation for a capitulation. While this was pending, a magazine in the Turkish camp accidentally blew up and killed six or seven hundred men. This so enraged the Turks that they broke off the negotiation, and, after a furious storming, took the place and put the garrison, Minotti, and the governor to the sword.

By a poetical addition and alteration, the siege is conducted by Alp, a Venetian renegade, who, while a Christian, had won the heart of Francesca, the daughter of Minotti, now living within the walls of the city which he was preparing to storm. As he wanders on the night preceding the attack, a vision, in the form of this lady, appears before him, who warns him of his fate if he persists in his apostacy. Alp, however, persists in his design. The city is stormed, but Alp, in the career of victory, is arrested by Minotti, from whom he learns that at the very time when the vision appeared to him Francesca died. During his recontre with the father Alp is killed by a chance shot. Minotti finding it impossible to check the progress of the enemy, fires the train, and Christians, Turks, defenders and assailants, perish in one common ruin.

Of the Poem itself it is rather dangerous to give an opinion. From our knowledge of the satirical propensities of the noble Lord, we should almost imagine that he was desirous of passing  
a banter

432      *Lord Byron's Siege of Corinth and Parisina.*

a banter upon the public taste, and of trying how much absurdity, under the cover of his Lordship's name, it would gravely tolerate and admire. We are persuaded that nothing short of some such humorous design, would induce the noble Lord to print such lines as the following.

"Than yon tower-capt Acropolis  
Which seemed *the very clouds to kiss*."

Or again,

There shrinks no ebb in that tideless sea  
Which changeless rolls eternally;  
So that wildest of waves in their angriest mood,  
Scarce *break on the bounds of land for a rood*.  
And the powerless moon beholds them flow,  
*Heedless if she come or go*."

His Lordship's burlesque upon the utter intelligibility of certain modern poets is admirably expressed in the following lines.

"Out upon time! it will leave no more  
Of the things to come than the things before!  
Out upon time! *who for ever will leave*  
*But enough of the past for the future to grieve*.  
O'er that which hath been, and o'er that which must be."

That "*ten slow words oft creep in one dull line*," Pope in his *Dunciad* has forewarned us; it is for the genius of his Lordship to harness eleven lame stragglers to his car, and to produce a series of words so utterly disjointed as those, which form the last line of the preceding extract. Had we any doubt of the burlesque intended in the Poem before us, the following passage would remove our doubts.

"And he saw the lean dogs beneath the wall  
Hold o'er the dead their carnival.  
Gorging and growling o'er carcase and limb;  
They were too busy to bark at him!  
From a Tartar's skull they had stripped the flesh,  
As ye peel the fig when its fruit is fresh;  
And their white tusks crunched o'er the whiter skull,  
As it slipped through their jaws, when their edge grew dull,  
As they lazily mumbled the bones of the dead,  
When they scarce could rise from the spot where they fed;  
So well had they broken a lingering fast  
With those who had fallen for that night's repast.  
And Alp knew, by the turbans that rolled on the sand,  
The foremost of these were the best of his band:  
Crimson and green were the shawls of their wear,  
And each scalp had a single long tuft of hair,  
All the rest was shaven and bare.

All

The scalps were in the wild dog's maw,  
The hair was tangled round his jaw.  
But close by the shore, on the edge of the gulf,  
There sat a vulture flapping a wolf,  
Who had stolen from the hills, but kept away,  
Scared by the dogs, for the human prey;  
But he seized on his share of a steed that lay,  
Picked by the birds, on the sands of the bay." P. 25.

Now if this be not a satire upon rawhead and bloody bones, we shall hereafter read the tragical end of little Red Riding Hood with appropriate gravity. If the noble Lord is serious, he must have some views upon the Laureatship of Butcher Row, for surely out of compliment alone to the slaughter houses in Newgate Market, could such a strain have been indited. Should this, like other portions of his Lordship's poetry, be set to music, we should recommend, to the composer, an appropriate accompaniment of marrow-bones and cleavers. The noble Lord appears indeed to envy the hero of the Dunciad his monopoly of honours, and to emulate

————— "the man who brings  
The Smithfield muses to the ear of Kings."

Throughout the Poem indeed the noble Lord seems to have adopted a new style of rithm and expression. In another place we are told.

"The sharp shot dashed Alp to the ground;  
Ere an eye could view the wound  
That crashed through the brain of the infidel  
Round he spun, and down he fell."

The comparision of poor Alp to a *te totum* is, we suppose, the very *acme* of sublimity. To our shallow apprehensions, it appears vastly like doggrel. This, however, we can readily laugh at and pardon, but when his Lordship borders upon blasphemy, we must confess that we begin to be more serious. In one part we find the following lines.

"When pictured there, we kneeling see  
Her and the *boy* God on her knee."

In another the cup upon the altar is thus described :

"That morn it held the holy wine,  
Converted by Christ to his blood so divine,  
Which his worshippers drank at the break of day,  
To shrive their souls ere they joined in the fray." P. 51.



In the dilemma between blasphemy and bad taste, we shall leave his Lordship, not knowing which side he may prefer. We would indeed willingly acquit his Lordship, if he would accept our acquittal, of any intentional profaneness : but we should earnestly recommend his Lordship, when he has again occasion to touch upon subjects on which he is ignorant, and points which he has never considered, to take more care not to offend the prejudices of the believers in a certain creed called Christian. It is of course beneath a man of his Lordship's exalted genius to have studied these theological subjects, or he would have known that neither the Romish does not allow its laity to taste, nor the Greek Church to drink of the consecrated cup. In the course of the poem, his Lordship appears to have taken one or two remarkable lines in the Bathos : as for instance, after having described the explosion which overwhelmed the living dead in one tremendous ruin, which threw down the walls and "the waves a moment backward bent," he proceeds in a very economical but not a very poetical manner, to dispose of the cinders.

" Many a tall and goodly man,  
Scorched and shrivelled to a span,  
When he fell to earth again  
Like a cinder strewed the plain :  
Down the ashes shower like rain ;  
Some fell in the gulf, which received the sprinkles  
With a thousand circling wrinkles ;  
Some fell on the shore, but, far away,  
Scattered o'er the isthmus lay." P. 52.

In the same part the fertility of his genius has betrayed his Lordship into somewhat of an Iricism.

All that of living or *dead* remain  
Hurled on high with the shivered fane,  
In one wild roar expired :

The shock appears to have been so dreadful as to inflict upon the dead a sort of second death. We have not leisure to select any further beauties from this new specimen of his Lordship's genius ; but shall conclude with observing, that if the poem before us is meant as a serious effort, it displays a sad falling off in those powers, which, though much overrated, we are ever willing to allow him to have possessed. The noble Lord cannot complain of his enemies ; in this instance he is a poetical *felo de se*, and appears to have written himself completely down. The public have already tasted the finer portion of the cup, what remains is little better than the dregs of doggerel and of old ideas, which having lost their first flavour, are mixed up with  
glaring

glaring absurdity, to disguise their insipidity. The only pleasing passage in the poem we willingly extract, which though it contains no new ideas, is still prettily put together.

" 'Tis midnight : on the mountain's brown  
The cold, round moon shines deeply down ;  
Blue roll the waters, blue the sky  
Spreads like an ocean hung on high,  
Bespangled with those isles of light,  
So wildly, spiritually bright ;  
Who ever gazed upon them shining,  
And turned to earth without repining,  
Nor wished for wings to flee away,  
And mix with their eternal ray ?  
The waves on either shore lay there  
Calm, clear, and azure as the air ;  
And scarce their foam the pebbles shook,  
But murmured meekly as the brook.  
The winds were pillowed on the waves ;  
The banners drooped along their staves,  
And, as they fell around them furling,  
Above them shone the crescent curling ;  
And that deep silence was unbroke,  
Save where the watch his signal spoke,  
Save where the steed neighed oft and shrill,  
And echo answered from the hill,  
And the wide hum of that wild host  
Rustled like leaves from coast to coast,  
As rose the Muezzin's voice in air  
In midnight call to wonted prayer ;  
It rose, that chaunted mournful strain,  
Like some lone spirit's o'er the plain :  
'Twas musical, but sadly sweet,  
Such as when winds and harp strings meet,  
And take a long unmeasured tone,  
To mortal minstrelsy unknown.  
It seemed to those within the wall  
A cry prophetic of their fall :  
It struck even the besieger's ear  
With something ominous and drear,  
An undefined and sudden thrill,  
Which makes the heart a moment still,  
Then beat with quicker pulse, ashamed  
Of that strange sense it's silence framed ;  
Such as a sudden passing-bell  
Wakes, though but for a stranger's knell." P. 16.

The story of the second poem is of a nature which must present us from entering into an analysis of its merits. Without  
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any stiff or overstrained notions of poetical morality, we are bound to enter our strong protest against the gratuitous exhibition of incestuous adultery as the subject of a popular tale. The very relation of such crimes is not unattended with danger; but when the history is decked out with all the embellishments of verse, when both the offenders and the offence are held up as objects more of commiseration than of disgust, it cannot but have the strongest tendency to sap the foundations of the public morals. Our plain notions will doubtless appear bigotted and narrow to the refined and liberal feelings of his Lordship's school; but they are, and we trust that they long will be, the notions of the British nation. The principle upon which the punishment of such crimes was inflicted by the Germans of old, is equally applicable to the offence itself. *Flagitia abscondi*. The poetry of the tale is in many parts very pretty, but in too many others awkward and strained. And here we must protest against the idea, now so generally entertained, that his Lordship is a poet of feeling. There occur, undoubtedly, in his Lordship's writings, thoughts which find an echo in the reader's mind, and correspond with the impressions which nature has already formed. These, however, are but few: there is too often in their stead that fastidious irritability which is to be traced not to the enlarged and noble feelings which nature has implanted, but to the feverish and fretful workings of a confined and selfish sensibility. The querulous acrimony of proud and peevish misanthropy bear no more comparison to the real feeling of a poetic mind, than the morbid convulsions of an hysterical female, to the active exertions of a powerful and manly frame.

ART. XV. *Reasons for not answering Mr. Gisborne, &c.*

ART. XVI. *Answer to Mr. Gisborne. By the Rev. H. Woodcock. Rivingtons. 1816.*

HAVING gone through the pamphlet of Mr. Gisborne so much at length, we have been unwilling to renew the contest by a review of the able pamphlets which have appeared in answer to that strange and ill-digested publication. If the reader, however, be desirous of reading a spirited and powerful answer within a short compass, we shall refer him, without entering into any particular enquiries, to the pamphlet of Mr. Woodcock. We could recommend him others also, in which much ability and right principle is displayed; but as these have each, within their own sphere, already answered their end, and as the pamphlet of Mr.

Mr. Gisborne is now forgotten, we shall not, out of respect to Mr. G. be willing to recall it into notice.

We cannot, however, pass over one of the ablest publications of the kind, which we have ever witnessed, under the title of "Reasons for not answering Mr. Gisborne;" in which a much more complete answer is given to that gentleman, than he will probably approve. The grounds upon which the author has taken up the question, are so original, the spirit and ingenuity with which he has shewn Mr. Gisborne to be unworthy of any regular attack, is so conspicuous, and the principles laid down are so masterly and just, that we should neglect our duty, if we did not recommend it to general notice.

We cannot conclude our observations on this subject, without remarking the very shabby manner in which Mr. Gisborne has been abandoned by his own party, who have in many respects shrunk from his avowal of those sentiments which they all entertain, and, at Bible Society meetings, universally express. The avowal, we allow, was indiscreet just at this time; but it was honest: we therefore are willing to allow him, on this score, a greater degree of credit than his friends.

ART. XVIII. *The Wanderer in Norway, with other Poems.*  
By Thomas Brown, M.D. Professor of Moral Philosophy  
in the University of Edinburgh. Murray. 1816.

THAT poets are born, and not made, is a saying which has been often repeated, and no man has as yet employed his taste or his industry so successfully as to disprove its truth. Of this fact, the present author may serve as an example. Dr. Brown has indeed a vivid fancy, and a heart of deep feeling; but his creations are not poetical, and his sentiments are those of a mere moralist, who traces the affections to their source, and marks, with precision, their aberrations and general effects on human happiness. We deny not that he possesses the *mens divini*; but his conceptions resemble more the abstractions of the metaphysician than the fine embodyings of true poetry. If he enjoys the other requisite of the genuine bard, it must be confessed that his *os magna sonans* is confined to the utterance of swelling words without any corresponding import,—and that at all times there is no small difficulty in making out his meaning. His raptures are always full of the love of virtue and excellence, his breast glows with the best affections, and all his decisions are in support of goodness, of faithfulness, and of honour; but as he deals with ideas rather than with things, he commonly

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leaves his reader at the utmost loss how to comprehend his reasoning, and how to sympathize with his emotions.

The Wanderer in Norway is the celebrated Mary Wolstonecraft; a lady who wrote to avenge the cause of her sex, and to maintain their rights, and who lived to exemplify in her history their peculiar weaknesses and misfortunes. While at Paris, during the tumultuous scenes of the Revolution, she formed an intimacy with an American of the name of Inlay; and with the view, it is said, of not rendering her lover responsible for some debts she had contracted, she gave him all the rights of a husband without the legitimate title; lived with him in the same house, assumed his name, and in due time became the mother of a daughter, who afterwards shared with her the misery which such a connexion could hardly fail to produce. Inlay was unprincipled, and soon abandoned her. He passed over to England, and gave his attentions to another lady, while the unfortunate Wolstonecraft, devoured by her own regrets, divided her time, between useless importunities and thoughts of suicide. An apparent return of kindness on his part, diverted her from the dreadful resolution of self-murder; and she eagerly seized an opportunity which was presented to her, of repairing to Norway to superintend some commercial arrangements for the behalf of him whom she called her husband. In the society of her little girl, Mary thus commenced her wanderings in that northern land, endeavouring to soothe her mind by the summer scenery of a romantic and mountainous country, and by the thought, perhaps, that she might still be of service to one, who little deserved the interest which he had too long continued to excite in her breast. We make two or three extracts, which we give as a fair specimen of Dr. Brown's poetical talents.

“ Land of wild beauty! when the heart is free,  
And the glad eyes can gaze on all they see,  
Where shall the summer guest, who nature hails,  
Find lovelier home, O Norway! than thy vales!  
Of either seasons boastful climes may sing—  
Gay springs, and winters that scarce frown to spring,  
And autumns, that, wherever glance can rise,  
Bloom fair with fruitage of a thousand dyes!  
But not for them does summer sweetest shine,  
Land of wild rocks!—that season all is thine.

No tardy vernal months thou ask'st, to rear  
With gentle breath the glories of thy year;  
But quick, as at some spirit's wide command,  
Bursts into blossoms a rejoicing land—  
O'er crag and dell one mantling whiteness glows,—  
The lake, the river, lost beneath their snows;

Mut

Mute is the mountain-cataract, whose fall  
 Stunned the far valley with its thundering call;  
 Or if, with whirling gust, the tempest sweep  
 Some frozen spires half-hanging o'er the deep,  
 The faint dull crash, from glittering wreath to wreath  
 Scarce wakes the echoes, slumbering calm beneath.  
 'Tis o'er,—The vallies sink—The unseen rill  
 Flows, heard—The torrents rush from every hill.—  
 Down comes the river, clashing loud, till seem  
 One steep-dash'd cataract the ceaseless stream.  
 The snows are vanished from the dell,—though white  
 The pines still shiver on the rocky height:—  
 Yet, in that dell with trickling waters cold,  
 Already dares the turf its blooms unfold;  
 Even higher, from the clift, with sun-beams gay,  
 Peeps the lone bud, though ice-drops gem its way;—  
 As if stern winter, in some secret bower,  
 Had couched beneath his snows, and nursed the flower,—  
 Then swift, and swifter, bursts the blaze around;  
 A stream of radiance lives upon the ground:—  
 The mead's soft slope, the banks where runnels glide,  
 Each path, or crevice, of the mountain's side,  
 The deeper tufts that skirt the forest's gloom,  
 Are all one joy of fragrance and of bloom;  
 As if the tribes that feed on light, and give  
 Sweet tribute, for the beams on which they live,  
 When smiled the brighter sun-shine, know how frail  
 That short-lived pomp, they hurried glad to hail.  
 Now blest, who, while that passing glory shines,  
 Wild realm of summer! in thy dells reclines." P. 58.

" Ye mountain-woods that rising dark from earth,  
 In haughty majesty, her eldest birth,  
 Frown to the sun, as if a mightier power  
 Ye lodged,—eternal nature's ancient bower!  
 And ye, wild cataracts! whose thundering sway  
 Sounds like the voice that bids the world obey!  
 Receive the Wanderer! Quenched as in the tomb  
 Bid every sorrow die amid your gloom!" P. 66.

The lines we admire the most, are to be found in the description of her friend's funeral, who dying in France, was committed to the ground in the night, with all the stealth and silence which the bigotry of the Papists imposes upon Protestants. There is something touching in the dust "dropping cautious on the bier."

" In the dark hour, when half by stealth she gave  
 Those last dear relics to a nameless grave,—  
 No chaunted hymn permitted o'er her breast,  
 No prayer to bid her gentle spirit rest,—

The sob faint stifled in the noiseless tear,  
 The very dust dropt cautious on her bier ;—  
 When sorrow mixed with ire's tumultuous glow,  
 Scarce felt the indignation in the woe,  
 And all which earth in joyous promise spread,  
 Seemed with her buried Frances, sunk and dead,—  
 Even then what hopeless misery must endure  
 She felt not—for her bosom then was pure,  
 If not from guilty passion flows the ill  
 For nature's suffering there is solace still ;—  
 And Mary then, when earth was wrapt in gloom  
 Could look, nor dread to look—beyond the tomb." P. 44

The following verses were addressed to Professor Dugald Stewart, when the author presented to him a copy of his "*Observations on Dr. Darwin's Zoonomia.*" The attempt to delineate, in poetical language, the phenomena of mind, savours pretty strongly of Darwin's characteristic nonsense.

" O still in all my soul's proud musings sought,  
 Thou more than patron of my early thought,  
 Warm from the triumphs of whose mighty aim  
 I dared, with timid hope, to pant for fame !—  
 Now, while my feeble toil foresees the gloom  
 Of cold neglect, or ridicule, its doom,  
 From critic sternness, critic scorn, I fly,  
 And seek the shelter of thy friendly eye ;  
 As the young bird, when hovering foes molest,  
 The grove, that bosom'd deep its late-left nest.

Dear were the hours, when mid the listening train  
 That truth-warm'd soul expanded with thy strain ;  
 When first, on eyes in careless musings blind  
 Burst all the glories of the world of mind.

" Mid blooms and odours born and tones that swell  
 The peal of nature's thousand-chorded shell,  
 Sensations crowding rise,—a dazzling throng—  
 Earth, Heaven, all glowing, as they beam along.  
 Next, a pale train, conceptions dimly tread,  
 Like spectral forms, half-viewless of the dead ;  
 Till fancy pour her witching spell, to give  
 The shadowy band again to shine, to live.  
 Then opes in deeper gloom, the noiseless reign,  
 Where dwell abstraction's tribes, a shapeless train,  
 Unheard, unvisioned, yet to judgment clear  
 As the gay charmers of the eye and ear.  
 By memory's circling tie associate bound,  
 Her swift ideas mix in mazy round ;  
 While,—as, when clouds on clouds are rushing dark  
 Flames, where they meet, the bright electric spark,—  
 From thought to thought exulting Reason views  
 Truth's spreading flash the mutual light effuse.

With

With softer bondage, will, the giant power,  
No slave, close fettered to a dungeon tower;  
But led by many a joy and many a love,  
That guide him, as they sport and smile above:  
Feels not the gentle chain he cannot see;—  
And proud pursues, as if he wandered free.

The marks of the chisel are strong on Dr. Brown; but we must end where we began; a poet is born, not *made*.

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ART. XVIII. *The Battle of Waterloo; a Poem.* By George Walker. small 8vo. pp. 77. 1815.

THIS is a poem, Mr. Walker tells us, in "the simple style of the Old English Ballad;" a style, which he says, he has been induced to adopt, in the hope that his work may, "in that dress, find its place in the Farm-House and the Cottage, it being vain to expect shelter from the rich and the great, in competition with such poets as Scott, Byron, Southey, Swift, &c." He professes, also, to have "no doubt that many will prefer this native and simple style, to the high ornaments of heroic pomp, and he is led to this belief, from observing that most of our historical tales, most of our interesting stories, and legendary ballads, and even one version of the Psalms used in our Churches, are formed to this measure, which, indeed, appears to be the natural inclination of our language in its first step from prose."

That Mr. Walker is not competent to rival any of the poets whom he mentions, we can easily believe, and we applaud his prudence in not entering the lists with them. We fear that, even in the humbler kind of poetry which he has chosen as his field, he will be found to have made a wrong estimate of the difficulties, and of his own powers. He seems to think that by adopting the ballad style, he has relieved himself from the trouble of seeking for poetical ornament, and has nothing to do but to write in a loose kind of eight syllable metre, and in stanzas of four lines each. This idea of his is an exceedingly erroneous one. The ballad style does not exclude grace and elegance, and chaste embellishment. In the present day it imperiously requires them. It is not merely the fluency of the verse, which constitutes the charm of so many ballads. That charm lies in their touches of nature and pathos, in the frequent beauty of their language, and in the felicity of their descriptions. Even our rudest ballads occasionally display these merits, in a very high degree. Nothing can be more affecting, or more picturesque, than numerous passages in them. Among a thousand



and others of the kind, we need only refer to *The Children in the Wood*, and *Chevy Chase*, for proofs of that which we assert. In modern writers there is no excuse for that incorrectness which sometimes disfigures the productions of the ancient. They are expected to manifest a chaste simplicity; but are forbidden to be vulgar and careless. Mr. Walker appears to be quite ignorant of this. His simplicity consists not in unaffected yet pleasing attire, but in squalid raggedness. In the whole course of his deadly long poem, and it has nearly two hundred and fifty stanzas, there is not one happy image or expression, not one spark of fire, not one of those strokes of pathos which go straight to the heart. The reader proceeds from beginning to end, without finding a single line which forces itself upon the memory after the book is closed. All is monotonous and cold. As a fair specimen, we give the following speech of the Duke of Wellington to his men, on the close of the contest.

“ The tardy night its darkness spread  
Upon the flying rout ;  
“ Now stay the sword !” cried Wellington,  
“ And give one general shout !  
“ Blucher will bare the dreadful arm  
Of justice in the fight ;  
He will pursue the flying foe  
Until the morning light.  
“ Then stay we, masters of the field,  
Our men have need of rest ;  
Pursuit to Prussia we will yield,  
For God our cause has blest.  
“ My heart would surely break to see  
So many brave men down ;  
But we have won the victory ;  
Napoleon lost the crown !”

We cannot suffer one assertion, in Mr. Walker's “ historical detail,” to pass uncontradicted. He gives his readers to understand, that, if the Prussians had not come up when they did, the British troops would, probably, have been defeated. This is directly contrary to the fact. The final efforts of Napoleon against our army had been foiled before the arrival of Marshal Blucher's troops, and the battle was consequently won ; though, undoubtedly, from the complete inability of our forces to pursue, it would not have been so decisive in its effects, had not our allies appeared in the field at the critical moment, contributed mainly to throw the French into irretrievable confusion, and followed up with vigour the advantage which had been gained.

ART.

**ART. XIX.** *Catechisme D'Economie Politique, ou Instruction familière, qui montre de quelle façon les Richesses sont produites, distribuées et consommées dans la Société, &c. &c. Par Jean-Baptiste Say, Auteur de Traité d'Economie Politique.* Paris. 1815.

WE have long had chemical catechisms, and dialogues on chemistry, but we believe this is the first child's book in the department of political economy. The author, however, is capable of instructing the highest class of thinkers in this country as well as in his own; and his large work (*Traité d'Economie Politique*), to which we shall very soon direct the attention of our readers, has afforded us much entertainment, and no small share of information. This little volume, which is drawn up in the form of question and answer, appears to us admirably calculated for the use of students; and, as it brings into view the leading doctrines and maxims of political economists, we would even venture to recommend it to those who, having read more than conversed on this difficult subject, may not have reduced their knowledge to first principles, or clearly traced the relation of its several parts. We give a specimen of the "Catechisme," and of M. Say's reasoning on the question of Production.

*"Vous m'avez dit que produire c'était donner de l'utilité aux choses : Comment donne-t-on de l'utilité ? Comment produit-on ?*

*"D'une infinité de manières ; mais pour notre commodité nous pouvons ranger en trois classes toutes les manières de produire.*

*"Quelle est la première manière dont on produit ?*

*"C'est en recueillant les choses que la nature prend soin de créer, soit qu'on ne se soit mêlé en rien du travail de la nature, comme lorsqu'on pêche des poissons, lorsqu'on extrait les minéraux de la terre ; soit qu'on ait, par la culture des terres, et par des semences, dirigé et favorisé le travail de la nature. Tous ces travaux se ressemblent par leur objet. On leur donne le nom d'industrie agricole.*

*"Quelle utilité donne à une chose celui qui la trouve toute faite, comme le pêcheur qui prend un poisson, le mineur qui ramasse des minéraux ?*

*"Il la rend propre à l'usage. Le poisson dans la mer n'est d'aucune utilité pour moi. Du moment qu'il est transporté à la poissonnerie, J'en peux faire usage ; de là vient la valeur qu'il a, valeur créée par l'industrie du pêcheur. De même la houille a beau exister dans le sein de la terre, elle n'est là d'aucune utilité pour me chauffer, pour amollir le fer d'une forge : c'est l'industrie du mineur qui la rend propre à ces usages, en l'extrayant par le moyen de ses puits, de ses galeries, de ses roues. Il crée, en la tirant de terre, toute la valeur qu'elle a, étant tirée.*

*"Quelle*

" *Quelle est la seconde maniere dont on produit ?*

" C'est en donnant aux produits d'une autre industrie, une valeur plus grande par les nouvelles façons qu'on y ajoute, par les transformations qu'on leur fait subir. Le mineur procure le metal dont une boucle est faite ; mais une boucle faite vaut plus que le metal qui y est employé. La valeur de la boucle pardessus celle du metal, est une valeur produite, et la boucle est le produit de deux industries ; de celle du mineur, et de celle du fabricant. Celle-ci se nomme *industrie manufacturiere*.

" *Quelle est la troisieme maniere dont on produit ?*

" On produit encore en achetant un produit dans un lieu où il a moins de valeur, et en le transportant dans un lieu où il en a davantage. C'est ce qu'exécute *l'industrie commerciale*.

" *Comment l'industrie commerciale produit-elle de l'utilité, puisqu'elle ne change rien au fonds ni a la forme d'un produit, et qu'elle le revend tel qu'elle l'a acheté ?*

" Elle agit comme le pêcheur de poisson dont nous avons parlé ; elle prend un produit dans le lieu où l'on ne peut pas en faire usage, dans le lieu du moins où ses usages sont moins étendus moins précieux, pour le transporter aux lieux où ils le sont davantage, où la production est moins facile, moins abondante, plus chère. Le bois de chauffage et de charpente est d'un usage, et par conséquent d'une utilité, très-bornée dans les hautes montagnes, où il excède tellement le besoin qu'on en a, qu'on le laisse quelquefois pourrir sur place ; cette utilité presque nulle devient fort considérable lorsque le même bois est transporté dans une ville. Les cuirs de bœuf ont peu de valeur dans l'Amerique meridionale, où l'on trouve beaucoup de bœufs sauvages ; les mêmes cuirs ont une grande valeur en Europe, où leur production est dispendieuse et leurs usages bien plus multipliés. L'industrie commerciale, en les apportant, augmente leur valeur de toute la difference qui se trouve entre leur prix du Bresil et leur prix d'Europe.

" *Que comprend-on sous le nom d'industrie commerciale ?*

" Toute espèce d'industrie qui prend un produit dans un endroit pour le transporter dans un autre endroit où il est plus précieux, et qui le met ainsi a la portée de ceux qui en ont besoin. On y comprend aussi par analogie l'industrie qui, en detaillant un produit, le met a la portée des plus petits consommateurs. Ainsi l'épicier qui achète des marchandises en gros pour les revendre en detail dans la même ville, le boucher qui achète les bestiaux entiers pour les revendre piece-a-piece, exercent l'industrie commerciale.

" *N'y a-t-il de grands rapports entre toutes ces diverses manieres de produire ?*

" Les plus grands. Elles consistent toutes a prendre un produit dans un état et a le vendre dans un autre où il a plus d'utilité et de valeur. Toutes les industries pourraient se reduire a une seule. Si nous les distinguons ici, c'est a fin de faciliter l'étude de leurs resultats, et malgré toutes les distinctions, il est souvent  
fort

fort difficile de separer une industrie d'une autre. Un villageois qui fait des paniers, est manufacturier ; quand il porte des fruits au marché, il fait le commerce. Mais de façon ou d'autre, du moment qu'on crée où augmente l'utilité des choses, on augmente leur valeur, on exerce une industrie, on produit de la richesse."

ART. XX. *Practical Observations on Telescopes.* 12mo. 114 pp.  
S. Bagster. 1815.

THE purpose of this little work, is to advise astronomical amateurs to furnish their observatories with good glasses, rather than large ones. Its author, with whose name we are not favoured, but who sufficiently designates himself as the purchaser of a well-known refractor at the sale of the collection of the late Mr. Aubert, gives the public the result of his experience in plain, intelligible language. The book, therefore, may be usefully consulted by those who are about to make choice of a vehicle, before they take their departure for the milky way. Page 112 moreover, contains a brief description of an eye-glass, which was altogether new to us. To employ our microscope on every little error, which may have crept into a work of this kind, might be deemed censorious ; but, should a second edition be called for, we would advise the author to omit the paragraph (p. 4.) on "l'esprit du corps" of the opticians (a class of gentlemen to whom we reviewers are under peculiar obligations) of many of whom he afterwards speaks, in a style of deserved panegyric. The pruning knife might be applied, with equal success, to what is said (p. 47.) on the ladies, their sweet-hearts, and diagonal eye-glasses. It may just be observed, that perfection is the last term of a series of progressive improvements. Dollond's achromatics, and Short's dumpy, (p. 35.) are but approximations to this impassable point. When, therefore, our author talks of viewing the "acme of perfection," he, no doubt, used the highest magnifying powers of his glasses. With these trifling exceptions, the book may be safely recommended. It has the additional merit of being short. Placing ourselves, therefore, at the title page, we have the satisfaction of contemplating the end, as a point, not so unpleasantly remote, as to require the unwieldy aid of a very ponderous telescope.

ART. XXI. *The Theology and Mythology of the antient Pagans, written particularly for Female Education.* By Miss Hatfield, Author of "*Letters on the Importance of the Female Sex, with Observations on their Manners and Education.*"

WE perceive no necessity for the female sex to be initiated into the arcana of heathen mythology ; but the fair author of the work  
before

before us is of a contrary opinion. Miss Hatfield acknowledges "that the generality of parents, and other sensible individuals, suppose the heathen mythology to be a study prejudicial to revealed religion and morality." She acknowledges that an indiscriminate perusal of the pages of the fabulous hypothesis of the heathen world, is not unlikely to produce the pernicious effects which a zealous care and tender regard for the happiness of youth are careful to avoid. But the author conceives no danger can arise against "that *elegant branch*" of female education, provided it is "under proper explanations." It is but justice to say, that Miss H. has rendered the fabulous stories of the heroes and heroines of the heathen mythology as little offensive to modesty as possible. The work is introduced with a concise view of the theology of Moses, in which we find the following pertinent observations.

"The primitive perfection of nature, its fall from that exalted state, and its restoration to happiness by the expiatory sacrifice of some divine person, has been a tradition coeval with the world. It is that which conveys to us the first intelligence of the gospel covenant, it is the sign of the divine goodness, and forms the basis of that religion which the second father of mankind, Noah, transmitted to his children."

The theology of the antient Pagans embraces the whole compass of the different systems of Polytheism of the nations of antiquity; in the following disquisition on *Mountain Worship*, there is much to commend.

"In the first ages of the world man paid his homage to the great Creator in the open air. Various parts of sacred history mention that the tops of high mountains were particularly chosen for that purpose; by order of the Almighty, Abraham prepared for the burnt-sacrifice of his son on a mount in Moriah. This spot indicated by the Deity for so extraordinary a purpose, was not only distinguished afterwards as the seat of the Jewish empire, and for the most superb and magnificent temple in the universe, but most of all, it was distinguished by a sacrifice, infinitely more important, infinitely more valuable than the offering of the son of Abraham—the Mediator there performed the part of atonement.

"On Mount Sinai, Moses received the Commandments from God, from the summit of Nebo, he had permission to behold at a distance the land of Canaan, to which he was conducting the Israelites, and it was on Nebo that shortly after this pre-eminent chief, legislator and historian, terminated his sublunary career in the 120th year of his age. The lovely daughter of Jephtha required permission to retire to the mountains with her companions, that she might there indulge herself in lamenting her unhappy fate before she resigned her being to fulfil the rash vow of her father, and in compliance with

with the existing customs of the times in which he visited the abode of mankind; the Son of God chose those places for his own retirement, for private prayer, and for exhortation. On the Mount of Olives he delivered his incomparable sermon to his disciples; and on those situations were performed his transfiguration, temptation, final sufferings, and ascension. The heathen nations, in the vicinity of Judea, following this practice, chose mountains for every solemn purpose: the doubting Balaam, who halted between the two opinions of the true and false worshippers, a prophet whose prediction first informed the Eastern magi of the appearance of an extraordinary star which would be visible at the Messiah's birth, was conducted up to Mount Baal by the idolater Balak, that he might curse Israel from thence. Hector was commended by Jupiter for the number of sacrifices he performed on Mount Ida, and when temples began to be built, the summits of mountains were chosen for that purpose. In Rome and Athens, the most sacred temples were erected on the highest eminences of the cities, and the highest mountains were by the heathens commonly sacred to Saturn, Jupiter, and Apollo." P. 16.

We close with observing, that to those of the female sex who may wish to make themselves acquainted with Pagan Mythology, there are few books more calculated for that purpose than Miss Hatfield's work.

## MONTHLY LIST OF PUBLICATIONS.

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THE  
BRITISH CRITIC,  
FOR MAY, 1816.

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ART. I. *Lexicon Græco Prosodiacum auctore T. Morell, S. T. P. olim vulgatum typis denuo mandavit, permultis in locis correxit, exemplis a se allatis, et animadversionibus, illustravit, verbis, a Morello omissis; quam plurimis auxit; et Græcis vocibus Latinam Versionem subjecit Edo. Maltby, S. T. P. Cantabrigiæ, Typis Academicis: 2 vols. 1242 pp. 5l. 5s. Cadell and Davies. 1815.*

ENTITLED as Dr. Morell undoubtedly was, to respect from his contemporaries, and gratitude from the succeeding generation both of pupils and instructors, still it must be acknowledged that his Greek Thesaurus, notwithstanding its utility, had many inconveniences and defects. Of these, every scholar, and especially every scholar concerned in the education of youth, could not but be too often reminded, by the unfortunate errors into which it occasionally led the eager but unpractised student; and we know at least one very respectable school, where partly from the difficulty of procuring copies of the work, and partly from its imperfection, the writing of Greek verses as an exercise had been discontinued. It must have been found, even on slight experience, that the quantities of syllables were very frequently left ambiguous and not seldom incorrect, that corrupt passages were quoted for genuine, that barbarous and ill assorted epithets from the Anthology and later writers, were combined with those of an earlier and purer age: that the synonyms, in like manner, were often adopted carelessly, and the phrases sometimes selected injudiciously, without regard to the fluctuations and idioms of the language: that the references were but too frequently erroneous, and too frequently omitted altogether, thus leaving the learner no better guidance than his own good taste and experience in determining what expressions he might adopt or avoid. With all these defects however, still we must acknowledge that the literary world in general, and especially that great and valuable portion of it engaged in education, are under con-

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siderable obligations to the venerable author of the Greek *Thesaurus*; in whose behalf indeed, justice and candour require us to remark, that considering the state of Greek literature in this country at the time of its appearance, a reasonable excuse might be offered for many more and many greater imperfections than it presents.

More than half a century has elapsed since Dr. Morell's *Thesaurus* was published in 1762. Since that period the text of almost all the Greek poets has been revised and corrected by the examination of many manuscripts before either imperfectly or not at all collated, and by the accurate and critical labours of many distinguished scholars both at home and on the continent, successors in that school of genuine Greek criticism, which the names of Hemsterhusius, Valckenaer, Ruhnken, Toup, and Porson, and before and above them all, the immortal BENTLEY, will ennoble, as long as profound literature, sagacious judgement, and uncorrupted taste continue to command the admiration of mankind. Since the period we allude to, Homer and Pindar have appeared under the auspices of Heyne, and the former under those of Porson also, Sophocles has been edited by Brunck, Euripides by Musgrave and Beck, Æschylus by Schutz and Porson, Aristophanes by Brunck, Theocritus by Valckenaer, Warton and Brunck, the *Anthologia* by Brunck and Jacobs, Hesiod by Loesner, Aratus by Buhle, Q. Calaber by Tyschen and Heyne, Apollonius Rhodius by Brunck and Shaw, and the minor Greek poets by Gaisford; almost all which editions, besides presenting a more correct text, are enriched with correct and copious indices, a circumstance of inestimable value to the compiler of a work like the *Thesaurus*. When we add to these the detached plays of the several tragedians, which have appeared under the care of Markland, Wakefield, Elmsley, Monk, Blomfield, the yet unfinished, though we understand nearly complete edition of Æschylus by Dr. Butler, and, above all, the unrivalled four plays of Euripides by Porson, and the many minor editions of the Greek poets which we have been obliged to forbear enumerating, and to this host of learned editors, subjoin that of critics, commentators, and philologists: when we consider how much that was begun by Bentley and Dawes, has been followed up by Toup and Porson on Aristophanes—how much the Greek lyrical and choral metres have been elucidated by the labours of Herman, Burney, and Gaisford; the Iambic, Trochaic, and Anapaestic by those of Porson—we shall rather admire the extensive reading and patient industry which could enable a scholar to compile at all such a work as that of Dr. Morell, at the time when it appeared, than be disposed to cavil at pardonable inaccuracies and unavoidable imperfections:

On the other hand, after the advantages we have enumerated, it would be but reasonable to expect from any scholar who should undertake a republication of the Thesaurus at the present time, a work considerably more correct than that of its original editor. But when we find it undertaken by one who is confessedly among the very first of the present age, we look for much more, and in that expectation we rejoice that we are not disappointed.

Still we must confess our satisfaction is not pure and unalloyed. We have enumerated certain defects inherent in Dr. Morell's work, which must make even so excellent a republication of it imperfect, and we cannot therefore forbear expressing our deep regret, that the very profound scholar who has given this highly improved edition to the public, has not laid us under still greater obligations. The same ten years labour and patience which he has bestowed in correcting an old and imperfect work of another, would have sufficed to produce a new and perfect one of his own, free from all the objections which we have already detailed, and calculated, from his acknowledged learning, taste, and judgement, to be of infinite advantage, not only to the youthful and unpractised student, but to the mature and experienced scholar. If the labour of so many years were not too precious to be thrown away, and too wearisome to be resumed, we should positively say to Dr. Maltby, begin again. Much as you have done for your own fame, and the interests of learning, do yet more. Complete our obligation, or rather lay us under a new one, which our own gratitude will concur with the applause of posterity to repay; and, by the time Dr. Maltby's edition of Morell is exhausted, let Dr. Maltby's *own* Thesaurus be ready to appear\*.

Having

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\* In a work of such extent and labour as the Thesaurus, the most profound scholar will not be able always to satisfy himself or others, and the most vigilant will sometimes nod. If Dr. Maltby should really re-write the Thesaurus, he will find some omissions to be supplied, some uncertainties to be fixed, and some accidental errors of *dormitation* to be corrected. Of the latter description is the word ὀφάματις, which he marks thus ὀφᾶματις, and supplying the verse from Theocritus Idyll. x. 7, of which Morell had given only the two first words, leaves not a doubt but that he scans it thus,

Μιλων | ὀφάμα | τα πετ | ρας απο | κομμ' ατε | ραμνε,

thus making, by an hallucination perhaps never exceeded, three false quantities in as many consecutive syllables. If the learned Doctor had even recollected that the word would have been ὀφάμητις out of the Doric dialect, he would at once have

Having made this "prodigious bold request," we shall now proceed with our account of the services which Dr. Maltby has already rendered to the cause of Greek literature, in the work before us.

In a short and unassuming, but manly preface, we are informed that the republication of Morell was suggested to Dr. Maltby ten years since, by that truly eminent scholar, Professor Porson; and the defects of the work are briefly noticed, while all due praise is liberally bestowed on its merits. We are next presented with a list of Dr. Morell's precursors in the same field of literature, whose labours afforded him both the outline and some subsidiary aid in the completion of his work. These were communicated to Dr. Maltby from the valuable and ample stores of that illustrious scholar, his former preceptor, Dr. Parr. As they are, some of them especially, of rare occurrence, it may be gratifying to our readers to have them concisely mentioned.

The first is a work of Michael Neander, *De re poetica Græcorum*, first published in 1583. This book Dr. Maltby appears not to have seen; he speaks only of the second edition, published at Leipsic, by John Volland, in 1592.

The next book is less rare, the *Epithetorum Græcorum farrago*, by Conrad Dinner, published at Frankfort, in 1589. From this book Morell often borrowed epithets, and sometimes phrases.

Next is the *Thesaurus Græcæ Poeseos*, published by Nicolæ Caussin, a Jesuit, at Mentz, in 1614, which furnished Dr. Morell with the title of his work.

Lastly comes the *Opus Prosodiacum Græcum*, of Petrus Cœlemannus, a schoolmaster at Stettin, published at Frankfort, in 1651; a work in which the worthy pedagogue appears to have had a double object, having principally selected moral and proverbial sentences by way of examples, thus combining a gnomologia with his prosody, and giving rules for life as well as quantity.

We are next presented with a short and unostentatious account of the improvements introduced by Dr. Maltby into this edition; and they are indeed important, removing in a considerable degree many of the evils we have already noticed.

In the first place, in cases of ambiguity, variety of signification, or other peculiarity, the meaning of the Greek word is explained by a Latin interpretation; and a better and more

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corrected himself, but his own note on *ἀμύν* contains a full answer to any cavils which might be urged against him by a modern Zoilus. *Rev.*

luminous

luminous arrangement of the synonyms and epithets has been adopted.

Secondly, the inaccuracy of quotation, and frequently the indecision of quantity, so often complained of in Morell, has been very much obviated by more correct reference, and fuller quotation, so that the sense, as well as the quantity of each word, may be collected from the context.

But as the scholar cannot always ascertain the quantity, in words which occur in uncertain places, and in obscure or licentious metres, besides the usual marks of long and short; two new ones have been introduced on the suggestion of Dr. Maltby's learned friend Dr. Davy, the Master of Caius College. These are  $\cup$  and  $\cup$ , the former signifying that the syllable is more frequently long, but is sometimes found short, the latter that it is more frequently short, but sometimes found long. This, however, we cannot help thinking rather an ingenious refinement, than an absolute improvement, and indeed, Dr. Maltby seems to be of the same opinion. So much depends on the usage of different ages, dialects, and even styles of writing, that accuracy in this point is not only often unattainable, but the attempt to observe it would frequently lead into error. For instance, we looked to the word  $\alpha\alpha\lambda\delta\varsigma$ , where instead of finding these ambiguous marks, we were much better pleased by a note of the learned editor.

"Penultima hujus nominis semper producitur" inquit Damianus. Apud Homerum et epicos poetas credo: sed apud Atticos et forte Lyricos semper corripitur."

Yet even with this we must confess ourselves not contented. It either asserts too much or too little. If by the Epic Poets, are meant those strictly so called, such as Homer and Apollonius Rhodius, we admit the fact, but if the term is meant to comprehend all writers in heroic verse, it is incorrectly stated; and if it is not meant to comprehend them, it should have been remarked, that in Hesiod, Theocritus, and Callimachus, it perpetually varies. In the two latter writers, indeed, it is used both long and short in the same line, Theocr. Ecl. vi. 19. and Callim. Hymn. Jov. 55. We are aware, indeed, that the authenticity of the passage in Callimachus, has been questioned by Lennep and Ruhnken, with whom, however, we are not absolutely disposed to agree, and even if we were, it would not affect the argument, as we could produce many other passages from the same author, in which the quantity varies. See Hymn. Apoll. 3. 36. 59, to go no further.

We wish, however, to be understood, rather as hereby illustrating the difficulty of ascertaining with any degree of certainty, the



the accurate use of the new marks, than urging any strong objection against a somewhat too lax expression of the learned editor.

The next improvement in this new edition, and a very important one it is, consists in having introduced into the phrases, a great variety of passages from the best poets, which, being thus brought together, serve materially to illustrate each other, and store the mind of the student with a treasure of lofty sentiments and glowing imagery, clothed in the noblest language.

Whatever was most valuable in the Appendix of Morell, is also incorporated into the body of the work before us, and the whole is enriched in almost every page by the very learned and valuable notes of the editor, who thus silently and unostentatiously has restored innumerable corrupt passages through the whole range of the Greek poets. The same learned notes are perpetually used to correct the errors of Morell's preliminary dissertation on the Greek metres and prosody, and to crown our obligations, this part of Morell's labours is followed by a series of most valuable metrical dissertations, by Dr. Maltby, under the modest title of *Observationes de rebus cum Prosodiâ conjunctis sed a Morello, brevius tractatis aut omnino omissis*.

The preface, after a modest, but, we think, wholly unnecessary apology, for unavoidable imperfections, concludes with thanks to those learned friends from whom the editor received material assistance. They are, Mr. Frere the Master of Downing College, whose Morell, interleaved and enriched with his own remarks, was lent to Dr. Maltby by the Subdean of Lincoln, and Dr. Charles Burney, who furnished him with a tract of Morell's, entitled *Index Prosodiacus*, relating to the quantity of the doubtful vowels, A, I, Y, and an interleaved copy of the Thesaurus, with additions made by the author while his work was passing through the press. Acknowledgements are also made to the editor's most learned friend and former preceptor, Dr. Parr, for much valuable information, and to Dr. Kaye, the excellent Master of Christ College, for superintendence of the press. And here we may take the opportunity of observing, that the work is most beautifully printed, and adorned with an excellent engraving of the learned editor, by Cooper, from a drawing, by Edridge, and a copy of the original print of the author, by Hogarth.

With reluctance we are obliged to pass over Dr. Morell's prosody, a work of great and elaborate skill for the time when it was written, the oversights and unavoidable errors in which, arising partly from the corrupt text of the Greek poets, and partly from the less intimate acquaintance among scholars at that time with the intricacies of Greek metre, are every where corrected

rected by Dr. Maltby with a masterly hand. Not content, however, with having done this, Dr. Maltby has laid Greek scholars, as well as students, under an everlasting obligation, by his own subsequent most valuable treatise on Greek metres and prosody, which we have already mentioned. From this we shall select a chapter on a very important point, and we trust our more learned readers will permit us to make a few preliminary observations, for the purpose of rendering it more easily intelligible to those who have paid less attention to the subject.

Every one at all acquainted with the elements of metrical learning, must be aware that different feet consist not only of different *times*, but different *tone*, or *accent*, and that feet of the same times have often a different and directly opposite accent. Thus an Iambic and a Trochee are of the same time, but in an Iambic the stress of the voice, or accent, is laid on the second, in a Trochee on the first syllable of each foot\*. The syllable of any foot on which this elevation takes place, is said to be in *arsis*, the remaining syllable or syllables in which the voice sinks from its elevated to its natural tone, are said to be in *thesis*, from the two Greek words, *ἀρσις* and *θέσις*, signifying elevation and depression†. Thus in an Iambic verse, the first syllable of each foot is in *thesis*, the second in *arsis*. In a Trochaic, exactly the reverse takes place. A tribrach when it is put for an Iambic, has its first syllable in *thesis*, its second ‡ in *arsis*, and its third

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\* We say *each foot*, because this is in fact the case, the *ictus* or *accent* not being greater, as Bentley supposed, on the first foot in the Trochaic, or the second in the Iambic *metre*, than on the second of the one, or first of the other; but a somewhat longer *pause* is made in scanning, at the end of each *metre*, than at the end of each *foot*, which may possibly deceive an unpractised or unmusical ear. *Rev.*

† We are fully aware of the different significations of *ἀρσις* and *θέσις*, arising from the elevation and depression of the foot to mark the time, and even the diametrically opposite significations, arising from the use of these terms among the grammarians and former writers on metrical subjects; but as it is rather a dispute about *names* than *things*, and as we wish here merely to elucidate the subject, we purposely wave this discussion. The term *accent* might, perhaps, express the elevation of the voice on what we may venture to call *the characteristic syllable*, were it not liable to ambiguity from its more general usage in a different signification, and we therefore prefer that of *arsis* as short and intelligible, but perhaps that of *ictus metricus*, or simply *ictus*, is still more unexceptionable, being free from the cavils which might be raised to the term *accent* as ambiguous, or *arsis* as disputable. *Rev.*

‡ It is more easy for a musical ear to understand, than for us to express,

third in thesis; when put for a Trochee its first is in arsis, and two last in thesis. In scanning a dactylic verse, the first syllable of the dactyl is in arsis, the two last in thesis, or if a spondee is put for a dactyl, the first syllable is in arsis, and the last in thesis, but in scanning Anapæstic verse, the two first syllables of the Anapæst, or the first of the spondee, are in thesis, and the last in arsis; if a dactyl is used for a spondee, the arsis is on the first of the short syllables. We may observe that in all these cases where the *original* foot consists of a long and short syllable, or syllables, the *natural* place of the arsis, is on the *long* syllable, but where the syllables are *all long*, as in a spondee, or *all short*, as in a tribrach, or where feet combined of long and short syllables, are *substituted* for the regular feet, as in the case of a dactyl in Iambic, or Anapæstic, or an Anapæst in Trochaic metre, it will conform to the nature of the metre in which that foot occurs. In the compound feet the arsis will still preserve its place. Thus in the Choriambus, which is compounded of the Trochee and Iambus, the incipient and final long syllables are in arsis, the two intermediate short ones in thesis, according to the natural places of the arsis and thesis in the simple feet,  $\text{—} \cup \cup \text{—}$ . In the Antispastus, which is compounded of the Iambic and Trochee, the incipient and final short syllables are in thesis, and the two intermediate long ones in arsis,  $\cup \text{—} \text{—} \cup$ . And if the Iambic is resolved into a tribrach, or dactyl, the first and third syllables are in thesis, and the second in arsis, or if into an anapæst the two first are in thesis, and the third or long one in arsis. In like manner if the Trochee is resolved into a tribrach, or anapæst, the arsis will still be on the first syllable, as in the case of resolutions of the uncompounded feet. But it often happens that the place of the antispast is supplied by a double Iambic, in which case, if a tribrach or dactyl is put for the Iambic, the arsis is, as before, on the second, if an anapæst, on the third syllable of the substituted foot. From what we have said, we hope it is suf-

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express, *why* the ictus falls on the *middle*, rather than the *last* syllable of a tribrach or dactyl in Iambic, and of a dactyl in Anapæstic verse. The most intelligible reason we can assign is, that in the tribrach or dactyl, the *two* short syllables are put for *one* long, and therefore the tone of the long syllable for which they are substituted, is given as soon as possible; because if the ictus were on the *last* short syllable of the tribrach or dactyl, it would make it sound like an anapæst or cretic. Combining this note with our subsequent observations in the text, the force of the argument will, we trust, be sufficiently comprehended, even by those who have not paid deep attention to these niceties. *Rev.*

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sufficiently intelligible that the arsis or ictus cannot fall on a *final short syllable* of any foot; but as that syllable on which it falls is necessarily pronounced with a greater stress of voice, when it falls on the *incipient* short syllable of a foot, it will have the power to make that syllable long, or if it falls on a naturally long syllable, it may even make that syllable longer, a circumstance which as it materially tends to elucidate some apparent metrical anomalies, we shall discuss, or at least touch upon, before we close this article, but we think we shall still better prepare our readers for it by introducing here a specimen of Dr. Maltby's work.

*"Arseos, sive Cæsura, vis apud Homerum."*

Sed de his hactenus, nobis potius res est cum versibus *Heroicis*, ubi in *primam* pedis syllabam ictus metricus proculdubio cadit; et cum *Arsi* omnium consensu convenit\*. Ubicunque vero hoc fieret, ibi vox intendebatur, et mora quædam in pronuntiando obtingebat. Quod si in tali loco syllaba natura brevis locaretur, cum acriore quadam et incitatore vi proferretur, evadebat longa. In quibus autem locis vocis intentio major, et mora in efferenda syllaba longior, in illis istiusmodi effectum *præcipue* et *frequentius* conspici credibile est. Hoc nonnunquam evenit in prima versus syllaba; sæpius autem in medio versus, ubi vox ita dividitur, ut in syllabam a reliqua voce *quasi abscissam* metricus ictus cadat. *Cæsura* nomen inde obtinuit: sed causam unde *Cæsura* vim suam adepta sit brevem syllabam producendi, nullam aliam esse contendo, quam quæ in versus statim initio eundem effectum generet. Hæc vero *ictus metrici sive Arseos* efficientia in versibus tantum *Heroicis*, præcipue vero *Homeri*, discernitur. Est profecto ubi ante unicum litteram *ε* apud scriptores *Dramaticos* vocalis brevis ita producat; cujus ideo suo in loco mentio fiet.

"Nunc pauca recenseamus exempla syllabarum per *Arsin* in *Homero* productarum, quarum nonnulla in Annotationibus ad *Thesaurum* tetigi. *Vid. Ind. v. Arsis.*"

"Φίλε κασίγνητε κόμισαί τε με, δός τε μοι ἵππους." *Il. E. 35. 9.*

"Συνεχῆς, ὄφρα κε θάσσον ἀλίπλοα τείχεα θείη." *M. 26.*

"Ἐπειδὴ τόνδ' ἄνδρα, θεοὶ δαμάσασθαι ἔδωκαν." *X. 379.*

"Ζεῦ φρενὴ πνείουσα, τὰ μὲν φύει ἄλλα δὲ πέσσει." *Od. 7. 119.*

"Ἐπίτονος βέβλητο, βόος εἰνυῖο τετευχώς." *μ. 423.*

\* By the *arsis* and *ictus metricus* we constantly mean one and the same thing, as the immortal Bentley did before us. They must always be used in the same sense, except by those who suppose with Hare, Foster, and a few of the early grammarians, that the *arsis* was the silent elevation of the foot, the *thesis* the depression, or *beat*, which marked the time, and which according to them would be the *ictus*. We have already alluded to this in a former note. *Rev.*

"Nulla

"Nulla alia de causa ortum puto quod prima in præpositione *δα* porrigatur, II. Δ. 135. Similiter forsan in *Ἀπώλωνι*, A. 36. et ubicunque prima vocis syllaba in *Arsi* locatur.—Age vero, ponamus alia, ubi *Arsis* in *Cæsura*, quæ vocatur, incidat :

"Ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' ἅμοισι βάλετ' αἶγυια θυσανοίσσαν (*nam recte duplicari σ, sicuti in editt. exstat, dubitarim.*) E. 738.

"Οὔτε θεοῖς, εἴπερ τις ἐπὶ νῦν δαίνεσθαι εὐφραν." O. 99.

"Κλαίοντ' ἁγέως πολέες δ' ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἐταίροι." T. 5.

"Στάζε κατὰ εἰνῶν, ἵνα οἱ χρεὼς ἔμπεδος εἴη." Ib. 39.

"Οἱ τε κυβερνῆται, καὶ ἔχον ὀνήϊα νηῶν." Ib. 43.

"Ἐγχεῖ ἐρεϊδομένῳ· ἐτι γὰρ ἔχον ἔλκεα λυγρά." 49.

"Ἀτρεΐδῃ, ἣ ἄρ' τι τοδ' ἀμφοτέροισιν ἄρειον." 56.

"Ἥματι τῷ, ὅτ' ——— 60, 89, 98.

"Ξανθέ τε καὶ Βάλει τηλέκλυτα τέκνα Πόδαργής." 400.

"Δυν' ἄχος ἄτλησεν ὃ δ' ἄρα Τρωσὶν μινεαίνων." 307.

"Πηλιάδ᾽ ἀμελίην τὴν πατρὶ φίλῳ τάμε Χείρων." 390.

"Ναύλοχον ἐς λίμενα, καὶ τις θεὸς ἡγεμόνευεν." Od. x. 141.

"Οὐλήν, τὴν ποτὲ μὲ σὺς ἤλασε λευκῷ ὄδοντι." φ. 219.

"Postremo adferantur syllabæ breves productæ, neque in initio versus neque in Cæsura.

"Τὼ μὲν ἄρ' ἄψορροι προσι' Ἴλιον ἁπινέοντο." Γ. 313.

"Μνηστῆρες δ' ἐν νηὶ παλμυπετὲς ἁπινεοντο." Σ. 27.

"Πέπληται ἀνέφελος (*sic enim scribi debebat*) λευκῇ δ' ἐπὶ δέδρομεν αἶγλη." ζ. 45.

"Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ λαχὰ πάντα διέμοιρά το δαΐζαν." ξ. 434.

"Τρίζουσαι ποτέοντο, ἐπεὶ κε τις ἁπινεοισιν." ω. 7.

To this chapter is subjoined a long note, containing some remarks on Professor Dunbar's Greek Prosody, with some, and those the main parts of which, Dr. Maltby fully coincides, while others meet with decided, though liberally expressed, and, we need hardly add, just animadversion. The note itself, especially with the notes upon it, is too long for insertion, but we gladly present our readers with its conclusion, both from respect to Dr. Maltby and the learned Professor, and because it will greatly tend to elucidate our preceding and subsequent remarks.

"Equidem confido fere, [*q? fore*] ut hæc a me disputata, non arroganter et asperere, sed libere (uti omnes decet qui in rebus difficiles explicatus habentibus, quid sit simillimum veri, perscrutantur) Dunbarus ἰ πάνυ haud moleste ferat. Operis interea docti et ingeniosi specimen si protulero, gratiam apud nostrates saltem meo initurum scio.

"In hexameter verse, the ictus or arsis is always upon the first syllable of the foot. Though we have no other data to guide us in the pronunciation of this species of verse, it appears almost certain

tain that the first syllable of every foot must have been pronounced with the rising inflection, and consequent swell of the voice, to give melody to the verse; and that, even though the syllable was naturally short, such an increase of time was thereby given to it, as to make it long in the recitation. Upon what other principle can we account for the lengthening of those short cæsural syllables that occur so frequently in Homer? It is not from their occurrence in any particular place; for they are to be found at the commencement of almost every foot\*. If it be said that it is in consequence of the pause; I must be allowed to ask upon what principle does that pause depend? It is not because they terminate particular words that they are made long, but because they form the first syllable of a foot; which in consequence, whether at the end, at the beginning, or in the middle of a word, must be pronounced equal in length to a syllable naturally long, to preserve the harmony of the verse. With what particular cadence and accent hexameter verse was chaunted or sung, we can never learn: It was certainly not monotonous, but required the sound to be regulated in such manner as, consistent with the nature of the feet, would make them most agreeable to the ear: and this, I apprehend, could only be done by giving a particular tone or swell to the first syllable. Upon this principle depends the lengthening of all cæsural syllables, as well vowels and diphthongs as short syllables. Upon it also depends, what has, I imagine, hitherto escaped observation, the lengthening of many short syllables in the beginning, and in the middle of words; a circumstance which has perplexed grammarians exceedingly, and obliged them to have recourse to expedients to support the metre, which led to a corruption of the language." P. 24, &c.

Such are the observations of Dr. Maltby and the learned Professor on this important and hitherto perplexed subject. We shall now redeem the promise we made at the commencement of these extracts, by subjoining a few more remarks of our own.

We stated, p. 461, that when the arsis fell on an incipient short syllable of a foot, it would have the power to make that syllable long. We wish to explain this a little further. In hexameter verse, it falls always on the incipient syllable of each foot, and therefore if that syllable be naturally short, it not only *may*, but *must* thereby be made long. For no foot in an hexameter verse can begin with a short syllable, and we must, therefore, (taking for granted that the passage is genuine, and the authority of the poet indisputable) admit the short syllable to be lengthened either by the ictus or some other cause. Now if we find on the one hand, that exclusively of the ictus, we can meet with no sin-

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\* The Professor would have expressed himself more clearly had he said, at the commencement of the foot in every place. Rev.

gle adequate cause, but are obliged to shift our ground, and find fresh expedients as often as we meet with fresh instances of short syllables, sometimes having recourse to *cæsure*, sometimes to an aspirate, sometimes to doubling a consonant, sometimes to inserting a vowel, sometimes to transposing a letter in pronunciation; and if on the other hand we find that the ictus alone will in all cases give a substantial and *invariable* cause for the effect produced; the short syllable so lengthened, being invariably that on which the ictus is placed, there cannot remain a question, but that the ictus, in hexameter verse, *must* lengthen a naturally short syllable. Thus the first syllable in ἐπεὶ δὲ, when it has the ictus on it, for instance at the beginning of a verse, *cannot* be short. This, however, arises only from the nature of the verse, in which the only admissible feet being dactyls and spondees, no foot can begin with a short syllable. But in the trochaic metre, where the ictus is still on the first syllable of each foot, it will not make the incipient syllable of a tribrach long, for then a tribrach in the first place, would be no longer equivalent to a trochee, but to a dactyl.

We must now proceed to extend the doctrine of the ictus beyond the limits assigned to it by Dr. Maltby, who confines it to Heroic, and principally to Homeric verse, and expressly excludes it from dramatic, except in the case of the letter *g*. We think, however, we can account for some very-difficult anomalies in the Tragic writers by the adoption of this principle. For instance, in those passages which have excited so much controversy among critics in Æschylus,

“ Ἰππὸ μέδοντος σχῆμα καὶ, μέγας τύπος.”

Sept. Th. 488. Ed. Porro.

“ Παρθενόποιος Ἀρκίς ὃ δὲ τοιόσδ' ἀνὴρ.” Ibid. 547.

“ Οἱ γὰρ τεύσσα τόνδ' ὄφι' ἐθρεψάμην.” Choeph. 927.

“ Ὀρῶ κονί' ἀναυδὸν ἄγγελον στρατῷ.” Suppl. 179.

In all these cases the ictus is on the naturally short syllable, and is, in our opinion, the cause of its being lengthened.

So again in Anapæstic metre,

“ ————— στρατοὶ δὲ κόνι' ”

“ Εὐχίσσουσι.”

Pr. Vinc. 1085.

In all these instances we can assign the same simple, intelligible, and invariable cause for the same effect; and if no other cause so simple, so intelligible, so invariable, can be adduced, we cannot surely hesitate to admit the power of the ictus into dramatic poetry, in other cases also, besides the universally acknowledged one of the letter *g*.

Even with respect to the passage we have already instanced from

from Theocritus, p. 457. in which the first syllable in *καλός* is both long and short in the same line, we may remark that the ictus falls on the *long* syllable; and we may farther remark, that when Theocritus uses the same word twice in the same line, where the ictus does not fall on the first syllable, he uses it in both instances *short*.

“Τὰς δαμάλας παρελύντα, καλὸν καλὸν ἡμεῖς ἔφακεν.”

*Id.* viii. 73.

Having thus, we trust, satisfactorily shewn that the ictus always *may*, and in some cases *must* lengthen a short syllable on which it falls, not only in hexameter verse, but in all other kinds of metre, we shall just touch on our other assertion, that when it falls on a long syllable it has a tendency to make it longer. But as we hope we have now rendered the subject familiar to our readers, we shall content ourselves with producing the first instance that occurs.

“Λᾶαγ ἄνω ὄθεσκε ποτὶ λόφον ———.” *Odys.* λ. 595.

Here the last syllable in *ἄνω* which ought to be short before the following vowel, is lengthened by the ictus, just as the last syllable of *ποτὶ* is lengthened from the same cause.

We have so far transgressed our limits that we can only cursorily call the attention of our readers to the same principle for the solution of apparent anomalies in the metres of Virgil and the Latin poets. We must content ourselves with a striking instance or two, and leave the rest to the diligence and sagacity of those who wish to investigate a subject which we can venture to predict will afford both conviction and entertainment.

“Sit pecori; apibus quanta experientia parcis.” *Georg.* I. 4.

Here the last syllable in *pecori*, which naturally would be cut off, not only maintains its position but is even continued long. On the contrary, we find a long vowel on which the ictus does not fall, if it maintains its position without elision (as in the case of a Greek long vowel), still is made short before a subsequent vowel,

“Ter sunt conati imponere Pelio Ōssam.” *Georg.* I. 281.

which is a verse remarkably elucidating the property of the ictus, the last syllable of *conati* being neither shortened nor suffering elision, because the ictus falls on it, while that of *Pelio*, though to be considered not only as an *ω*, but as the diphthong *φ*, not having the ictus on it, is made short.

So again,

“Clamassent, ut littus, Hylā, Hylā, omne sonaret.”

*Ecl.* vi. 44.

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The last syllable of the first Hyla is long because it is sustained by the ictus, while that of the second is short because it has no longer that support.

In all these cases it is evident that the naturally long vowel is supported, or made longer by the ictus, because when the ictus is removed we find it follows the common rule of one vowel preceding another, and is made short.

Before we close our remarks we must trespass a little further on the patience of our readers, by observing that when the ictus makes a naturally short vowel long, it more frequently occurs on vowels followed by one set of consonants than another, but occasionally upon all. Thus all the liquids, in the following order,  $\rho$ ,  $\lambda$ ,  $\mu$ ,  $\nu$ , and of the mutes  $\kappa$  in particular, will be found, either in the same or different words, often to follow the naturally short vowel on which the ictus falls. It is not, however, the subsequent consonant, but the ictus, which lengthens the vowel, as must be evident from considering such words as *Πειραμίδης*, where the naturally short incipient vowel is sustained without any intermediate consonant, merely by the force of the ictus; and a thousand passages in Homer besides those already quoted, where the vowel is sustained in case of an hiatus, from the same cause. The reader may collect abundant proofs of this from every hundred lines of Homer. That is, he will find the lengthened vowel on which the ictus falls, more frequently followed by the consonants we have mentioned, (which, from their natural pronunciation, readily lend support to the voice) than by any other; but he will find, that *when the same vowel is followed by the same consonant without the ictus, it will, according to its natural quantity, continue short*; if, therefore, in all cases where the ictus does not fall it continues short, and where it does fall it becomes long, we surely must attribute this increase of quantity to the ictus alone.

We must now hasten to take our leave of Dr. Maltby, and his valuable work. If our suggestion should be so far attended to by him, as to induce him to think in earnest of publishing a Thesaurus in his own name, we cannot forbear recommending him to avoid that multiplication of notes upon text, and notes upon notes, which, though abounding in valuable matter, gives a degree of heaviness and perplexity to his present dissertation. While indeed he had to comment on Morell's text and notes this was in great measure unavoidable; but it may be easily remedied in a future publication, by incorporating much of the matter of the notes into the text, and at least having one set of notes only. We wished to have added a specimen from the body of the work, but we have already exceeded our usual limits, and are spared the necessity of doing so by the  
copious

copious detail we have given. We cannot, however, omit the final sentences of Dr. Maltby's concluding observations, which contain rules and examples for the quantity of *doubtful* syllables.

“ Ex iis quæ in posteriori parte observationum horum posuimus, facile sibi lector colliget, quantæ sit molis regulas aliquas, *in unum versum veras*, de quantitate ancipitum vocalium in Græca lingua conscribere : adeo inter se discrepant diversæ indolis atque ætatis Poetæ ; adeo infinita est verborum copia ; adeo denique in permultis locis librariorum inscitæ atque aliis temporis injuriis obnoxii fuerunt *Heliconiadum*, qualescumque *comites*. Ubi regulæ poni possunt, quales Bentleii, Dawesii, Porsoni sollertia excogitavit, in evolvendis iis operam sedulo navent tirones ; dein optimorum Poetarum lectione memoriam simul et iudicium exerceant. Illud tamen in animos semper revocent,—dum aliæ leges apud omnes omnino Scriptores semper obtinent, sicut productiones vocalium ante duplicem, aut duas consonantes, (modo cum mutis non concurrant liquidæ) alias aut servari aut negligi solere, prout Poetæ Epicus aut Dramaticus fuerit,—in Tragœdia aut Comœdia versatus.”

“ His in studiis persequendis, si a nostris laboribus paullo magis adjumenti aut voluptatis, quam antea, ceperint ingenui juvenes, tam sæpe *ad sera lumina* huic operi curam impendisse, tam sæpe ante exortum solis libros evolvisse, nos minime pœnitebit.”

We shall only add that the Latinity of Dr. Maltby is, like his own mind, clear, luminous, and correct ; and shall conclude with recommending this most learned and useful work as indispensably necessary to the Greek student, and fully meriting the title of a **THESAURUS**.

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**ART. II.** *A Voyage to Abyssinia, and Travels into the interior of that Country, executed under the Orders of the British Government, in the Years 1809 and 1810 : in which are included an Account of the Portuguese Settlements on the East Coast of Africa, visited in the course of the Voyage ; a concise Narrative of late Events in Arabia Felix, and some Particulars respecting the Aboriginal African Tribes, extending from Mosambique to the Borders of Egypt ; together with Vocabularies of their respective Languages. Illustrated with a Map of Abyssinia, numerous Engravings, and Charts. By Henry Salt, Esq. F. R. S. pp. 592. 5l. 5s. Rivingtons. 1814.*

**ALTHOUGH** this work throws very little new light either on the ancient history or present state of Abyssinia, yet we were carried through its numerous pages with a considerable degree of

of pleasure, and felt our sympathies occasionally roused to a high pitch in the various fortunes of its adventurous author. Mr. Salt tells his story modestly, with every mark of good faith; and if he does not astonish us with wonders, it is rather because there were no marvels to discover, than that he did not make every exertion to see them. With respect to his predecessors at large, we have no reason to complain that he is deficient in candour, or unwilling upon the whole to allow them their full tribute of applause: and even in his strictures on Bruce, by far the most distinguished of these, he adds more than he takes away of general credibility and of reputation for accurate research. After having sketched the route which our author followed, we will endeavour to bring into a narrow view the matters at issue between him and Mr. Bruce; thus securing to ourselves an opportunity of pointing out to our readers, every thing of consequence by which Mr. Salt has either improved or extended our knowledge, relative to eastern Africa.

In the month of January, 1809, Mr. Salt, having taken charge of some presents, and a letter from his Majesty, addressed to the Emperor of Abyssinia, embarked on board the *Marian*, a merchant vessel, commanded by Captain Thomas Weatherhead; but owing to foul winds, it was not until the 2d of March that they finally cleared the English Channel, in company with a Brazil convoy, under the direction of Captain Smith of the *Brilliant*. On the 10th they reached the island of Madeira, where nothing particular occurred; and in ten days more, they found themselves at anchor in Table Bay, Cape of Good Hope, where Mr. Salt was politely received by the Governor, Lord Caledon, with whose society, as well as with that of the people in general, he seems to have been very much gratified.

“Among all the foreign colonies that I have visited,” says he, “I have found no residence so agreeable as the Cape. The neatness and conveniency of the houses, the salubrity of the climate, and the grandeur of the adjacent mountains, make Cape Town, except during the prevalence of the south-east winds, a most desirable place of abode; and the beautiful rides and well-sheltered country residences in the neighbourhood, render the adjoining country always delightful. To a person possessing a taste for the sublime, the scenery here could not fail to interest; if fond of plants, the infinite variety of species found close even to the town, would afford him endless amusement; and if inclined to the charms of social intercourse, he might at this time have been gratified by mixing in a society perhaps equal to any in England, excepting that which is to be met with in the highly polished circles of our metropolis. The Dutch seem desirous generally to associate with the English, and when they find a person willing to do justice to their character, and to conform to their manners, they seldom fail to

to cherish his acquaintance, and to treat him with distinguished attention. The best informed are perfectly sensible of the great improvements made in the colony by the English, since they have had possession of it, and appear anxious, by placing their sons in our army and navy, and by marrying their daughters to our countrymen, to cement the bond of union that subsists between the two nations. The women of the Cape are most of them pretty, and very pleasing in their manners; and there is a freedom of intercourse allowed them in society, which renders their company peculiarly attractive. In no part of the world are country excursions better conducted than in this colony. The climate, during a great part of the year, from the mildness of its temperature, is particularly adapted to parties of this description, and the lively spirit which characterizes the younger females, is on no occasion shewn to greater advantage. Sometimes eight or ten ladies, and as many gentlemen, start on horseback at the break of day, and ride six or seven miles to one of the country seats before breakfast, and afterwards remount their horses, extend their excursions, dine at the house of another friend, and, without the slightest appearance of fatigue, conclude the evening with a dance." P. 6.

As to the commercial and political affairs of the colony, Mr. Salt purposely abstains from entering into lengthened details. He mentions, in general terms, that great improvement has taken place in almost every department. The revenue arising from foreign trade has since 1802, the date of his former visit, been nearly doubled. Agriculture is daily extending its benefits; land has become more valuable; and considerable alterations for the better have been introduced with respect to the implements of husbandry, and the general mode of cultivating the ground. The English plough is now in use, the Spanish breed of sheep, which proves extremely advantageous, is rapidly increasing; and the manner of dressing the vines which is practiced on the Rhine, has been adopted in some of the vintages with success. It appears, however, that mothers are not quite so successful in rearing their offspring, as there still prevails such an extraordinary fatality among children as to prevent the population from enlarging; and it is a curious fact that, in every class of the inhabitants, the males exceed the females by a considerable proportion; the surplus on the side of the former amounting altogether to 1600.

Early in August our traveller left the Cape, with the intention of exploring the Portuguese settlements on the eastern coast of Africa, and, about the middle of the month, made land (according to the sea phrase) between Capes Corrientes and St. Sebastian. Having set out, in company with the first mate, to look for the harbour and town of Sofala, he fell in with some

of the natives of that inhospitable shore. These savages, totally destitute of all clothing except a thick coat of mud, exhibited very little affection or confidence towards their European visitors. To induce them to come to a conference, the English party waded to their canoes, hoisted a white handkerchief by way of flag, and placed in them a coarse knife and some biscuits, as tokens of friendship; but every attempt to conciliate the wily Africans, proved altogether fruitless, for as long as our countrymen remained in sight, the handkerchief and biscuits were not removed. Going a little farther along shore, they perceived more canoes afloat, all filled with natives, but before they could approach them, the latter jumped out and drew their vessels up the beach. The chief, as he was conceived to be from his wearing a piece of blue cloth over his shoulders, and a covering on his head, walked leisurely from the water side, while the rest were busily employed in removing some bundles out of their canoes.

"Being within hail," says our author, "we hoisted English colours, waved our handkerchiefs, and called out to them, in Portuguese and Arabic, not to be alarmed, as our intentions were friendly: they seemed partly to understand us, but appeared to give little credit to our professions, for, instead of inviting us on shore, they brandished their spears, drew their arrows to the head, tore the branches wildly from the trees, and performed other strange antics, pretty obviously with the view of forbidding our approach; at the same time jabbering most vociferously in their native jargon, and making motions to us to be gone. We repeatedly questioned them where Sofala lay, but could get no intelligible answer. While this was passing, two of these natives boldly walked down to their canoes (which were within close pistol shot) and took out their war caps and other ornaments with which they equipped themselves. They afterwards, to exhibit their skill, shot their arrows sideways along the beach as at a mark, making the whole time a variety of curious gestures. Finding it useless to wait longer, we departed; but first gave them three cheers, and fired a pistol in the air, to see what effect it would have on their courage. This only redoubled their savage merriment: they shouted in return, jumped and skipped about, and ran madly along the beach, expressing a kind of admiration rather than dread of our fire arms." P. 16.

Mr. Salt was politely received at Mosambique by the governor, who had just arrived in the settlement from Portugal; dined with his Excellency on rice, which was remarkably fine, and on bread which was exceedingly white and palatable; when, in compliment to the English, a toast was given to the health of his Majesty the King of Great Britain, and the English of course returned the courtesy by drinking a glass to the Prince Regent

of Portugal. Dinner being over, they retired to another apartment, where tea and coffee was set out in a splendid service of pure gold from Sena, of excellent workmanship, executed by the Banaians resident on the island. The English travellers attended the governor to Mesuril, where there is a country residence for that representative of Portuguese Majesty, and spent with him a few agreeable days. At the house of one of the planters in that neighbourhood, Mr. Salt met with a few native merchants from the interior, called Monjou, who had come down to the coast with a casila of slaves (chiefly females) together with gold and elephants teeth, for sale. Owing to the indistinctness peculiar to savages, it was impossible to make out from their answers, either the distance they had travelled, or the precise direction in which they had moved. Some of them said they had been three months on their way, others two, and a third set admitted that the journey might be accomplished in one month and a half, allowing for days of rest. The Monjou are negroes of the ugliest description, having high cheek bones, thick lips, small knots of woolly hair, like pepper corns, on their heads, and skins of a deep shining black. Their weapons were of the simplest kind, and they were found to supply themselves with fire by rubbing briskly together two pieces of wood, delighted with the baubles which the Portuguese spread out before them, they bartered for a trifle the valuable commodities with which they had crossed the desert.

The Portuguese settlements on the eastern shores of Africa have already sunk almost to the lowest ebb, whether we estimate their consequence to the mother country or the means which they afford of comfort or opulence to the colonists themselves. The exchequer at Lisbon has long ceased to derive any of its supplies from the lands beyond the Cape; while all the magnificence of the "Viceroy of Eastern Africa" is now kept up on 750*l.* a year, the revenue of the Bishop being about ninety pounds, and that of the military officers varying from one shilling a day to two shillings and two pence. This little, moreover, is held on a very precarious tenure, being at the mercy of the Makooa, a tribe of savages on the one hand, and of the British cruisers on the other; whensoever the politics of Europe shall direct our arms against Portugal. These Makooa, it appears, are very formidable and very troublesome neighbours, for not more than three years before Mr. Salt was at Mesuril, they had driven the Portuguese from the field of battle, destroyed their plantations, penetrated even into the fort, where they threw down the image of St. John which was in the chapel, plundered another chapel adjoining the government house, and converted the priest's dress in which he celebrates mass, into a habit of ceremony

ceremony for their chief. Indeed the time cannot be far distant, when the sovereignty of these regions shall fall from the feeble hands of their present masters; and if we retain the isles of France and Bourbon, and find it expedient to encourage an extension of trade at the Cape of Good Hope, it will naturally follow that no foreign power but the British will be recognized from Molembo Bay to Gardafui. Perhaps we have already sufficiently extended the colonial system, and subjected ourselves more than is quite desirable to that minute subdivision of our strength to which the colonial system necessarily leads; on which account it is highly probable that our government will not any farther exercise their authority, than may be found requisite for enforcing the complete abolition of slavery along the coast. At all events, the present rulers of Mosambique and its dependencies, will soon preserve nothing of their conquests in Africa but the painful remembrance of the blood which they cost, and of the cruelties by which they were secured; and while the successors of Cortes and Pizarro are struggling with the rising spirit of liberty, and find themselves compelled to put forth the residue of their exhausted strength, to prop their declining power in the west, the descendants of Francis Baretto are doomed to behold the fabric which he raised at so great an expence in the east, gradually falling to the ground from its own inherent weakness.

On the 16th of September the Marian sailed from Mosambique, and coasting along the African shore, arrived on the 3d of October at Aden. Of the whole course, from the Portuguese settlements to the Red Sea, Mr. Salt has given a nautical journal, which, from its extreme minuteness and accuracy, must be of the greatest use to future navigators. Aden presents to the traveller, amid the desolation which every where meets his eyes, a few fine remains of its ancient splendour. The most remarkable of these is a line of cisterns, situated on the north-west side of the town, three of which are full eighty feet square, and proportionally deep, all excavated out of the solid rock, and lined with a thick coat of fine stucco, which externally bears a strong resemblance to marble. A broad aqueduct may still be traced, by which the water was formerly brought to these cisterns from the mountains above. Higher up there is another still entire, which at the time our author visited Aden, was partly filled with water. In front of it extends a handsome terrace, formerly covered with stucco, and behind it arise some immense masses of granite, which being in some parts perpendicular, and in others overhanging the cistern, form during the hot weather a most delightful retreat. On the steep and craggy mountains which protect the city on the north and west, are some ancient towers

towers erected by the Turks; the appearance of which having inspired Mr. Salt with a great desire to examine into their architecture, and to search for inscriptions, he set out on this arduous enterprise the second day after he landed.

"The road," says he, "is extremely steep, and much incommoded by loose stones and pieces of rock, so that it was not long before our resolution was severely put to the test. After surmounting the first difficulty, we came to a deep gully, in which we found two or three small pits of rain water, some trees, and a few straggling goats. After traversing this gully, another steep presented itself, which took us up to a ragged plain about a mile in extent, which, though at this time parched up, affords, after the rains, sustenance enough for a considerable number of goats. Beyond this the ascent became so abrupt that our guide assured us it was inaccessible; notwithstanding which we persisted in advancing, and at last, after great exertion, reached one of the highest ridges of the mountain, which was so extremely narrow along the top as to present on both sides the terrific aspect of a perpendicular abyss. At this point my companions sat down on the rock, and could not be induced to proceed further, though we were then at no great distance from the principal tower, to visit which formed the chief object of the excursion. My desire, if possible, to find an inscription, which I had reason to think might exist there, determined me to persist in the attempt, and after reaching the tower with great difficulty and considerable hazard, I succeeded in getting into it by clinging with my arms round an angle of the wall, where, supported only by one loose stone, I had to pass over a perpendicular precipice of many hundred feet, down which it was impossible to look without shuddering. I had now done my utmost to attain my object, but found nothing to reward me for the danger I had encountered, except the view which was indeed magnificent; and at this moment, I confess, I could not help looking round with a feeling of gratification, somewhat bordering on pride, at beholding my less adventurous companions and the inhabitants of the town, gazing up from beneath, together with the lofty hills and the broad expanse of ocean extended at my feet. The pleasure, however, which this prospect afforded, was greatly allayed by the necessity there existed of retracing my steps, which required a much stronger effort than the entrance itself had done, for after a few moments reflection, I found a feeling of hesitation coming over my mind, which would, I am convinced, in a few minutes have actually disabled me from the undertaking, and nothing but the absolute necessity of making the attempt, enabled me, with a sort of desperation, to surmount the difficulties of the situation into which I had unwarily drawn myself." P. 108.

While the ship was watering and taking in provisions at Aden, Mr. Salt and his party made an excursion into the interior, to  
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pay a visit to the Sultaun of Lahadj, who gave them a hearty welcome, and the best entertainment he could afford. They were met by a deputation, headed by the Dola of the place, who conducted them forwards, surrounded by his ascari or soldiers; whose part it was to express their joy by shouting, dancing, and singing before them, tossing their matchlocks in the air, and performing all manner of mountebank tricks.

About the middle of October the Marian anchored in Mocha roads, and our traveller began to make arrangements for penetrating into Abyssinia. On his former visit to that country, under the auspices of Lord Valencia, Mr. Pearce, the supercargo of this ship, had been left at Chelicut, with the Ras Wellut Selassé, governor of Tigré; and it now occurred to Mr. Salt, that he ought to make enquiry as to the state of things in that country, by sending a messenger direct to Chelicut. This he accordingly did: but November having passed away, and no answer received from Mr. Pearce, it was deemed expedient to cross over to the Abyssinian shore, that every opportunity might be seized for opening a correspondence with the interior. On their arriving at Ayth, Mr. Salt had to sustain the disappointment of learning that the master of the boat he had dispatched from Mocha was dead, that his messenger, Hadju Alli, had been stopped by the Nayib of Massowa (commonly written Massuah) and moreover that the said Nayib had sent down two armed dows to attempt the seizure of the boat, and to prevent the English from entering Abyssinia by the way of Amphila. Matters now wore a very unpromising aspect, when a young chief, named Alli Manda, who had become attached to our countrymen, volunteered to carry a letter to Mr. Pearce at Tigré; and setting out on the 14th of December, with only one attendant, he appeared again on the coast, "having travelled like a dromedary night and day," and delivered to Mr. Salt a packet from Chelicut on the 6th of January. Mr. Pearce dissuaded our author from attempting to reach Abyssinia by the way of Buré, as being quite "impracticable for goods or persons to travel safe." "What little baggage I brought up by that road," says Mr. P. in his letter, was almost totally destroyed, and ~~it~~ was by the help of God that I came safe off with my life." He recommends Massowa as the more eligible route, and promises, by the blessing of God, to meet Mr. Salt at that port before the expiration of three weeks, and to bring camels and mules as far as the Salt plain, (the 'Ras's power not extending nearer the coast,) for the purpose of conveying the royal gifts to its destination.

Sailing round to Massowa, a curious phenomenon attracted the attention of the ship company. At one o'clock the sea; far

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a considerable extent round the vessel, became so exceedingly red, that it occasioned, on its being first observed, no small degree of alarm; but on sounding, their fears immediately subsided, as they found upwards of twenty fathoms. Eager to ascertain the cause of this singular appearance, a bucket was let down into the water, in which was brought up a quantity of the substance floating on the surface. It proved to be a jelly-like consistence, composed of a numberless multitude of very small *MOLLUSCA*, each of which having a small red spot in the centre, formed when in a mass, a bright body of colour, nearly allied to that produced by a mixture of red lead with water. The sailors were as forcibly struck with the extraordinary effect it exhibited, that they cried out, "this is indeed the *Red Sea*; if we were to tell this in England we should not be believed."

"On Saturday the 10th (Feb.)," says Mr. Salt, "we reached the harbour of Massowa: and, as we entered it, saluted the fort with three guns. Immediately after, on coming to an anchor, we had the gratification of seeing our supercargo, and a party of Abyssinians, standing on the pier. We immediately sent off a boat to the shore, and soon had the pleasure of welcoming the former, Mr. Pearce, and a young Abyssinian chief, named Ayto Debib, on board. The latter had been sent down by the Ras to attend me, and provide whatever I might want, during my proposed journey and residence in Abyssinia. I found Mr. Pearce, to my great surprise, very little altered in complexion, and he spoke English almost as perfectly as when I left him. It was truly gratifying to witness his raptures at finding himself once more among Englishmen, and in an English ship. In the fullness of his heart, he seemed to consider every countryman on board as a brother. And it was interesting to observe with what respect and astonishment our sailors looked up to him in return, from the various accounts they had previously heard of the intrepidity with which he had surmounted so many dangers." P.198.

At Massowa one of Mr. Pearce's servant's died; and as there was something very peculiar in the mode of treating him during the paroxysm of his disease, as well as a great degree of solemnity in performing the last offices, we interrupt for a moment, the course of the narrative, to introduce this episode. Upon hearing of the young man's illness, Mr. Salt requested Mr. Pearce, and Mr. Smith, the surgeon of the *Marian*, to repair instantly to Arkeeko, where he had been left to take charge of the mules, to give him all possible assistance if alive, and if dead, to see him decently interred. On their arrival they found him still alive, though suffering under the violent delirium which commonly attends the last stage of a putrid fever. He was chained; with his face downwards on a couch, so that his body

body was bruised, and his skull almost fractured by the vain efforts he had made to release himself. Soon after Mr. Smith's arrival, he became, to a certain degree, sensible, asked for Mr. Coffin's gun, with which he had seen him shoot a few days before, and on seeing it became more composed, eat a few dates which were offered him, and begged his surrounding companions to take care of the money tied up in his cloth, and give it to his master, telling them to "divide his clothes among themselves." He then called for something to drink, but before it could be brought he expired in a violent convulsion. After death, the body was carefully washed, sewed up in a new sheet, which Mr. Salt had sent for the purpose, and was decently buried in a spot of ground, allotted to the Abyssinians for that particular use; and so far did the Mahomedans lay aside their bigotry on this occasion, that two of the Nayib's own people were appointed to superintend the funeral. To secure the grave from hyænas, a trough was first dug, resembling a common grave, on one side of which a kind of shelving vault was excavated, which, as soon as the body was deposited in it, was closed in with thorny branches and heavy stones, and afterwards the first opening was filled with solid earth. The Abyssinian priest who came down with the party, recited the psalms and prayers appointed for such occasions, which are much the same as those used by our own church, and Mr. Smith particularly observed the ceremony of throwing a portion of earth into the grave, when they came to the last solemn farewell, "we here commit his body to the ground, earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust, in hopes of a joyful resurrection," which seemed to make a strong impression on all who were present.

"I may be permitted to observe in this place," says Mr. Salt, "that the attention paid to this poor boy, gained us not only the good-will of the Christians from Abyssinia, but the respect of all the higher classes of Mahomedans. The latter are, in general, perhaps more observant of religious rites than Europeans, and any apparent want of attention shewn to such ceremonies, injures us materially in their good opinion."

At length, on the 20th of the month, the long-expected cafila from Abyssinia arrived, under the care of Hadjee Hamoad, who brought with him thirty-five baggage mules, and about sixty bearers. Now began the tribulations of our author in good earnest! To feed and load the mules was indeed no easy matter, but to satisfy the two-legged beasts of burden, was next to impossible.

"One complained that his load was not heavy enough, another wanted his changed merely because his neighbour's burthen weighed  
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half a pound lighter; some were sick, others lame; one discontented with the form of his package, it was sharp cornered, and hurt his own or his mule's back; others grumbled that theirs were too loosely packed; and in this manner they continued to torment us from earliest dawn till the final close of day. During this period we had to endure a thousand impertinencies, besides, from the Kaimakan's slaves and soldiers, each of whom, in his turn, gave us all possible trouble, in hopes at last of being bribed; and to complete our distress, we suffered all this on a sandy beach, under a broiling sun. At length, what with coaxing, menacing, and bribing, every thing, except a few of the heavy packages, which were to be carried in a boat to Arkeeko, was satisfactorily adjusted, and I formally delivered the whole over in charge to Ayto Debib and Hadju Hamassod, the Ras's agents." P. 215.

It was from Arkeeko that the cavalcade finally directed their faces towards the interior of Abyssinia; a motley group, and, in general, more disposed to plunder than protect. On the evening of the first day, they encamped on a rising ground, at the bottom of the first line of hills, called Shillakee.

"There was something," says Mr. Salt, "very exhilarating in the scene we now experienced; the night was clear, and our party soon divided into a variety of groups, each collected round its separate fire; and at eight o'clock, when the short evening prayer of the Christians, "Jehu-Maharnaxoo," (Jesus forgive us), chaunted in very harmonious notes, stole along the camp, an awful sensation of independence and inexpressible delight thrilled through my whole frame, only to be conceived by those who, like myself, had been just emancipated from the irksome confinement of a ship, and a society equally detestable with that at Arkeeko." P. 222.

Having ascended the rugged heights of Taranta, where their toils were amply compensated by the magnificence of the view, our travellers, on the third of March, reached Dixan, the hospitable residence of Baharnegash Yasous. This venerable old man received the whole party with the utmost kindness and affection; and the plentiful stock of maize and other good cheer, which he had provided for their entertainment, failed not to raise their spirits to a suitable pitch of hilarity. Mr. Salt owed to the worthy Baharnegash gratitude for his active protection and assistance in his former journey; it was not surprising, therefore, that, on this occasion, he should feel himself in the house of a friend, enjoying the society of one of the very few individuals, in those wild regions, who gave freely, without expecting a seven-fold return.

"At the break of day, the well-known sound of the Baharnegash's voice, calling his family to prayers, excited," says he, "my attention,

attention, when I immediately arose and joined his party. At this moment, the interval of four years, which had elapsed since my former visit, appeared like a mere dream. The prayers which he recited consisted of the same words, were pronounced in the same tone, and were offered up with the same fervour of devotion, which I had before so often listened to with delight: and when the ceremony was concluded, the good old man delivered out his orders for the day, with a patriarchal simplicity and dignity of manner, that was really affecting to contemplate. With this impression still warm on my mind, we ascended one of the hills in the neighbourhood, and from the top of it beheld a scene that, as one of my companions remarked, was alone a sufficient recompence for the trouble of passing Taranta. A thousand different shaped hills were presented to the view, which bore the appearance of having been dropped on an irregular plain; and the different shades and depths which the varied aspect of these hills presented, as the sun emerged from the horizon, rendered the scene truly magnificent." P. 290.

Before we leave Dixan, we are induced to mention a striking fact in the natural history of Abyssinia, which has been recorded by one of the earliest visitors to that country, and which is fully confirmed by Mr. Salt. We allude to the remarkable change of climate which takes place immediately on crossing Taranta. "On descending the south side of that mountain-mass, the change of climate, he remarks, began to be very apparent; the heat of the sun became intense and scorching, compared with what we had experienced on the other side of Taranta; the vegetation looked parched; the brooks were dry, and the cattle had all been driven across the mountain in search of pasture." The early authority to which we have just made an allusion, is that of Nonnosus\*, ambassador from the Emperor Justinian to the ruling sovereign of the Axomites, who remarked, that from Ave to the coast, he experienced summer and harvest time, while

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\* "De cæli quoque constitutione dicere oportet, quæ est ab Ave ad Auxumin, contra enim æstas illic et hiems accidit. Nam, Sole Cancrum, Leonem, et Virginem obcunte, ad Aven usque ubi et nobis æstus est, summaque cæli siccitas, et ab Ave Auxumin versus et reliquam Ethiopiam hiems est vehemens, non integra quidem illa die, sed quæ, a meridie semper et ubique incipiens, coactis nubibus aërem obducit, oram illam inundat. Quo etiam tempore Nilus late Egyptum pervadens, maris in modum, terram irrigat. Cum autem Sol Capricornum, Aquarium et Pisces perambulat, æstus, vice versa, Adultis in Aven usque imbribus regionem inundat; in iis vero qui ab Ave Auxumin caterunque Ethiopiam versus jacent, æstas est, et maturos jam fructus terræ præbet. Vide Nonnosus in Photii Bibliothecâ, as quoted by Mr. Salt.

the winter prevailed from Ave to Axum, and *vice versa*. We are aware that this fact is stated by Bruce, who at the same time speaks of Taranta in the most lofty terms.

"Far above all (the other hills) towers that stupendous mass, the mountain of Taranta, I suppose one of the highest in the world, the point of which is buried in the clouds, and very rarely seen but in the clearest weather; at all other times abandoned to perpetual mist and darkness, the seat of lightning, thunder, and of storm. On its east side, or towards the Red Sea, the rainy season is from October to April; and on the western or Abyssinian side, cloudy, rainy, and cold weather prevails from May to October."

On their way to Mugga, Mr. Salt and Mr. Pearce went to pay a visit to Ozoro Asquall, a lady of birth, who had been compelled to marry one of the chiefs of Temben, with whom she seldom lived; choosing rather to reside on her own estates, which, it may be presumed, ladies of rank always retain after marriage, together with their maiden names. Her husband unfortunately happened to be a visitor at the time our travellers made their appearance, notwithstanding which, she received them with the utmost attention, and although it was Lent, she made haste to entertain them with a supper. Both the lady and her spouse were at table, the former of whom, observes our author,

"Appeared to be of a remarkably gay and cheerful disposition, and not particularly reserved in her manners; frequently interchanging cups with her friend Mr. Pearce across the table, and evidently expressing regret at the restraint imposed by her husband's presence: the whole scene, indeed, though not uncommon in other countries, afforded a striking instance of the superiority which ladies of rank in Abyssinia are accustomed to assume over their husbands. A trifling circumstance that took place in the course of our conviviality, contributed much to my amusement. I had given a ring to our hostess, and another to her spouse, but the lady, not being satisfied with the one she possessed, managed, by artful endearments, to coax her husband out of the other, telling him, among other reasons to induce him to comply, that 'if he would not part with it, it would be plain he loved the ring better than herself.'" P. 252.

Nothing of the least consequence or curiosity occurred till Mr. Salt reached Chelicut, the residence of the Ras Weliid Selassé, and the capital of Tigré. The party, by appointment, waited in the neighbourhood of the town, until a deputation from the Ras should invite them to proceed; and in a short time they saw two horsemen galloping up the plain with a large troop of armed attendants.

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"On their approach," says Mr. S. "we descended into the valley, and were met by the two chiefs, Shalaka Selassé and Ayto Shiho, who, in honour of the mission, dismounted from their horses, and uncovered themselves to the waist, as they came up to pay their compliments. The number of attendants increased every moment as we advanced to Chelicut, and before we reached the gateway of the Ras's mansion, we found some difficulty in making our way. At length, with a great bustle and a confused clamour, which, on such occasions, is reckoned honourable to the guests, we were ushered into the presence of the Ras. All the chiefs who were present, stood up uncovered on our entrance. The old man himself, who was seated on his couch, rose up with eagerness to receive me, like a man suddenly meeting with a long lost friend, and when I made my salutation, joy seemed to glisten in his eyes, while he welcomed me with an honest warmth and cordiality, that nothing but genuine and undisguised feeling could inspire." P. 261.

Mr. Salt had not been long at Chelicut, when all his fears were confirmed that it was totally impracticable to advance to Gondar, on account of the disturbed state of the interior provinces, and the enmity subsisting between the Ras Wellid Selassé and a chief named Guxo, who, at that time, held the command of some of the most important districts eastward of the river Tacazze. The Ras himself assured him that it was impossible to perform such a journey until after the rainy season, in October, had subsided, and made no secret of his want of power to protect a traveller against his furious enemy Guxo. When Mr. S. expressed his inclination to brave all hazards rather than stop short of the principal object of his mission, the Ras informed him that he would not permit the attempt; and the conference ended in a reluctant determination on the part of our author to deliver up to the Ras the letter and presents from his Majesty, designed for the Emperor of Abyssinia. Among other things there were a painted glass window, a picture of the Virgin Mary, and a handsome marble table, all of which were fortunately preserved free from accident; and being immediately sent to the church at Chelicut, the latter was converted into a communion table, the picture placed above it by way of an altar-piece, and the window was disposed of to the best advantage in an inside situation. It is scarcely possible, observes Mr. Salt, to convey an adequate idea of the admiration which the Ras and his principal chiefs expressed on beholding these splendid presents. The former would often sit for minutes, absorbed in silent reflection, and then break out with the exclamation "etzub, etzub," wonderful! wonderful! like a man bewildered with the fresh ideas that were rushing upon his mind, from having witnessed circumstances to which he could have given no previous credit. After a short time, an appropriate prayer

prayer was recited by the high priest, in which the English name was frequently introduced, and, on leaving the church, an order was given by the Ras, that a prayer should be offered up weekly, for the health of his Majesty, the King of Great Britain.

During Mr. Salt's stay in Abyssinia he made a tour, in company with Mr. Pearce, Mr. Coffin, and two others, to the river Tacazze, one of the principal tributaries of the Nile. On his return, he accompanied the Ras to Antalo, where he finally parted with that petty sovereign, early in May, and began his journey towards the Red Sea, to embark for England, leaving behind him once more Mr. Pearce, and also Mr. Coffin, who had become court favourites and ministers. Taking Chelicut in his way, our author assisted at the baptism of a boy, a servant of Mr. Pearce, and as the ceremony observed is in many respects similar to that which was used in this country a few centuries ago, we make no apology for transcribing the account which is here given of it.

" On reaching the church, we found the head priest, Abou Barea, with about twenty priests of an inferior order, waiting in a small area about thirty yards from the spot, some of whom were engaged in chaunting psalms, while the rest were busy in preparing the water and making other necessary arrangements for the occasion. At sun rise, every thing being ready, an attendant was sent round from the high priest to point out to each person concerned, the part which he was to take in the ceremony. The officiating priest was habited in white flowing robes, with a tiara, or silver mounted cap on his head, and he carried a censer with burning incense in his right hand; a second, of equal rank, was dressed in similar robes, supporting a large golden cross, while a third held in his hand a small phial containing a quantity of meiron (chrism) or consecrated oil, which is furnished to the church of Abyssinia by the Patriarch of Alexandria. The attendant priests stood round in the form of a semicircle, the boy being placed in the centre, and our party ranged in front. After a few minutes interval, employed in singing psalms, some of the priests took the boy and washed him all over very carefully in a large bason of water. While this was passing, a smaller font called me-te-mak, (which is always kept outside of the churches, owing to an unbaptized person not being permitted to enter the church) was placed in the middle of the area, filled with water, which the priest consecrated by prayer, waving the incense repeatedly over it, and dropping into it a portion of the meiron in the shape of a cross. The boy was then brought back, dripping from head to foot, and again placed naked and upright in the centre, and was required to 'renounce the devil and all his works,' which was performed by his repeating a given *formula* four separate times, turning each time towards a different



different point of the compass. The Godfather was then demanded, and on my being presented, I named the child *George*, in honour of his present Majesty, when I was requested to say the belief and the Lord's Prayer, and to make much the same promises as those required by our own church. The head priest afterwards laid hold of the boy, dipping his own hand into the water, and crossing him over the forehead, pronouncing at the same moment, 'George, I baptize thee in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.' The whole company then knelt down and joined in reciting the Lord's Prayer. Here, as I was given to understand, the ordinary ceremony of baptism concludes; but as the boy had been a Musulmaun, he was, in addition, crossed with the consecrated oil over every joint and limb, or altogether, thirty-six times in different parts of his body. After this he was wrapped in a clean white linen cloth (the chrisom of our church) and placed for a moment in my arms, the priests telling me that: 'I must henceforth consider him verily as my son.' The boy afterwards, according to the custom of most of the Eastern churches, was admitted to partake of the Holy Communion. The Abyssinians administer the Holy Sacrament of the Communion in both kinds, with leavened bread always prepared fresh for the occasion, and with wine made of a red grape, common in some parts of the country; while in others they are obliged to use, as a substitute, a liquor made of dried grapes squeezed in water. After the consecration of the bread and wine, just before they are delivered to the people, a bell is rung, and all those who are present bow themselves to the earth; but this does not appear to be done from any idea of the real Presence, as no such belief was entertained by any of those with whom I conversed on the subject. Both the ministrants and communicants always abstain very strictly from eating and drinking during the whole of the morning previously to their partaking of the holy rite, for the easier accomplishment of which it is generally celebrated at an early hour." P. 387.

From Adowa Mr. Salt went to Axum, to revisit the ruins of that once magnificent city, and to inspect anew its celebrated inscriptions. On the 4th of June he embarked at Massowa, and in five days reached Mocha; on the 27th the Marian sailed from the latter port, the captain intending to make a windward passage against the south-west monsoon to the Cape of Good Hope, where it had been previously arranged the vessel should touch on her way back to England. After a good deal of coarse weather at sea, they were obliged to relinquish this intention, and run for Bombay, which they reached on the 16th of July. Having retitted, they again set sail, arrived on the 4th of December at the Cape of Good Hope, and on the 11th day of January, 1811, Mr. Salt stepped ashore at the port of Penzance, in Cornwall.

From the sketch we have given, rapid as it is, it must have appeared

appeared that this volume contains very little novelty, either as to fact, character, or description. Nor can we say that it is particularly well written; there is little elegance in the style, and no great choice of words or turns of expression. There is, however, nothing affected or tawdry, and Mr. Salt's readers will never feel their confidence in his veracity give way, by any suspicion that he allows the creations of fancy to interfere with the *memoranda* of his journal, or the love of fame, to violate the sanctity of historical truth. This observation reminds us of the second part of our undertaking, namely, to bring under the view of our readers the matters at issue between him and Mr. Bruce.

It is well known that the celebrated and intrepid character whom we have just named, was of a haughty and overbearing disposition, impatient of interrogation, and too proud to remove even the reasonable doubts of the most candid and intelligent. It is equally well known that, upon his return to Europe, he was beset with sceptics on all hands, who seemed unwilling to believe his statements, or to give credit to his testimony, and that he, scorning alike to explain or dispute, persisted in telling what he saw, and in despising their strictures. Hence, as might have been expected, the number of unbelievers rapidly increased, who avenging themselves for his obstinacy and contempt, spared no pains to convince the public that Bruce was an impostor, and his book a romance. The researches of more impartial times, however, and the reports of every subsequent traveller, have fully confirmed the least credible parts of his narrative; and with the exception of two or three subordinate points, no man who has read the works of Browne, Clarke, and Salt, will have any difficulty in assenting to the faithfulness and accuracy of Bruce's representations.

The author now before us presents unquestionably the best authority hitherto in possession of the public, by which we can ascertain the veracity of Bruce; and as his book was drawn up from materials of the most authentic description, exposed to no inaccuracy from length of time, the blunders of an assistant, or the corrections of an editor, we would certainly, in relation to matters of which both profess to have been eye witnesses, give the preference to Mr. Salt. It is not, however, with regard to such things that the latter endeavours to invalidate the statements of his predecessor. On the contrary, he hunts after inaccuracies, the detection of which must have been made in his study rather than amid the wilds of Tigré, with his pen in his hand, and not his staff. From a comparison of dates, for example, he has found out, with Dr. Murray's aid, that Bruce could not have performed the voyage from Loheia, in the Red Sea,

Sea, to Babelmandel; and by calculating the monsoons, he labours to contradict the laboured inference of the same traveller that the fleets of Solomon were three years absent from Elath in going to and coming from Ophir, that is, the modern Sofala. As to the first, there is no doubt a degree of confusion introduced into the several dates, which has not been satisfactorily explained, but we cannot from that circumstance alone yield to the conclusion, that Bruce never was at Babelmandel; and with respect to the specie-ships, whenever Mr. Salt shall succeed in substituting a better hypothesis than that which he has attempted to explode, we will less reluctantly applaud his zeal in thus endeavouring to stop the progress of error.

One of the principal inaccuracies, or studied falsehoods, which the industry of criticism has brought to light in the works of Bruce, is the gross anachronism into which he suffered himself to be betrayed, in stating the death of Luigi Bulugani, his draughtsman, secretary, and fellow-traveller. In the fourth volume of his book he records the decease of this young man as having taken place at Gondar, in March, 1770, and adds that "a considerable disturbance was apprehended upon burying him in a church-yard. Abba Saluma used his utmost endeavours to raise the populace, and take him out of his grave; but some exertions of the Ras quieted both Abba Saluma and the tumults." It appears, however, from the journal kept by Bulugani, to which Dr. Murray, the editor of Bruce's Travels had access, and from which he has published pretty copious extracts, that he was alive in February, 1771. In fact, the journal in his hand-writing reaches down to that date, and it is chiefly from the circumstance that it proceeds no farther, that Dr. Murray concludes he must have died in March, 1771. But if he did not die until March, 1771, Abba Saluma could not have raised any disturbance about his burial, for the said Abba Saluma was executed for high-treason, on the 24th December, 1770; that is three months before Bulugani's death. There is, therefore, in this statement, a manifest and irreconcilable inconsistency; and as Bruce finally left Gondar on the 26th of December, 1771, the difficulty cannot be removed by the supposition that the Abba's death had been antedated a twelvemonth by mistake, for upon this view of the case, he must have been executed just two days before the departure of the traveller on his return home. We have, in short, only a choice of difficulties; and were it possible to assign a motive sufficiently strong for an intentional misrepresentation of facts, we should in this instance, more readily than in any other, give way to the suspicion that truth had been sacrificed to vain-glory. But the only motive which has been alleged, in order to account for this mis-statement, namely, the ambition

ambition of being the only European who had reached the sources of the Nile, does not appear to us at all satisfactory, for as Bulugani did really die in Abyssinia, and could not therefore contradict any story which Bruce might have chosen to fabricate in England, we can see no reason for recording his death a whole year before it actually took place, and seven months before they left Gondar, to go in search of the celebrated fountains, whence that river is supposed to take its rise. It would have answered Bruce's purpose equally well to have dispatched Bulugani, any time before October, or even to have left him sick at any of the villages between Gondar and Geesch; we, therefore, beg leave to ask Mr. Salt and the Encyclopædists\*, what conceivable reason can be assigned for his wishing to get rid of his draughtsman so soon, and moreover, as Bulugani did in all probability die at Gondar; in *March*, we would ask them whether it is not still within the bounds of candour to conclude that the whole inaccuracy arose from confusion of dates, and without any wish to mislead. We have, indeed, admitted that the matter, *prima facie*, looks ill, and, as we have no intention to set ourselves up as eulogists of Bruce, we leave the question to the ingenuity of those who delight in special pleading.

When speaking of the mountains of Tigré, Bruce employs language which, not being strictly adapted to precise and literal description, has been made the ground of another impeachment upon his veracity.

"The province of Tigré," says he, "is all mountainous; and it has been said, without any foundation in truth, that the Pyrenees, Alps, and Appenines, are but mole-hills compared to them. I believe, however, that one of the Pyrenees, above St. John Pied de Port, is much higher than Lamalmon; and that the mountains of St. Bernard, one of the Alps, is full as high as Taranta, or rather higher. It is not the extreme height of the mountains in Abyssinia that occasions surprise, but the number of them, and the extraordinary forms they present to the eye. Some of them are flat, thin, and square, in shape of a hearth-stone, or slab, that scarce would seem to have been sufficient to resist the winds. Some are like pyramids, others like obelisks or prisms, and some, the most extraordinary of all the rest, pyramids pitched upon their points, with their base uppermost, which if it was possible, as it was not, they could have been so formed in the beginning, would be strong objections to our received ideas of gravity."

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\* See the Article Abyssinia, in the Supplement to the Ency. Brit. where this subject is discussed with extreme weakness and inaccuracy.

In reading this passage, every one makes the suitable allowance for the imperfection of verbal signs, and for that play of imagination which is excited by phenomena so new and strange ; on which account we were not prepared to expect the minute criticism into which Mr. Salt has thought it expedient to enter, relative to this graphical sketch of the Tigré mountains. "The reader," says he, with some solemnity, "will readily believe me when I state that I did not see a single one which answered to the latter part of this description." We do give him credit for this negation, as he seems on more occasions than the present, to like such a basis for his argument ; but let us analyse one of his own bursts of enthusiasm, on the same subject, and we shall, perhaps, discover that in poetical licence, he falls little short of Bruce. Having ascended a mountain in the neighbourhood of Dixan, he gained a prospect, in which a "thousand different shaped hills were presented to the view, *which bore the appearance of having been dropped on an irregular plain.*" Now, if among these "thousand hills of different shapes," which seemed to have been dropped from the clouds, on an irregular plain, Mr. Salt did not find one with its sides projecting over its base, which is all that Bruce could mean by his inverted pyramid, it must be owing, we suspect, to the cursory manner in which he examined them.—We would not enter upon such trifles in reviewing a work so respectable as that now before us, did not the author seize with the utmost avidity, every occasion which presents itself of invalidating the authority of by far the most distinguished of his predecessors. We recollect at this moment, another striking example of the envious or paltry disposition to which we allude. In crossing Taranta, Bruce discovered some excavations in the mountain, which, he concluded, could be nothing else than the caves in which the Troglodytes of old used to take up their residence, and, as it was a matter of necessity, there not being earth enough to hold fast a tent-pin for their encampment, he describes himself as passing a night in one of them ; which, he adds, we found a quiet and not inconvenient place of repose. Mr. Salt, however, not having seen any of these excavations, ventures to give it as his opinion, that

"They never existed but in the imagination of the author, for it does not appear to me," says he, "any argument in favour of the existence of caves on one side of the mountain, that the houses at Dixan and Kalai, on the other side, are formed in a manner somewhat to resemble caves ; *but situation and distance seldom stand in the way of these minor candidates for public fame.*"

Minor candidates ! So Bruce in Mr. Salt's eyes, is a mere dwarf ! Well, henceforth, let it be an adage, that every man is the best judge of his merits and exploits.

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Our author should have been aware that the mere circumstance of his not seeing a thing, is not conclusive evidence that the thing was not to be seen; or that it never existed. His own experience should have taught him this maxim of judging and rule of candour; for, it is well-known, that, upon his return to England, after his first trip into Abyssinia, he not only called in question the *Live-feast* of the people of that country, as described by Bruce, but even the practice of eating raw flesh, on any occasion whatsoever. In his second journey, however, it was proved to him, on the indubitable testimony of Mr. Pearce, who had at that time been several years in Abyssinia, that *live flesh* is actually made use of, and that the animal out of which it is cut, is sometimes drove a considerable distance after the incision is made. When Mr. Pearce was in company with some Lasta soldiers, two of them who had fasted long, made preparations for cutting out the *Shulada*, the name they gave to the pieces of flesh, weighing about a pound, which they sliced out of the buttock of an unfortunate cow, that had fallen into their hands. After the operation was performed, the skin was laid over the wound, and the whole plastered up with cow-dung; nor was the animal finally put to death till the end of the journey. It is deserving of notice, too, that whenever Mr. Salt, on his second visit, mentioned the term, *Shulada*, he was immediately understood; and yet he is said to have made during his former tour, particular enquiries respecting this practice, the result of which enquiries, was, that "he doubted the fact altogether." So much for hasty inference and cursory investigation.

As it was on this subject, that objections to Bruce's veracity were first started in England and France, we shall bring forward two authorities which, in our opinion, go a great way to confirm his statements in their fullest extent. When Dr. Clarke was at Cairo, he met an Abyssinian Dean, with whom he entered into conversation about Bruce's Travels, and to whom he put some questions relative to the eating of raw flesh. The Dean not only admitted

"That the soldiers on marauding excursions, sometimes maim cows, taking slices from their bodies, as a favourite article of food, without putting them to death at the time; but, also, that, during the banquets of the Abyssinians, raw meat, esteemed delicious throughout the country, is frequently taken from an ox or a cow, in such a state, that the fibres are still in motion; and the attendants continue to cut slices until the animal dies." Clarke's Travels, Vol. iii.

The next authority is Mr. Salt himself; whose description of a Brind Feast, we transcribe from the Article on Abyssinia already alluded to.

"The sides of the table are covered with piles of thin cakes, made of *teff*, reaching to the height of a foot, and two feet and a half in diameter; in the middle a row of curry-dishes is placed. Near the Ras there are a number of fine wheaten rolls, for his own use and that of his favourites. The signal to begin the feast is given by his breaking and distributing them; immediately female slaves, having washed their hands, dip the *teff* into the curry, and serve it to all the guests, except the Ras, who receives his portion from a male slave, and afterwards distributes it among the chiefs, who acknowledge the favour by standing up and bowing. Balls, composed of *teff*, greens, and curds, are next handed about. In the meantime, the cattle are killing in the adjoining yard.—While the fibres are yet quivering, the flesh is cut into large pieces. These are of no regular size; but generally a piece of bone is attached to the flesh, by which it is brought into the dining-room. The chiefs, with their crooked knives, cut off large steaks, which they divide into long stripes, half an inch in diameter. If they are not pleased with the piece they have got, they hand it to a dependant, who in his turn, if not pleased, hands it to another, till it comes to one whose taste or rank does not induce or authorise him to reject it. As soon as the first party is satisfied, they rise from the table, and give way to others. The last cakes are scrambled for with a great noise. It appears from Mr. Salt, that though the chiefs sometimes feed themselves at these feasts, yet more frequently, as Mr. Bruce relates, they feed one another \*."

This is given as Mr. Salt's account of a Brind Feast, taken we know not from which of his works, but corresponding in every essential point with that published by Bruce, and attacked by all the wits of Europe. In fact, it cannot be a secret to those who read antient history with attention, that the eating of raw meat, was very generally indulged in; and we may remark that, wherever the palate was consulted, the flesh would be used as warm as possible from the animal's body, the fibres becoming tough and less savoury, immediately after death. It is very obvious from the details given by Bruce, that it was to answer the purposes of luxury that the ox was stripped of its flesh before any mortal wound was inflicted upon it; and there can be little doubt, that it was the temptation thus presented to the luxurious "to eat the flesh with the life thereof, which is the blood thereof," which multiplied the prohibitions against the practice, in the laws of Moses.—Being a direct violation of a divine statute, it is not surprising that Dofter (doctor) Esther, the learned Abyssinian, with whom Mr. Salt conversed, should have been shocked at the imputation, and expressed his belief

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\* See Article Abyssinia, Supplement Ency. Britannica.

that it was unfounded ; but, be it observed, that Dofter had not been at Gondar for many years, and that when in his youth he did reside in the capital, it was as a retired student, employed in the pursuits of science.

This respectable scholar, who had a perfect recollection of Bruce, and repeatedly declared to Mr. Salt, that he had left " a great name in Abyssinia," confirmed almost every thing which the traveller relates, except his appointment as governor of Ras-el-fil ; and on this point authorities are at variance. An American merchant, whom Mr. Browne (the author of *Travels in Africa*) met at Suez, in 1793, and who had been at Gondar while Bruce was there, as well as a Bergoo merchant, whom he saw at Derfoor, and who had been in Bruce's party, from Gondar to Senaar, informed Mr. Browne that Bruce had been governor of Ras-el-fil. Now, when we reflect, that Mr. Salt, after having made particular enquiry as to the Brind Feast, left Abyssinia the first time, with the conviction that there never was any such practice among them, we shall have less confidence in his hear-say evidence, than would be necessary to overthrow such proofs, as we are actually in possession of, in support of Bruce's statement. We have not the smallest intention to throw any suspicion upon the veracity of our author ; but in a case where the testimony of witnesses, who had equally good means of information, and who in all other respects, appear at least equally competent, give different accounts of the same matter, we are certainly justified in suspending our decision. Indeed we might warrantably proceed farther than this, and assert that, as to the government of Ras-el-fil, the evidence of the two merchants, both of whom knew Bruce, and one of whom accompanied him from Gondar to Senaar, ought to be preferred to that of a recluse, who spoke of occurrences to which, perhaps, his attention had not been particularly directed at the time, and, that too, at the distance of forty years from the date at which they happened.

There are one or two other minute points at issue between these distinguished travellers, into which we have not time to enter, and of which the discussion, we fear, would prove tiresome. We have mentioned the principal objections, urged against the truth and accuracy of Bruce's narrative ; and certainly his book has undergone a more severe and even suspicious examination than any other work of the kind that ever was published. A few inaccuracies have, no doubt, been detected ; but if we compare these with the vast mass of information, which not even the keenest, the most intelligent, and the best informed, of his critics have dared to question, we shall find that the unchallengeable additions which he has made to our knowledge,  
are



are indeed great and valuable. The proofs of his general accuracy, however, are not merely of this negative description; there are others of a more direct and satisfactory nature, which we shall briefly notice. We begin with Mr. Salt, who, though he regarded it as a duty which he owed to the public, to point out the mistakes of his great rival, bears, in many parts of his volume, the most ample testimony to the correctness of his descriptions and narrative, and mentions in particular, the astonishment which the Abyssinians expressed at his extensive knowledge of their history and country. Mr. Brown and Mr. Antes, who had excellent opportunities of comparing Mr. Bruce's statements with accounts given by persons well acquainted with Abyssinia, bear testimony to the general accuracy of his details; and Dr. Clark, while at Cairo, obtained from the Abyssinian Dean, of whom we have spoken before, direct and specific evidence in favour of the correctness of some parts of his narrative, which had till then been regarded with suspicion. The plates given in Bruce's Travels, especially those of natural history, were early represented as inaccurate, and that they are so in some of the *minutiae* is not improbable, as he laid no claim to a scientific knowledge of the subject: But when Dr. Clarke shewed the Abyssinian Dean these plates, though he knew not the nature of the book in which they were contained, and the name of Bruce was not mentioned to him, he instantly gave them the same names, and assigned to them the same uses, as Bruce had done. He likewise bore testimony to the accuracy with which the quadrupeds were represented in the plates; and what is of more importance, both to Bruce's credit and to the natural historian, he confirmed the account of the *Zimb* fly, and asserted that he had heard of armies being destroyed by it. When Bruce's map was laid before him, although, of course, he could not read the names, he pointed out the locality of Gondar exactly where Bruce had placed it\*.

In estimating the credit due to Bruce and Salt respectively, let it be kept in mind that while the former passed two years in Gondar, the capital of Abyssinia, a favourite of the king, and in the constant society of the leading people of all descriptions, the latter was never within many days journey of Gondar, never saw the sovereign, never entered the province where the royal power and court customs chiefly predominate, but, on the contrary, during his short visit, (from March till May,) in the Abyssinian territory, he was compelled to spend his time at Chelicut or Antalo, the principal towns of Tigré, and to confine his studies

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\* See Article Abyssinia as before.

to the characters of the very secondary persons, who composed the train of the governor, or Ras. The circumstances of the two travellers, were completely dissimilar. Mr. Salt, a British envoy, with letters and presents to the Emperor, announces to the proper authorities his arrival in the Red Sea, and craves an escort from the nearest military commander, to conduct him into the interior. Soldiers, mules, and carriages are accordingly sent, and a young prince comes down to meet him, to be his guide, and to secure him attention. He reaches Chelicut; but being informed it was dangerous to penetrate farther, he delivers the royal letters and gifts to the Ras of Tigré, amuses himself a few weeks in hearing stories, and in making a pleasurable excursion, and then returns to his friends on the Arabian gulph. Those who have read Bruce's Travels need not be told how different were his undertaking and achievements; and to those who have not read them, we despair of giving, by any description in our power, the faintest conception of either. Mr. Salt, as it were, sailed to a known shore, in a large ship, well-manned, and well-appointed; Bruce made a voyage of discovery in an open boat, himself guiding both helm and canvas. From Massowa to Chelicut, the extent of Mr. Salt's journey, is now comparatively a beaten tract, and will soon be the favourite tour of boys from college, and of adventurous lordlings who go in quest of topics for poetry; but from Gondar to the sources of the Nile, and from the former to Syene, across the Great Desert, is a path not to be trod once in a thousand years by the foot of an European.

Considering the shortness of Mr. Salt's stay in Abyssinia, he has made several important additions to natural history. His birds and plants have, we understand, been much admired; but of mineralogy he seems to know very little. We recollect only two notices on this subject, both of which are rather unscientifically expressed. At Wéah he travelled over a "rugged ridge of low hills, the basis of which appeared to be composed almost intirely of granitic rocks, rising over a bed of micaceous earth;" and again, speaking of the mountainous district of Tigré, he observes, that the rocks rise in perpendicular strata, "consisting of slate over schistus and granite." As to the first we have only to remark, that we know not precisely what is meant by granite rising over micaceous earth, the order of nature being in general the reverse, as granite usually supports mica, in stratified series at least: and with respect to the second observation, it strikes us that as slate and schistus commonly signify the same thing, the terms are used by Mr. Salt without any very clear views of the subject on which he is writing. This, however, is a charge which can rarely be brought against him. He aims at nothing beyond his powers, and seldom makes himself the hero of his story.

story. We read Bruce's book with greater pleasure than Mr Salt's; but if we were to travel into distant countries, we should prefer as a companion, a man as like the latter, and as unlike the former, as possible.

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ART. III. *A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Huntingdon, at the Primary Visitation in 1815. With an Appendix and Notes. By the Rev. James Hook, D.D. F.R.S. Archdeacon of Huntingdon. 4to. pp. 99. 5s. Rivingtons. 1816.*

THAT the period in which we live, is distinguished by very peculiar characters, is sufficiently evident. Perverse opinions and frantic passions, have overwhelmed mankind with a more than usual portion of calamity and destruction. Though an interval has providentially arisen, in which the storm ceases to rage, the elements of disorder still remain. Experience, that surest guide of human life, seems to have lost its influence over many, even among the highest and most enlightened of our countrymen; and principles are cherished and promulgated, which, if any analogy exists between the past and the future, threaten the stability of all that is conducive to social order, to political security, and to national Christianity. Fanatical cant, and sceptical indifference, things apparently the most opposite in their nature, have joined their forces, and are become subsidiary to the same end; while true and genuine Christianity, the only foundation of moral and social happiness, is equally the scorn of the infidel and of the enthusiast. The strange mixture of these errors has produced an accumulation of destructive errors, which are received as incontrovertible truths, and, in the emphatical language of one of the greatest masters of reason and eloquence,

*Audiuntur, leguntur, inhaerescunt prorsus in mentibus.*

It is not without much satisfaction that we have read this Charge, to which we now call the attention of our readers. It certainly contains much important matter, and presents enlarged views of the present state of opinions, and their consequences. In addition to this, the manly and firm tone in which it is written, cannot but recommend it to the attention of the public.

From the immediate successor of the Bishop of Calcutta, we expected much, as we were assured, that the discriminating prelate, who presides over the diocese of Lincoln, would not have filled the station, vacated by such a divine and such a scholar, with an inferior man; and from this specimen of the abilities and

and attainments of the present Archdeacon, we are happy to find that our expectations have not been disappointed.

Though the title-page informs us, that this is the primary visitation of the Archdeacon, yet he seems not to speak like a novice, in pointing to the nature and design of those annual assemblies of the Clergy at Archidiaconal visitations. As we conceive his observations on this head are just and matured, we lay them before our readers.

“ It is among the most beneficial effects of meetings like the present, that a spirit of enquiry among the clergy is kept alive, and those principles of piety and devotion to the sacred cause, in which we are linked together in one bond of union, invigorated by stated communications. They habituate our minds to the contemplation of those objects which ought principally to occupy them; they impart a professional turn and tendency to our habits, views, and observations; and they are, if properly employed, admirably calculated to induce a serious and subdued survey of those events which more intimately concern that portion of the Church of Christ, in which our ministrations are exercised; they remind us of those high duties, for the zealous performance of which, we stand responsible to God, to our consciences, and to our country, and tend to prove, (to use the language of the venerable Hooker) ‘ that we have not loosely permitted things to pass away, as in a dream.’ ” P. 3.

Under these views, the Archdeacon proceeds to a selection of one of the most important subjects, which, especially in the present day, could be offered to the attention of his Clergy; namely, the nature and operations of Antinomianism, and its extended influence over some of the most extensive Christian communities. His general conceptions of Antinomianism he thus lays before us; and we present them to our readers, as they form the basis of his subsequent observations.

“ By Antinomianism, I mean, such a perversion and corruption of Christian faith and doctrine as protects men in the violation of the duties *expressly commanded* in the Gospel; an evil of great extent, of wide application, and of very ancient standing in the Church, for it appeared as early as the age of the Apostles, and called forth all the energies of those holy men to the reprobation and controul of it. The principle besides has a very deep foundation in the fallen nature of man. Had the Almighty imposed no laws for our observance, or had he annexed no penalty for their violation, Christianity would have met with none of the opposition which it encountered in its earlier stages. The Apostles demanded Obedience as the *result and test* of the faith of Christ. They scorned any compromise with the headstrong passions and degrading propensities of our corrupt nature. Sacrifice and self-denial  
*they*

they pointed out as the badges of the cross of Christ. They faithfully discharged the commission entrusted to them, and proclaimed that 'to purify unto himself a peculiar people, *zealous of good works*,' was the ultimate design of the appearance of the Son of God in the flesh; and the Church of England in strict conformity with the design of the Almighty, has laid this as the corner-stone of all her doctrines, her discipline, her ministrations, and her liturgical services.

"The history however of the Christian Church from the very earliest period, I repeat, evinces the existence of a spirit, whose efforts have been perpetually exerted, to sever the *faith* of the Gospel, from its *morals*; its *duties*, from its *doctrines* and *observances*; to dethrone religion from its governance over the passions, and to render it *subservient* to them; and all this, strange to say, under the pretext of more than ordinary zeal for the profession of Christianity." P. 4.

After this luminous statement of his general object, he enters upon a field of very extended observation; he considers, first, the operation of this destructive principle, as not only perverting the conduct of individuals, but as forming a grand component of many leading communities and theological systems. His view of various ingredients of Antinomianism, which pervade the general system of the Church of Rome, and most prominently exhibit themselves in the order of the Jesuits, deserves at the present moment peculiar attention. Concerning this celebrated order, he thus speaks.

"What a subsidiary force have their lessons afforded to the most unbridled excesses of the human passions!

"Their doctrines, or rather they might be termed their licences to sin, are taught not by obscure men among them, but by their greatest luminaries, by Escobar, by Mariana, Filliucius, and other of their distinguished Apostles; and they are such as go to annihilate conscience, and obliterate not only every moral obligation which the Gospel distinctly inculcates, but to discard even those poor remains of it, which God, in his mercy, left among the unenlightened Pagans! Nor was this sublimation, if I may so call it, of Antinomianism, confined to the corruption of individuals, who became the dupes and victims of their delusion and sophistry; it soon spread and penetrated to the foundations of civil life, on which the social and political union of men is superstructured:—the members of this society, insinuating themselves, through their spells and fascinations, from the consciences of *individuals*, into the councils of *nations*, the most lamentable effects were produced; wars excited, assassination encouraged, obedience to governors dispensed with, and all the ties which bind man to man utterly broken." P. 6.

These are observations of no ordinary importance; and if such  
have

have no weight in exciting our admonitions on the readmission of this obnoxious society into a protestant country ; if we allow communities and seminaries of this order to spring up in various quarters of the united kingdom, without controul, and acting upon the same principles, animated by the same spirit, and diffusing the same morals, to strike root among us, we must assert, that our infatuation is judicial, and that experience is lost upon us. We must erase from our recollection the continued line of conspiracies and treasons, which are coeval with their earliest origin, and continued down to the very date of their extinction. We must resist even present warning, in their recent expulsion from Russia, and in the protest even of the bigotted court of Portugal, against their revival. If these documents do not awaken us, the voice of history and of experience speaks not in intelligible language, or, like Cassandra of old,

— resolvit

*Ora Dei jussu non unquam credita Teucris.*

The Archdeacon then proceeds to consider the same principle, which it is his great object to trace, as communicating its contagion to the system and doctrines of Calvin. Here he certainly proceeds with much judgement : he extracts from the writings of Calvin himself, and from the celebrated Lambeth articles, the most authentic documents which could be produced, those Predestinarian positions, and their corollaries, which certainly take accountability from man, and *must* render him indifferent to the moral complexion of his actions. It will be seen from them, how absolutely they exclude any abatement or modification, and upon what an imaginary and fictitious plan the doctrine of MODERATE CALVINISM rests. These positions, all inseparably connected, and must be accepted or rejected *in toto*. So that whoever considers them, will not think the portrait of Calvinism, drawn by the most distinguished divine and philosopher of his age, the late Archdeacon Balguy, overcharged or unfounded.

“Whoever,” says this incomparable writer, “attends to the various modes of faith which subsisted in the times of confusion, will scarce find one sect which was not deeply tinctured with the religion of Calvin, a religion which rests on this execrable foundation, that God is a tyrant.” Rev. Dr. T. Balguy’s Sermon on the Restoration. P. 59.

With this energetic declaration, we find our author in perfect unison in the following remarks : and he is farther aided by the high and living authority of his Diocesan, to whom he pays his tribute of gratitude, in common with every orthodox minister of our apostolic Church. We own, however friendly we are to prudence, to temper, and to moderation, we are still of opinion, that  
there

there may be a time when decision, and courage, and a frank declaration of opinion in the rulers of the Church, in their different addresses to their Clergy, are called for by the extent and incumbency of the mischief, by which all that is valuable is menaced.

The Archdeacon then proceeds to consider those principles, as calculated, under the management of fanatical teachers, to produce an obduracy in crime highly detrimental to social order, and calculated to defeat and counteract the inflictions of public justice. This we conceive it important to exhibit in his own words.

“ When those who suffer death by the sword of justice for the most atrocious offences, are taught to consider themselves, not as objects of the *mercy*, but the *peculiar claimants*, on the *favor* of God, as *vessels of election*; when they are trained to exhibit in their last moments, not humble contrition, but triumphant exultation, as if their very crimes rendered them more fit recipients, of what is termed, *free grace*, surely the great ends of the Christian Revelation are traversed, and the surrounding multitudes who witness these awful scenes, leave them rather *encouraged* to crimes, than *deterred* from them; rather fortified by presumption, than controlled by the apprehension of future consequences! Their consciences will be, must be steeled against this most salutary suggestion, the basis of all Religion, ‘ how can I do this great wickedness, and sin against God!’

“ Here I trust I shall not be misunderstood; God forbid that any minister of the Gospel should desire to withhold from these poor agonized victims of crime, the consolation which the unfathomable recesses of the mercy of God, through the blood of his blessed Son, hold forth even to the latest penitence and contrition; or so to exhibit the terrors of the Lord as to induce despair; *but it is essential*, that the expectation held forth, should not be of a nature to destroy the difference between guilt and innocence; or to create a delusive hope of unwarrantable amnesty, in virtue of the destructive doctrine of an eternal decree!” P. 10.

Our author then proceeds to take a survey of the wide spread of that indifference to the genuine doctrines of our establishment, which, contemplates the multiplication of sects, and the clashing variety of opinions, as a consummation to be wished for, rather than as an evil to be remedied or controuled. The Archdeacon has made so little progress in modern philosophy, that he considers this heterogeneous mass as deeply charged with materials destructive of those morals and of that order, by which society is held together. He draws his objections to this fond and favourite scheme of equalizing all religions, both from Scriptural and Apostolical injunctions, and from the past experience of its deleterious effects.

He then is naturally enough carried on, in the course of his observation, to consider how far the Bible Society is likely to increase that spirit of religious division and anarchy, from which so many numerous mischiefs are foreboded. And we think ourselves warranted in asserting, that in the course of a long and continued controversy, sustained by the ablest hands, in few instances, have either the censures of those who inculpate such of the Clergy as may decline to co-operate with it, been more ably repelled, or the dangers to be apprehended from its progress and operation, more powerfully demonstrated than by our author. These two objects are pursued at considerable length, both in the body of the Charge, and in the copious and very important notes contained in the Appendix. Of the Archdeacon's able defence of those, who, with him, stand aloof from this Society, we highly approve.

When the Archdeacon, passing from the defensive to the offensive, marshals his objections to the principles and practices of this Society, we meet with much shrewdness and justice of observation. The inconsistency and breach of engagement, in which many worthy and well-meaning ministers of the Established Church have unawares implicated themselves, by appearing in the ranks, and, still more, *ἐν προμάχοις* of this Society, is urged with so much real energy, that we cannot forbear to call the attention of our readers to the passage.

"As Churchmen we are called upon, in the exercise of our ministrations, to pray to Almighty God against the prevalence of 'all false doctrine, heresy, and schism;' and shall we then be reproached for not passing from the house of prayer to the tavern or assembly room, to enter into union with those whom we cannot meet in the Church, and who are the direct propounders and supporters of these? Can we thus address the Supreme Being in the morning, and in the afternoon unite ourselves in bonds of fellowship with the embodied professors of every species and character of dissent; of all that we consider to be 'false doctrine, heresy, and schism,' without even distinction of degrees in error? Can we be sincere in *both* instances? Must we not be guilty of impious mockery in *one*? *We may leave the Prayer Book behind us, but the Prayer is recorded.*" P. 75.

A consideration of the principles and extent of this Society, and the organized machinery by which its operations are conducted, leads the Archdeacon to a consideration of the features of the prevalent sectarianism connected with it, and of which it is a most powerful instrument. In viewing the expanded space which it occupies, and the narrow limits into which true practical religion is contracted, we cannot but partake with him of the serious impressions which this view excites. The citation



tion from Sir W. Dugdale cannot fail of stimulating our readers to a serious comparison of those wretched times with our own, to which they will be found to bear the closest resemblance.

“ In the early period of the troubles in the reign of Charles the first, after having driven that unfortunate monarch to measures, which were subsequently made the assumed ground of charges against him, ‘ under a seeming devout and holy pretence to advance and promote the preaching of the Gospel, they got a number of lecturers into most of the corporate towns and populous places of these realms, according to the pattern of Geneva, especially in the city of London, whom they maintained by voluntary contributions, to the end they might be engaged to preach such doctrines, as should upon occasion prepare the people for any disloyal attempt, and dispose them to rebellion when opportunity served. And for the support of these, they purchased in, divers inappropriate tithes, constituting some of the clergy, some lawyers, some citizens (all of the Puritan party,) under colour of *redeeming the Lord's portion* out of lay hands, as the phrase was; by which subtle practice, they gained many large sums, in order thereto from sundry well-meaning persons, who saw nothing at all of the main design, which was underhand driven on by the great contrivers \*.’ ” P. 86.

The great importance of the subjects which are discussed in the Charge before us, and especially in the Notes and Appendix, have induced us to exceed our usual limits in our extracts; but we are inclined to anticipate that our readers will not require any apology from us. Of the Notes indeed and Appendix both in the observations suggested, the citations made, and the proofs exhibited, we cannot speak in too high terms. They place in the hands of the Clergy a body of very important documents, extracted from sources quite inaccessible to the generality of his clerical readers, and yet highly worthy their notice, and extremely applicable to the circumstances in which they are placed. These copious materials are not introduced with an idle parade, or ostentation of research, but are very judiciously selected, and are strictly subservient to the confirmation of the positions advanced in the body of the Charge. To theological enquirers they are highly valuable, and indeed to general readers very interesting and instructive. From some curious extracts from the puritanical writers of the time of the grand rebellion, and the subsequent usurpation, now become exceedingly scarce, he traces a very singular resemblance in all their traits, between ancient puritanism and modern methodism, which Bishop Warburton, with his usual strength and felicity, denominated the *older* and the

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\* “ Short View of the late Troubles, pp. 36, 37, by Sir W. Dugdale.”

younger sisters. When we consider the extended ramification of the latter over every part of this kingdom, occupying not only the denser masses of population, but extended with incessant activity into the most isolated country villages; when, above all, we consider that it has found abundant entrance into the sanctuary itself, and that not only in the metropolis and its suburbs, but in many of our most populous cities and towns, it has infected a formidable proportion of our parochial ministry, it becomes us certainly, from mere temporal prudence, to examine what are its lineaments, what is its genealogy, and what its consanguinity; and what is to be expected when its predominancy is confirmed and paramount, whether it brings with it "airs from heaven, or blasts from hell," surely we cannot but think that our worthy Archdeacon has done no mean service to true religion, in furthering this inquiry, and in the assistance he has afforded us, by his citations both from tracts which are become scarce, and by his development of practices, to which we should do well to attend.

In some able and spirited animadversions on Mr. Gisborne's ill-timed and obtrusive attack upon the Bishop of Lincoln, the favourite charge of a Popish spirit, so generally brought forward by the advocates of the Bible Society, against the Churchmen, is with singular felicity retorted upon themselves, by a very curious citation from Father Paul's History of the Council of Trent.

"Is it true, because the Popes have assumed absolute authority in their mandates and a blind obedience to their decrees, that therefore a Christian Bishop should be denied that deference of opinion from his Clergy upon a doubtful point (and surely such is that of the expediency and duty of preferring the peculiar mode of distributing the Holy Scriptures adopted by the Bible Society) which both Scripture and the purest primitive antiquity allot to him? Nay, may we not rather, if there be any leaning towards Popery in the case, impute it to the side upon which Mr. Gisborne's services are engaged? for the *grand feature* of Popery has ever been, as the annals of the Church of Rome sufficiently evince, to depreciate episcopal jurisdiction, and to usurp an authority over those who are, by every right and principle, equals! Mr. Gisborne's attempt to censure a prelate in the legitimate discharge of his duty, in his own proper place and function, has too near a resemblance to the usurped power of the grand distributor of censures and anathemas to escape notice. Those who have read the inimitable History of the Council of Trent by Fra. Paolo, will recollect the observations of *Eustache de Bellaye*, Bishop of Paris, to this point. He says that 'the kingdom of Heaven, as the Church is called, is no longer a kingdom but a temporal tyranny—that the title of spouse of Christ is taken from the Church, to prostitute

prostitute it to the service of one man,' that by this stratagem there is 'but one Bishop appointed by Jesus Christ, and the others his vicars, to be removed at the Pope's pleasure: that he wishes the council to understand that the episcopal authority, already so degraded, is likely to be utterly annihilated, since the congregation of monks (alluding to the newly established order of Jesuits) just started into existence already laboured so hard to shake it: that the Cistercian monks and those of Clugny, and others, had given a serious blow to the authority of the Bishops, which had been preserved till 1050, and that it was, by means of these orders, that Rome had usurped the essential and proper functions of the Bishops; that the mendicant orders, which arose about the year 1200, had deprived the Bishops of almost the whole of their authority, which had been seized by these men, under colour of their privileges: that in short the new order of Jesuits which was neither secular nor regular, were attempting to overthrow the whole episcopal authority.'—See *Histoire du Concile de Trente*, traduite par P. F. Le Courayen, lib. vii. pp. 354, 355. P. 59.

To the expression of Mr. Gisborne, that in the Bible Society is discoverable "the finger of God," the Archdeacon replies in the following spirited language; nor is the historical evidence, which he has adduced, less worthy of our serious attention.

"The finger of God," exclaimed Peter the Hermit, when he led forth the legions of Crusaders; "the finger of God," exclaimed Cromwell, through the whole career of his sanguinary march to power and usurpation of the rights of the people; "The finger of God," exclaimed John Wesley, in the prosecution of his schism: "it is plain to me," he says, "that the whole work of God termed Methodism, is an extraordinary dispensation of Providence."

"In giving an account of his victory at Dunbar, in a letter to Mr. Mayor of Hursley, Cromwell, after having stated the numbers engaged, and that 'after much appealing to God,' his army destroyed 3000 men, &c. having but few killed on his side, says, 'This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes.' See Noble's Memoirs.

"In his speech upon dissolving the long parliament, he observes, upon the subject of raising money without the consent of the people, that 'either this cause is of God or of man,' and that if he were not satisfied that 'it is of God, he would many years ago have run from it.' 'Let (he says) men take heed, and be twice warned, how they call his (God's) revolutions, &c. of man's creation,' for they 'by so doing do vilify and lessen the works of God and lessen his glory.' Towards the conclusion of his speech, he thus exclaims against those who impute to him and his adherents, the convulsions and revolutions in the state: 'Oh what blasphemy is this! because men are without God in the world, and walk not with him, and know not what it is to pray, or believe, and to receive returns

returns from God! Those men who live upon their *mumpsimus and sumpsimus*, their masses and service books, their dead and carnal worship, no marvel if they be strangers to God, and the works of God. They that shall attribute to *this, or that person*, the contrivance and production of these mighty things God has wrought in the midst of us, and that they have not been the *revolutions of Christ himself upon whose shoulders the government is laid*, they speak against God, and they fall under his hand without a mediator. Therefore whatsoever you may judge men for, and say this man is cunning and politic and subtle, take heed again, I say, how you judge of *his revolutions*, as the product of mens' inventions.'—His Highness's Speech to the Parliament in the painted Chamber, &c. Published by Henry Hills, (in order to prevent mistakes) printer to his Highness. 1654.

"The frequent allusion at present made to the precaution recommended by the example of Gamaliel, by those who are anxious to silence the objections urged against the Bible Society, has as little of novelty as of sound reason to recommend it.

"There is one place in the Acts of the Holy Apostles which they (the Dissenters) make constant use of to encourage their party, and to discourage weak and timorous minds from meddling with them, lest they be found to fight against God, as they persuade people, all those do, who do any ways oppose *them*, who with so much confidence call themselves *the children and people of God*. Now that this is upon the holy records as the word of Gamaliel, and *not* as the word of God, and an unerring rule for our direction and practice is plain; because it is neither universally true nor obliging, which, whatever is the word of God, most undoubtedly is; for *every work and every counsel which does stand is not of God*. 'Tis thought by some that there was a time when all or the greatest part of the Church was Arian; and Athanasius the only or principal person who opposed it. I hope they will not agree that the heresy was of God, or ought not to have been opposed because it stood long and flourished; or because all or the greatest part of Asia, a considerable part of Europe, and most of Africa, being become proselytes to the detestable impostor Mahomet, that Mahometanism is therefore the work or counsel of God, because it does stand and has stood above these thousand years!'—The Countermines, &c. London: printed by Jonathan Edwin, 1677. P. 63.

We heartily wish that our limits allowed us to lay more of the valuable contents of the Notes and Appendix before the public; but we trust that we have stimulated our readers, of all descriptions, particularly those in the Church, to avail themselves of materials so well adapted to enable them to form just sentiments of principles now advanced, and scenes now passing before them.

Upon the whole, we are of opinion, that the Archdeacon has met the delusive and destructive errors of the times with vigour,

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with firmness, and with effect. He has brought considerable powers of eloquence in aid of the great cause he defends: this cause he has sustained, in the words of Quintilian, *Non fortibus modo, sed etiam fulgentibus armis*. It is impossible not to give him credit for very considerable powers of writing. It has not escaped us, that inadvertencies, and some occasional incorrectnesses, do here and there occur in the diction; but they bear a small proportion indeed to the general merit of the composition. But what we most admire, is the courage and the frankness displayed by him throughout, which are so fully commensurate to the exigencies of the times, and to the dangers with which the Church is encompassed. The Archdeacon has spoken with boldness and with spirit, at the same time never losing sight of that unaffected temperance, and that Christian charity, which is fully compatible with the most powerful representations of impending danger, and the most distinct warnings against both avowed and against masked hostility.

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ART. IV. *Bertram, or the Castle of St. Aldobrand, a Tragedy in five Acts. By the Rev. R. C. Maturin. 8vo. 80 pp. 4s. 6d. Murray. 1816.*

A SUCCESSFUL Tragedy is a production now so exceedingly rare, that our readers will be anxious to receive an early account of so portentous a stranger in the walks of literature. The author is a gentleman of the name of Maturin, a native of Ireland, and exercises his clerical functions at present, as we understand, in the city of Dublin. We were certainly inclined at one time to suspect that the larger portion of the Tragedy was the production of another hand; as the characters, sentiments, and language, bore so close a resemblance to the well-known style and manner of a certain noble lord. We have since however heard enough to abandon that opinion, and without hesitation to ascribe the whole to the gentleman whose name it bears, and to consider it as an imitation only, not an original. Our readers will have been made too well acquainted with the plot, from the report of the daily papers, to require any long detail. We shall therefore content ourselves with giving an outline only as briefly as possible.

The scene is laid in Sicily, and the play opens with a violent storm, in which a vessel is wrecked off the coast. The only one who is supposed to escape from destruction is Count Bertram, who had formerly stood high in the councils and in the favour of

of his sovereign. From the highest pinnacle of honour, he was at length cast down; but whether from his own mad ambition, or from the treachery of his foes, does not appear: we should have no doubt however, from the developement of his character in the piece before us, that to the former alone his ruin is to be ascribed. He is now an outlaw, and at the head of a band of pirates. In the first act, he is introduced into a convent near the shore, and there discovers himself to the Prior; who informs him, that the castle of Aldobrand, his mortal enemy, is in its vicinity, to which he will, as a shipwrecked mariner, be conducted, to receive the accustomed hospitality. This Aldobrand, it appears, had married Imogene, who was, in the days of his prosperity, betrothed to Bertram. In the second act, we meet him in the castle, with his comrades, who had unexpectedly escaped the dangers of the storm; and a scene passes between Imogene and Bertram, in which he recalls himself to her memory. He curses her in an imprecation more bitter than any but a certain noble lord could have conceived. It is quite in the Byron school.

" *Bertram.* Hear the last prayer of Bertram's broken heart,  
That heart which thou hast broken, not his foes!—  
Of thy rank wishes the full scope be on thee—  
May pomp and pride shout in thine adder'd path  
Till thou shalt feel and sicken at their hollowness—  
May he thou'st wed, be kind and generous to thee  
Till thy wrung heart, stabb'd by his noble fondness  
Writhe in detesting consciousness of falsehood—  
May thy babe's smile speak daggers to that mother  
Who cannot love the father of her child,  
And in the bright blaze of the festal hall,  
When vassals kneel, and kindred smile around thee,  
May ruined Bertram's pledge hiss in thine ear—  
Joy to the proud dame of St. Aldobrand—  
While his cold corse doth bleach beneath her towers,

" *Imo. (Detaining him)* Stay.

" *Ber.* No.

" *Imo.* Thou hast a dagger,

" *Ber.* Not for a woman.—

" *Imo. (flinging herself on the ground)*

It was my prayer to die in Bertram's presence,  
But not by words like these—

" *Ber. (turning back)*—on the cold earth!  
—I do forgive thee from my inmost soul—

(*The child of Imogene rushes in and clings to her*)

" *Child.* Mother.

" *Ber. (eagerly snatching up the child)*  
God bless thee, child—Bertram hath kissed thy child." P. 29.

The last incident, when aided by the actor's power, would have been both natural and affecting, had it not been spoilt by the lame and impotent conclusion, "Bertram hath kissed thy child," destroying at once the beauty of the passage by a declaration forced, selfish, and unfeeling, and but ill according with the burst of passion in the former part of the line. In the third act, we are introduced to Aldobrand, who returns home suddenly; Imogine, in the mean time, repairs to the Prior, to reveal her rising passion for Bertram; under the distraction of which, she prays for death. As the reply of the Prior is admirably conceived, we shall with pleasure give it to our readers.

"*Prior.* And didst deserve it, wert thou meet for it—  
 Art thou a wife and mother, and canst speak  
 Of life rejected by thy desperate passion—  
 These bursting tears, wrung hands, and burning words,  
 Are these the signs of penitence or passion?  
 Thou comest to me, for to my ear alone  
 May the deep secret of thy heart be told,  
 And fancy riot in the luscious poison—  
 Fond of the misery we paint so well,  
 Proud of the sacrifice of broken hearts,  
 We pour on heav'n's dread ear, what man's would shrink  
 from—  
 Yea, make a merit of the impious insult,  
 And wrest the functions of mine holy office  
 To the foul ministry of earthly passion." P. 37.

She is now acquainted with the return of Aldobrand; but as she proceeds to hail him, she is met by Bertram, who, after much protestation, prevails on her to grant him a meeting of one hour, before they part for ever. In the beginning of the fourth act, we are made acquainted with the guilt of their meeting. Bertram is now informed by his comrades, that Aldobrand is commissioned by the court to seize and put him to death; upon this he is resolved to attack him in his own castle, and seek his utmost revenge on the man he had so deeply injured. We find Imogine in a far different state of mind. With the following speech we were much pleased.

"*Imagine in her apartment—a lamp burning on the table—She walks some time in great agitation and then pushes the light away.*

"*Imo.* Away, thou glarest on me, thy light is hateful;  
 Whom doth the dark wind chide so hollowly?  
 The very stones shrink from my steps of guilt,  
 All lifeless things have come to life to curse me:  
 Oh! that a mountain's weight were cast on me;  
 Oh! that the wide, wild ocean heaved o'er me;

Oh!

Oh! that I could into the earthy centre  
Sink and be nothing.  
Sense, memory, feeling, life extinct and swallowed,  
With things that are not, or have never been,  
Lie down and sleep the everlasting sleep—  
(*She sinks on the ground.*)  
If I run mad, some wild word will betray me,  
Nay—let me think—what am I?—no, what was I?  
(*A long pause.*)  
I was the honoured wife of Aldobrand;  
I am the scorned minion of a ruffian.” P. 46.

A well-drawn interview now ensues between Aldobrand and his wife, he little suspecting the crime she had committed, and she overwhelmed with his undeserved affection. This is perhaps the best and most original scene in the whole Tragedy. She now encounters Bertram, who discloses to her his purpose of murdering her husband, which foul deed, in spite of all her tears and cries, he perpetrates on the stage, and thus closes the fourth act. The fifth act contains little more than the ravings of Imogene, who, as might reasonably be expected, runs mad and dies, and the desperation of Bertram, who concludes the play by killing himself.

Such is the plot of the Tragedy before us. The interest, if any there can be, clearly ceases at the end of the fourth act. The fifth is a sort of *post obit* performance, surviving at once the expectation and the feeling both of the spectator and the reader. In addition to this, the mania of poor Imogene is most unmercifully protracted from the last scene in the fourth act, to the very conclusion of the fifth. Mr. Puff himself is outdone, for Tilburina herself and her confidante had but one scene of madness between them. To his triumphant enquiry therefore, “Did you ever see any body madder than this?” We must now reply, “Aye, Imogene; to whom Tilburina is but a ‘dowdy’ in hysterics.” The last act is indeed dreadfully tiresome. We all knew, before the end of the fourth, that nothing now could possibly remain, but for Bertram to be killed, and for Imogene to run mad; the sooner therefore they are both dispatched, the better.

Of the language, we cannot speak in very high terms. Part is indeed highly poetical, once or twice even sublime; but the remainder is overstocked with epithets, overlaid with metaphors, and overpowered with absurdity—*bickering glare—weltering ware—done to death—beetling rock*—and such sort of strained and unnatural expressions recur far too often to be passed over without disgust. These and the like are scarcely bearable when they  
are



are found thinly scattered even in Shakespeare himself, much more intolerable is the thick sown crop of Mr. Maturin. But to shew Mr. M. that we can appreciate beauty, as well as create objections, we shall present our reader with one or two extracts from the first scene, which evince a considerable portion of genius.

" *Prior.* All peace be with you !—'tis a fearful hour.

" *1st Monk.* Hath memory a parallel to this ?

" *2d Monk.* How hast thou fared in this most awful time ?

" *Prior.* As one whom fear did not make pitiless :

I bowed me at the cross for those whose heads

Are naked to the visiting blasts of Heav'n

In this its hour of wrath—

For the lone traveller on the hill of storms,

For the tossed shipman on the perilous deep ;

Till the last peal that thundered o'er mine head

Did force a cry of—mercy for myself.

*1st Monk. (Eagerly)* Think'st thou these rock-based turrets will abide ?

*2d Monk.* Think'st thou they will not topple o'er our heads ?

*Prior.* The hand of him who rules the storm, is o'er us.

*1st Monk.* Oh, holy prior, this is no earthly storm.

The strife of fiends is on the battling clouds,

The glare of hell is in these sulphurous lightnings,—

This is no earthly storm.

*Prior.* Peace, peace—thou rash and unadvised man ;

Oh! add not to this night of nature's horrors

The darker shadowing of thy wicked fears.

The hand of Heaven, not man, is dealing with us,

And thoughts like thine do make it deal thus sternly." P. 2.

What follows is exceedingly fine.

" *Prior.* Almighty power,

Can nought be done? All things are possible—

Wave high your torches on each crag and cliff—

Let many lights blaze on our battlements—

Shout to them in the pauses of the storm,

And tell them there is hope—

And let our deep-toned bell its loudest peal

Send cheerly o'er the deep—

'Twill be a comfort to the wretched souls

In their extremity—All things are possible ;

Fresh hope may give them strength, and strength deliverance—

I'll hie me forth with you.

" *2d Monk.*

" 3d Monk. Wilt thou go forth—  
Hardly the vigorous step of daring youth  
May hold its footing on those wave-washed crags:  
And how wilt thou abide?  
1st. Monk. 'Tis tempting Heaven.—  
Prior. To succour man, not tempt my God; I go;  
He will protect his servant." P. 4.

The first scene between Bertram and Imogene is well conceived throughout, except the concluding curse, with which we have already presented our readers. With the following passage, they cannot fail to be peculiarly pleased. It occurs before Bertram is recognized by Imogene.

" *Imo.* Strange is thy form, but more thy words are strange—  
Fearful it seems to hold this parley with thee.  
Tell me thy race and country—  
*Ber.* What avails it?  
The wretched have no country: that dear name  
Comprizes home, kind kindred, fostering friends,  
Protecting laws, all that binds man to man—  
But none of these are mine;—I have no country—  
And for my race, the last dread trump shall wake  
The sheeted relics of mine ancestry,  
Ere trump of herald to the armed lists  
In the bright blazon of their stainless coat,  
Calls their lost child again.—" P. 26.

To the characters in the Tragedy before us, and particularly to that of Bertram, we confess that we have some very strong objections. Bertram himself is not only deficient in point of novelty, but is the identical personage who has haunted us under so many forms in the writings of a noble lord. He is Childe Harold, he is the Giaour, he is Selim, he is the Corsair, he is Lara, he is the Renegado. The creative genius of Lord Byron never could invent more than one character, and that one, Mr. Maturin has copied in all its detestable lineaments. It is not however to the introduction of a villainous character into a Tragedy that we offer any objection, for we know the difficulty of writing one without it; but our objection lies to the false colouring in which it is drawn, and to the false feelings which it is intended to excite. Bertram is a man whose mad ambition had caused his disgrace and exile; he becomes a misanthrope and a pirate, and in this very Tragedy, an adulterer and an assassin. Yet, in one part, the Prior addresses him, as

" sublime even in thy guilt."

We confess that we are too dull to comprehend the "sublimity  
of

of guilt" in an adulterer and an assassin. Again, he is addressed as one, who

" O'er thy stormy grandeur flingest  
A struggling beam that dazzles, awes, and vanishes."

Now really in the character before us we can find nothing of "stormy grandeur," except the bitterest execrations against the human race in general, and the most implacable malice against those whom he chooses to fancy his enemies in particular. He first "unpacks his heart with curses like a drab," and arms his hands with poignards like an assassin. This grand, sublime, and stormy personage stands redeemed by no one good or generous quality, and yet he is to be held up to a sort of staring and stupefied admiration. It is true that he falls at last, but how? Not contemptibly, like Iago, or Zanga, by the hands of justice; but triumphantly by his own. The following are the concluding lines of the play,

" I died no felon's death.  
A warrior's weapon freed a warrior's soul."

Leaving the spectators in mute astonishment at the magnificence and the intrepidity of his mind. Now all this has the strongest tendency to recommend (and who shall say that the minds of many half-educated young men are proof against such a recommendation) treason, piracy, adultery, and murder to public applause, provided they are accompanied with bursts of stormy grandeur, indignant feeling, and sublimity of soul. Against all this miserable morality and mawkish sensibility, we enter our most powerful protest. We are not desirous of sermonizing the theatre, for the pulpit and the stage never can be kept too distinct; but we do protest against the avowed exhibition of triumphant crime, guarded by no moral, attended by no reverse; we do protest against the character of Bertram being left on the mind of the spectators an object of admiration and of pity, and not of hatred and execration; we do expect that the incident, the plot, and the language of a Tragedy be so constructed, as, at its conclusion, to leave upon the minds of the spectators pity alone for suffering virtue, and detestation for successful crime.

Should Mr. Maturin be tempted by his success to try the stage again, we trust that his second production will, in this respect, at least be far superior to his first, in which we have all that is objectionable in Schiller, without his genius. We acquit Mr. Maturin however of any intentional offence against the laws either of dramatic or of moral justice; we attribute his failings to a hurried and inconsiderate imitation of the noble lord, upon whose writings and whose school we have already expressed our opinions too strongly to need repetition.

We have been informed, from good authority, that in the first manuscript of the Tragedy, there was not only half an hour's more storm, but also a volcano, and the devil (in the shape of whom we know not) issuing from it. We understand that the author did not willingly part with either the storm or the volcano; but that it was with peculiar reluctance that he was induced at length to give up his devil. We trust, after so auspicious a resignation of this personage himself, that, in a second attempt, he will not retain him in a human form; or, if he does, that he will hold him up to the contempt and the detestation which he and his fellows so amply deserve.

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ART. V. *A Biographical Memoir of the late Sir Peter Parker, Baronet, Captain of his Majesty's ship Menelaus, of 98 Guns, killed in Action while storming the American Camp at Bellair, near Baltimore, on the 31st of August, 1814.* 4to. pp. 111. 1815.

OF all those officers who, since the death of the great Nelson, have combated in the service of their country, no one has been animated by a nobler spirit, or displayed more talent or virtue, than the lamented subject of this volume. It is well observed, by the writer of the Memoir of Sir Peter Parker, that the lives of such men ought to be recorded, as "they nurture, by their example, the heroic passions of the soul. They kindle by their moral effect on the rising race, those generous and elevated feelings, which ennoble the profession of arms above every other, constitute alike the shield and ornament of the military breast, and excite therein that spirit of patriotism, that thirst of distinction, and that equal contempt of wealth and danger, which, exalting the human mind above its common level, lift it, in life, to happiness, and in death, to glory."

Sir Peter Parker was descended from an ancient and respectable Irish family, four generations of which have devoted their lives to the naval service of their country. He was the grandson of the distinguished admiral of the same name, and son of admiral Christopher Parker, who died young, but not without having acquired the reputation of an able and gallant officer. His mother was Miss Byron, aunt to the present Lord Byron; and she, as well as her husband, was snatched away, while he was yet an infant. From his father he inherited his bravery and love of a naval life; and from his mother a more than usual portion of personal beauty.

At

own harbour. Shortly after this, his bravery and seamanship were splendidly manifested in an engagement with the batteries of Escambron, and in the manœuvres which he employed to extricate himself from the French squadron, by which, during his contest with the batteries, he was, in reality, cut off from the British fleet. This exploit was succeeded by another, in which he disabled a seventy-four gun ship, and blew up one of the forts. On the first of June, he landed on the isle Verte, near Ciotat, and carried a powerful half-moon battery, which was intended to cover the entrance of the bay.

At the latter end of August, he was ordered to cruize between the islands of Elba and Ponza, for the purpose of harassing the coasting trade, and intercepting naval stores which were destined for Toulon. Soon after his entering on this duty, he chased a convoy into Port St. Stefano, and determined to cut it out. With only one hundred and thirty seamen and forty marines, he landed in the face of the citadel, several batteries, and a force of four hundred men, drove the enemy before him, stormed a four gun battery, boarded and destroyed the vessels, brought out a brig laden with warlike stores, and returned in safety to his ship, with the loss of only five in killed and wounded. In September, he performed an achievement of a similar kind at the mouth of the lake of Orbitello.

A war with America having broken out, Sir Peter Parker in the *Menelaus*, and the honourable Captain Paget, in the *Superb*, were ordered on a cruize, to intercept Commodore Rodgers, who had sailed, in the *President*, "to prey upon our commerce. On this occasion Sir Peter read to his crew the letter of Captain Broke, which announced the capture of the *Chesapeake*, and he declared his firm resolution never to strike his flag to that of America. The cruize was continued for five months, over a space of five thousand leagues; but the two officers had the mortification not to meet with any of the enemy's vessels.

The last opportunity which, previously to the cessation of hostilities with France, was afforded him of shewing his gallant spirit, occurred while he was cruising off Brest. After a long chase, he compelled the *Atalante*, a large French frigate, to take shelter behind the rocks of Concarneau; and as he could not reach her in that situation, he sent a challenge to her captain, to come out and engage. The captain, however, deemed it prudent to decline the invitation, and the gallant Briton felt the disappointment very deeply, and for a long time.

The close of the contest with France did not put a termination to his labours. Just as he was on the point of resigning the command of the *Menelaus*, and retiring for a while into the bosom of a family, which he tenderly loved, he was called on  
to

to join the squadron which was to convey the troops from Bourdeaux to the American coast. Ever devoted to his duty, he yielded an instant obedience. On his arrival in the Chesapeake, he was detached to blockade the harbour of Baltimore, and make a diversion in that quarter, by annoying the enemy as much as possible. This he performed in the completest manner. He cut off the communication over the bay, destroyed a depot of stores and several vessels, and kept the country in continual alarm, in spite of the opposition of a superior force. But his bright career was now to come to an end. The *Mene-laus*, in chasing, had been compelled to anchor in an exceedingly dangerous position, among shoals, where she might be suddenly exposed to an attack from two sloops of war, and eleven of the largest gun-boats, seconded by seven hundred men, who were stationed, with five pieces of artillery, on the other side of a wood, not half a mile from the shore, whence they could cannonade the ship, without a possibility of her reaching them by her fire. To avert this danger, he determined to make a night assault on their camp. It was carried into effect with only a hundred and forty men, on the night of the 30th of August, 1814, and was successful; but success was dearly bought by the loss of the gallant leader, who was mortally wounded, as he was cheering forward his men. He expired in a few minutes; displaying in death the same intrepidity and calmness which had always distinguished him through life.

“The circle of his friends,” says his biographer, “was extensive, and throughout the navy he was generally known. He possessed, in a high degree, all the social qualities formed to please, and his heart was moulded to the best affections. To a fine figure, and a handsome countenance, he united manners calculated both to captivate and command.”

By his men he was almost idolized; for while he paid the strictest attention to discipline, he never inflicted punishment when, by using admonition and rémonstrance, it could possibly be avoided, and he was always ready to encrease their comforts, and to soften their sufferings, both by personal attentions, and by pecuniary assistance. Firmness and tenderness of heart were happily allied in him, and this enabled him to win affection without the loss of respect.

The Memoir, from which we have abridged these particulars, is a well written composition. It is not deficient in perspicuity, spirit, or neatness.

The following lines, on the death of Sir Peter Parker, are from the pen of Lord Byron.

“ There is a tear for all that die,  
A mourner o'er the humblest grave ;  
But nations swell the funeral cry,  
And triumph weeps above the brave.

“ For them is sorrow's purest sigh  
O'er ocean's heaving bosom sent ;  
In vain their bones unburied lie—  
All earth becomes their monument !

“ A tomb is their's on every page—  
An epitaph on every tongue ;  
The present hour, the future age,  
For them bewail—to them belong.

“ For them the voice of festal mirth  
Grows hush'd —*their name* the only sound,  
While deep remembrance pours to worth  
The goblet's tributary round.

“ A theme to crowds that knew them not,  
Lamented by admiring foes—  
Who would not share their glorious lot ?  
Who would not die the death they chose ?

“ And, gallant PARKER ! thus enshrin'd  
Thy life, thy fall, thy fame, shall be ;  
And early valour, glowing, find  
A model in thy memory.

“ But there are breasts that bled with thee,  
In woe that glory cannot quell ;  
And shuddering hear of victory,  
When one so dear, so dauntless, fell.

“ Where shall they turn to mourn thee less ?  
When cease to hear thy cherish'd name ?  
Time cannot teach forgetfulness,  
While Grief's full heart is fed by fame.

“ Alas ! for them—though not for thee.—  
They cannot chuse but weep the more :  
Deep for the dead the grief must be,  
Who ne'er gave cause to mourn before.”

ART. VI. *The Substance of a Speech of Sir J. Cox Hippiisley, Bart. in the House of Commons, on Tuesday, May 11, 1813, for the Appointment of a Select Committee, on the Subject of the Catholic Claims; with Notes and an Appendix, containing the Pontifical Rescripts of P. Clement IV. and P. Pius VIII. respecting the Abolition and Restoration of the Order of the Jesuits.* 8vo. pp. 88. Murray. 1815.

VII. *Historical Enquiry into the Ancient Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of the Crown; commencing with the Period when Great Britain formed a Part of the Roman Empire. By James Baldwin Browne, Esq.* 8vo. pp. 68. 7s. Underwood. 1815.

IT must be a source of much satisfaction to every thinking mind, that the great question of CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION, which has now for so many years agitated and divided the British nation, is no longer a rallying point of political animosity, or a watch-word of contending factions.

The irritation, the clamour, and the virulence which formerly attended its discussion, have in a great measure subsided, and the day is now arrived, when it can be debated upon with a larger share of that patience and moderation, which its importance so clearly demands. Upon the various causes which have led to this change, it is not within our present purpose to enter. It is remarkable, however, as those who had studied the question, always foresaw, that as the spirit of party violence has gradually died away, difficulties have arisen, which amidst the jarring of discordant interests, and the heat of infuriated declamation, were either wholly neglected, or considered unworthy of any serious attention. It was never for one moment calmly considered either what could be granted with safety, or what would be received with gratitude. It was never considered what was the state and number of the Roman Catholic Clergy, what were their institutions, and what their intercourse with the See of Rome, or how far they would suffer this intercourse with a foreign court to be regulated or abridged. It was never enquired what was the practice even of Roman Catholics countries on this important point, or above all, what was the power which the State possesses in the nomination, in the approval, or in the rejection of those appointed to the vacant sees. These, and many other questions of a similar import, were never thought worthy of a calm and serious enquiry; and consequently at the very time (May, 1813,) when Mr. Grattan's bill, with Mr. Canning's amendment, was expected to have been carried through the House



House with a triumphant majority, the prelates of Ireland held a general meeting, May 27th, in which they resolved unanimously,

"That having seriously examined the copy of the bill (which they then conceived was passing through Parliament) they felt themselves bound to declare, that the Ecclesiastical clauses, or securities, are utterly incompatible with the discipline of the Roman Catholic Church, and with the free exercise of their religion:" and in their next resolution, they speak of "their consternation and dismay at the consequences which these regulations must, if enforced, naturally produce."

These resolutions were confirmed, May 29, at the *Catholic Board*, by a very great majority.

The celebrated speech of Dr. Dromgoole, on Dec. 8, in the same year, is fresh in the memory of our readers, in which he designates this very bill as a *ridiculous bill*, so full "of shameful exaction, so subversive of religion, and so injurious to general liberty, that our ancestors would have rejected it in the darkest night of the penal code." This speech was cheered on all sides of the meeting, and various resolutions were passed without a division, in which, all and every sort of interference, on the part of the Crown, in the appointment or approval of their prelates, was positively declared inadmissible. The whole conduct of the Catholic board, since that period, has presented an appearance much more of rebellion than of conciliation. In the mean time, the warmest and most steady advocates of their cause, have been loaded with a severer share of invective, than had ever before been exercised even on their most determined opponents.

Among those who have been singled out as the most prominent objects of attack, is the honourable Baronet, whose speech is now before us. From Dr. Milner, from Mr. Plowden, and from the whole host of Irish Catholics, he has met with the severest censure and the most unqualified abuse. If any additional argument were wanting to persuade us of the utter hopelessness of any attempt to conciliate the Irish hierarchy, and their numerous supporters, it would be the marked ingratitude which they have evinced towards a man, who has dedicated his time, his abilities, and his influence to their service. The labours of many years have been exerted in their cause, nor is there any man, not even Mr. Grattan excepted, to whom the Catholics of Ireland owe a larger debt of gratitude and respect, than to Sir John Cox Hippisley. There is no man who has so effectually smoothed the way to the reception of their cause, or who has brought so clear and extended a knowledge of the

subject

subject to its support. The only return that he has met with for the anxious exertions of a whole life, is obloquy and abuse. *Illa est agricolæ messis iniqua suæ.* If this is their mode of treating their friends, what mercy are their opponents to expect?

The crime which the worthy Baronet has committed is simply this. He would exact the same securities against the interference of the Papal jurisdiction, and the same controul over the appointment of their prelates, which every Roman Catholic country in Europe uniformly exercises; nor would he concede without a deliberate investigation of the grounds on which a concession is to be granted, and the qualifications with which it is to be accompanied. In this line of conduct he has uniformly persisted, from the very first day in which the Catholic petitions were presented to the House, down to the present moment; to whatever therefore of his ulterior views we may enter our objection, to his consistency at least we are bound to pay our tribute of merited respect.

The speech before us, though published only in the course of the last year, was delivered in 1813, under those peculiar circumstances which we would recal to the recollection of the public. The House of Commons having pledged themselves early in the Session, to take the Catholic claims into consideration, on the 11th of May, Sir J. Hippisley moved for the appointment of a select committee, to enter into those enquiries and to investigate those details, to which a committee of the whole House could have neither time nor patience to attend. The following were the resolutions proposed.

“That a select committee be appointed to examine and report the state of the laws affecting his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects within the realm: the state and number of the Roman Catholic clergy, their religious institutions, and their intercourse with the See of Rome, or other foreign jurisdictions: the state of the laws and regulations affecting his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects in the several colonies of the united kingdom: the regulations of foreign states as far as they can be substantiated by evidence, respecting the nomination, collation, or institution of the episcopal order of the Roman Catholic clergy, and the regulations of their intercourse with the See of Rome.” If this be conceded, I propose to move that the committee do consist of twenty-one, and that the following members be of the said committee, namely, Lord Viscount Castlereagh, Mr. Ponsonby, Mr. Yorke, Mr. Grantan, Mr. Ryder, Mr. Canning, Mr. Bathurst, Mr. Tierney, Sir William Scott, Sir John Newport, Sir John Nicholl, Mr. M. Fitzgerald, Mr. Peel, Mr. Plunkett, Mr. Banks, Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Barry, Mr. Brogden, Sir Samuel Romilly, and Mr. Barham; that they meet to-morrow morning, in the Speaker's chamber,

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and

and have powers to send for persons, papers, and records : that five be a quorum : that they have leave to sit notwithstanding any adjournment of the House, and that they have power to report, from time to time, the minutes of the evidence taken before them." P. 3.

This motion was supported by Mr. Ryder, and those who were considered hostile to the Catholic Emancipation, and opposed by Mr. Cauning, and those who were desirous of passing the measure without enquiry. The motion was lost by 237 against 189. How far this determination to resist enquiry, how far this hurried and precipitate legislation is the signal either of policy or wisdom, it is not within our present purpose to enquire. How far it would have answered the end proposed in conciliating the country, the Irish Catholics themselves have unequivocally declared ; who while this very measure was expected to pass triumphantly through the House, were prepared to meet it in terms not of gratitude, but of execration.

As the honourable Baronet is at this very time on the point of renewing his motion, this speech before us deserves our most earnest attention. It deserves our attention, as it comes from a man, who is now, perhaps, the only member of the British Parliament, who is thoroughly acquainted with all the bearings of this important question, and with all its numerous and intricate details. He has always brought to its discussion a fund of deep and accurate information, which forms a striking contrast with the frothy and unsubstantial verbiage of ignorant politicians, or declamatory sciolists. *Talis cum sit utinam noster esset.* The only man who could contend with him upon these important points, is now no more ; but the name of Duigenan will be ever cherished with gratitude by every good Protestant, as an upright, intrepid, and most learned defender of their best interests. Since the death of this excellent man, the worthy Baronet is now in possession of the field. He has long been intimately versed in the doctrines, the discipline, and the history of the Romish Church ; he has now been practically acquainted with its temper and its disposition. For the respect to which he is justly entitled at their hands, he has met with obloquy ; for eulogy, abuse ; and for gratitude, the most virulent and personal hostility. This is not the treatment he would have met from the Church of England, or her ministers ; they, though disagreeing with him in his ulterior views, are ever willing to treat his learning with respect, his consistency with esteem, and to view every effort which he may make to throw light upon the subject before us, with the candour which it deserves.

To the most matured and patient enquiry upon this momentous question, we cannot have the slightest objection : on the  
contrary

contrary we would court the investigation, and abide by the result. With the following sentence, therefore, in the speech before us we fully agree.

"If I fail this night in my object, I shall nevertheless think it my duty to revive the motion, in the same terms, in the ensuing session, in the conviction that such an inquiry is essential to give effect to the memorable resolution of the last parliament. Its object is not the object of a party; and the advocate and opposer of the claims of the Catholics may equally give their support to the motion,—each in the persuasion that his own opinion will be sustained by the results of the enquiry. On whichever side the weight of evidence lies, it should be our object to develop it. To secure the proceedings of the committee from any embarrassing results, by a conflict of opinions, its duties should be limited (as indeed it would necessarily be, unless further authorized by the House) to the report of facts and evidence submitted to them; namely, the authenticated documents in support of the distinct heads of inquiry which are enumerated in the motion, and which, I conceive, must be admitted to bear an interesting and important relation to the ultimate object of our deliberations." P. 50.

Leaving for a moment our high stand of constitutional principle, and descending into the present question we find ample grounds for enquiry. When Bp. Milner avows, that "thirty bishops with their clergy, and a numerous laity, are ready to mount the scaffold, and submit to the axe or halter, rather than submit to the securities proposed for enactment," it is surely incumbent upon us to inquire what these securities are. They simply consist in such an exercise of restrictive power on the part of the crown, in the regulation of rescripts emanating from the see of Rome, and in the nomination or approval of the hierarchy, as is admitted even in countries wholly Catholic.

"The most irrefragable documents might be produced in a committee to evince the frequent and successful resistance to such encroachments, both in ancient and modern times, on the part even of those states which are supposed to have been most blindly devoted to the see of Rome. The spirit of the Gallican church has been pre-eminent—but Spain and Portugal,—Naples and Austria,—Savoy, Venice and Tuscany—in a word, every Catholic state, even on the other side of the Alps, with an exception to the Roman territory itself, have afforded distinguished proofs of this spirit of independence in the proceedings of their governments, not only by maintaining the freedom of their nominations to the prelacy, but have, also, under various appellations, whether of the *placet*, the *regium exequatur*, or some analogous term, asserted the right of the sovereign to the inspection and licensing of all rescripts emanating from the see of Rome (those of the penitentiary only, under certain guards excepted) before they

were allowed to have circulation or validity within their respective states. Surely, Sir, the well attested documents in support of such instructive facts are of no light estimation, but of practical utility, as salutary precedents; and it will be difficult to assign a satisfactory reason why they should not be recorded in the report of a committee, as an incontrovertible answer to those misguided zealots who denounce all measures of state regulation as inconsistent with the integrity of the Roman Catholic religion." P. 10.

By the unwearied efforts of the honourable baronet, a mass of information has been collected, the result of which we cannot give in a better manner than in his own words.

"Conceiving, Sir, that the production of such evidence, in support of these facts, might eventually be of useful resort, especially in such a Committee as is the object of the present motion, I requested of the noble viscount to be supplied with his official introduction to each of our ministers accredited to foreign courts, which might countenance my efforts to procure the verification of such information as I had obtained by less accredited means, and also to supply me with such further documents as could be obtained on the same subject. The noble viscount readily favoured my request, and the result has been the acquisition of many valuable documents, and information of unquestionable authority, extending to the civil and ecclesiastical polity of every state in Europe, in reference to the See of Rome, and in confirmation of the principles I have uniformly maintained to be of indispensable obligation in legislating upon the subject before us. The valuable and extensive information afforded by Sir Charles Stuart, his Majesty's envoy, and a constituent member of the regency of Portugal, I am bound upon this occasion to acknowledge, as, in itself, it nearly comprehends the extent of what was desirable to be ascertained, and supplies the proofs that every Catholic state in Europe has acted upon those principles, and promulgated, at various periods, such ordinances as might be usefully consulted, in framing securities against the encroachments of a foreign jurisdiction. The same mass of information supplies the proofs also, that where, as I have before noticed, the sovereigns themselves, from bigotry or pusillanimity, have shewn but too ready a propensity to bend to the yoke of the Roman Pontiff, a spirited resistance has been manifested by their people, and even by the immediate organs of their governments—such as the French parliaments—ever ready to support the national independence:—such also has been the spirit pretty generally shewn by the states of the German empire. But Austria, and Spain, and Portugal, and Naples,—the states of Venice, of Florence, of Savoy and Piedmont—in a word, as I have often noticed, every Catholic state has given proofs that they have known how to repel the encroachments of the See of Rome, by interposing such barriers as we now seek to accompany the grant of further concession to the claims

claims of the petitioners. I am the more anxious, Sir, to substantiate these facts by evidence, as the cry of the day on the part of the Catholics, especially in another part of the united kingdom, and who seem to be but bad supporters of the real interests of the Catholic body—is concession without restriction—‘ simple repeal’ as they term it—unqualified acquiescence in their demands: and a learned prelate of the Roman communion whom I have often had occasion to name, Bishop Milner, who but a few years ago was so forward to arraign such unprecedented pretensions, seems now to be equally forward to support them. It is not necessary to retrace the aberrations of this learned prelate from the course which he for a time so laudably pursued,—it is sufficient to repel such pretensions by demonstrating that, at no period, is there any precedent that can be truly considered as authority, of collation or institution being given to prelates of the Roman communion, in the unqualified terms that such Catholics would prescribe:—that there is no example of an intercourse being maintained between the See of Rome and the subjects of any state, whether in communion with Rome or otherwise, where the government of that state—I mean to be understood where there exists any dominant church establishment—does not maintain its right of control over such an intercourse, by the licence and inspection of rescripts at its pleasure:—the *exception of the forum internum*, or penitentiary, is to be construed as a concession from the crown, not as an abstract right to be maintained independently of the state.” P. 41.

We have seen the violence with which even the proposal of these measures in Ireland has been accompanied; measures which are taken by the government of almost every other Roman Catholic government in Europe, and especially by our own in respect to our Roman Catholic colonies, Canada, St. Domingo, Malta, and Quebec. That this spirit is daily increasing in our sister kingdom, we can prove from documents, to which no Catholic can advance the slightest objection; we mean from the Catholic Orthodox Journal of April, 1816.

We shall first extract the letter of Dr. Murray, one of the Catholic Archbishops, addressed to the Editor, and shall then give the Editor's comments upon it. This prelate had pronounced on the Good Friday of the present year, a sermon, which had been so much misrepresented, that he considered himself bound to give to the public a fair statement of the objectionable passage.

“ SIR,—As considerable mis-statements have gone abroad, relative to a passage of my Sermon on last Friday, to which allusion was made in your publication of that day, I beg you will have the kindness, with a view to obviate any further misconception on this head, to give insertion to the passage, such as it was really delivered.—Having arrived at that part of our Divine Redeemer's passion,

sion, where he is represented as bound to a pillar, I said :—‘ To this bound and sutering victim, I would now implore the attention of those misguided Catholics, who seem willing to impose new and disgraceful bands, not indeed on his sacred person, but on his mystical body, that is, his Church, which was ever more dearer to him than even his life. Does not St. Paul assure us, (Eph. c. iii. 26, 27, 28. v.) that for this mystical body *he delivered himself up — that he might present it to himself a glorious Church, not having spot or wrinkle — but that it should be holy and without blemish?* And could we suppose, that it would be more painful to him to submit his sacred hands to the ignominious cords, than to see this Church bound and fettered by restrictions, which would render it less capable of fulfilling the object for which it was formed—the object for which he poured out his most precious life? I know that our mistaken brethren would not consent to yield up any point, which *they* deem essential—and that they look not beyond what *they* consider safe and honourable conciliation. But, unhappily, it is now too well known, that the conciliation which is expected is such, as would imply the degradation and enslavement of the sacred ministry. And what virtuous Catholic would consent to purchase the chance of temporal advantages, at the price of such a real spiritual calamity?—Oh! if the stroke must come, let it come from those who have so long sought the extinction of our religion—but, in the name of God, let no Catholic press forward to share in the inglorious work—Let no one among us be found to say of his Church, as the treacherous disciple said of its divine founder: *What will you give me, and I will deliver (it) unto you?* Matt. xxvi. 15.’

“ I remain, Sir, your obedient humble servant,

April 15, 1816.

“ DANIEL MURRAY.” P. 136.

We shall now present the comments of the Editor.

“ The publication of this beautiful and sublime passage by the most Rev. Preacher, and the striking comparison drawn between the conduct of the traitorous Apostle, and the treacherous attempts of our modern Judases, felled the conciliating-arrangement-men to the ground, from which they never can rise, unless repentant, without being covered with infamy and disgrace. Following up the solemn decisions, so often made in synod, of their abhorrence of the Veto, several of the venerable hierarchy have announced their determination to sign and support the petition for *unqualified* emancipation, while the arrangement petitioners have not been able to obtain, according to public report, the signature of *a single clergyman* in Ireland. Would to God I could say the same of the petition which has been *privately* handed about in this metropolis, for the purpose of obtaining names. It is certainly gratifying to know that not *one* of the venerable Vicars Apostolic has put his name to the instrument, and I hope that those few clergymen who have been so imprudent as to give a kind of sanction

to the mischievous document by their signatures, will duly weigh the evil consequences of their conduct, and honestly and publicly retract their error. I can assure them it will be a great pleasure to me, to have the opportunity of sparing them a space in my journal for that purpose. I know that some of them will excuse themselves upon the ground, that they do not see or apprehend that the petition will be attended with the evils which are dreaded by the guardians of the Church.—But let them reflect that Judas probably did not anticipate the intention of the Jews to put our Saviour to death, or he likely would not have betrayed him; else why did he feel remorse for the deed, when he found the *deluded* and carnal-minded Israelites bent upon spilling his Divine Master's blood?—What happened to our Saviour's sacred person under the Jews, is certainly desired by the Gentiles in regard to his mystical body; if a doubt arises on this subject, that doubt must be immediately removed by the disgraceful scene which occurred at Skibbereen, in the county of Cork, on last St. Patrick's day. There the Vetoists attempted to gain signatures under the most deceitful and plausible pretensions, through the influence of a Mr. Alexander O'Driscoll, who professes to be a Catholic, but were that really the case, he would probably not have been recently raised to the rank of a magistrate. In consequence of the deceptions practised upon his flock, the Rev. Dr. Collins, the parish priest, addressed them on the above day from the pulpit, and explained to them the nature and tendency of the two petitions, that from the Catholic Association being, at the same time, before them. In the performance of this duty, he was indecently and illegally interrupted by the newly-made magistrate, and the chapel became a scene of confusion.—After divine service was over, and the people had retired to the chapel yard, Mr. O'Driscoll mounted a tomb, and there harangued the multitude telling them that he knew as much of religion as any priest; that if the Veto petition succeeded, the people would be served by it, inasmuch as they would no longer be burthened with the payment of marriage money, christening money, and other dues, with which the priests overcharged or deceived them. Such were the outrageous deceptions practised by the Vetoists at the before-mentioned place, to obtain signatures to their mischievous document; and can any clergyman sanction a measure which stands in need of such supporters and such arguments to assist its cause? It is impossible. Those who have lent their signatures in this country, to the abettors of the irreligious system, have been equally deceived—let them then avow the deception which has been exercised on them.—I have now lying before me an advertisement containing the names of upwards of forty individuals of Skibbereen, &c. who therein declare 'that in putting their signatures to a paper, commonly called Lord Trimleston's Veto petition,' they were taken by surprise, and did not consider or perceive its insidious tendency to corrupt their clergy and undermine their religion; that they there-  
fore



fore feel it their duty to retract their signatures and express regret for their error.' These names were succeeded by several others, who followed their countrymen in this praiseworthy repentance. Happy shall I be to announce a similar determination on the part of those individuals here, who have incautiously become the victims of a misplaced confidence, and more particularly of those clergymen who have been made the dupes of a wily policy. If they have inadvertently followed the unhappy steps of Judas, in betraying the mystical body of their heavenly Redeemer, let them dread the despair which seized the traitor on perceiving his error, and imitate the blessed example of St. Peter, in his contrition, before it be too late." P. 137.

Of the general spirit which animates the whole Catholic body of Ireland, we cannot have a better proof, than in the following resolutions, which were passed in aggregate meetings of the Catholics in Limerick, Waterford, and Cork. These are selected also from the same Catholic Magazine.

#### " LIMERICK RESOLUTIONS.

" That we renew our Petition to the Legislature for the extinction of those grievances, from which we have so often prayed relief.

" That we cannot deem such concession to be emancipation or liberality, which, while it professes to remove civil and political restrictions, inflicts religious ones.

" Therefore, that we view with regret, any document emanating from any portion, however small, of our fellow sufferers, which may purport to be construed into, or mistaken for, an acquiescence in those invidious and injurious accompaniments.

" That hoping Great Britain, which ought to be the first to afford an enlightened and just example, shall not, at least, be the last to imitate it, on the adoption of those liberal and judicious views, which pervade the civilized world on this head, we now confidently renew our appeal for the cordial and unqualified restoration of our rights.

#### " WATERFORD RESOLUTIONS.

" That we are this day assembled for the purpose of explaining to all classes of our fellow subjects, the motives which govern our conduct in still persisting humbly to petition the Legislature for the total abolition of those galling and painful laws, which so long and so unjustly exclude us from the blessings of the British Constitution, on account of our conscientious adherence to the religion of our forefathers.

" That we adopt the Petition and Address approved by the Aggregate Meeting of the Catholics in Dublin, on the 5th day of March, as the Petition and Address of the Catholics of the county and city of Waterford.

" That we behold with the deepest regret, and most heartfelt sorrow, the melancholy and mischievous disunion which distracts the

the Catholics of Ireland, and which is so much calculated to prolong our degradation. We therefore earnestly implore those of our communion, who, with honourable and honest views, have differed from the bulk of their fellow-sufferers, or who, inconsiderately, or from misconception, have signed a Veto Petition, to which signatures are now solicited through the kingdom, to reconsider and retract a measure so injurious to the object which we all wish to attain.

“ That to yield the Veto to the crown, would be in effect to surrender to the ministers of the day an insidious influence over the Catholic Clergy, which, warned by history, we fear might result in rendering them the corrupt and most dangerous tools of despotic power; a result, considering the present unspotted purity of that venerable body, that could never be sufficiently deplored, and which therefore we ought to use every endeavour to avert.

“ That it would therefore be equally hazardous to the political liberties of all classes of Britons, and to the religious liberties of the Catholics, to place so dangerous a weapon in the hands of ministers.

“ That since the solemn declaration of our bishops, that the Veto would be essentially injurious, and even eventually subversive of the Catholic Religion in Ireland, and after the foregoing full exposition of our constitutional objections thereto, we deem it further due to those of our own communion to declare, that in our conviction it would betray the grossest dereliction of religious principle, were we now to accede to that baneful interference.”  
P. 153.

The resolutions of the aggregate meeting of Cork are to the same purpose, but rather more violent in point of expression. They formally proscribe all those who would admit any interference whatsoever of the crown in the regulation of ecclesiastical matters.

“ That we have therefore seen with surprise and regret, a document lately sent forth in this and other parts of Ireland, purporting to be the Petition of persons calling themselves Roman Catholics, and professing to be in search of civil liberty, yet expressing a willingness to conform to ecclesiastical regulations to be made by the temporal power of these realms, and which regulations would increase the undue influence of the crown.

“ That we feel ourselves called upon to disclaim all communion of feeling or sentiment with the mistaken persons who have distinctly offered religious concessions, the more dangerous as they are vague and undefined, in barter for political privileges, to which every British subject is justly and constitutionally entitled; and who could so far forget the great principle of civil and religious liberty, as to suffer a particular encroachment upon a general right, in expectation that some individuals may reap advantage from the possession of place, or the enjoyment of court favour.

“ That

"That we are convinced that any law, founded upon the principle of that document, would not conciliate, but would irritate and enrage a people, whose disunion and dissatisfaction having been considerably increased, and whose feelings have been sorely wounded by the extraordinary and arrogant attempt to force upon them, and to present to the legislature, in the name of their communion, a series of declarations which they condemn and abhor." P. 154.

We have seen what are the regulations of states wholly Catholic, upon these points; we now see the spirit in which they are rejected with abhorrence by the whole mass of the Irish Catholics. It will be for the emancipationists rather than for ourselves, to conceive any measure which can reconcile these two discordant points, the temper of the Irish Catholics, and the security, not of the Church only, but of the Constitution and of the crown. Let us again remind our readers of the celebrated speech of Dr. Drumgoole, a speech which was cheered from every part of a crowded assembly.

"No! if the Church of England trembles for its safety, it must seek it elsewhere, *we have no securities to give!* That she stands in great need of securities who can doubt, when he sees division in the camp, and observes the determined war that is carried on against her—*muros pugnatur intra et extra*—that her articles of association are despised by those that pretend to be governed by them—the Romans, and men of strange faith, are amongst those in command; whilst, from without, she is incessantly assailed by the thousand bands and associations of tribes, who neither give nor take quarter. Why are not means taken to coerce them? Why are they not bound over to keep the peace? Why are they not put upon their securities? Furious tribes, religious warriors, who neither take nor give quarter. Why are they not put upon their securities? Why are not they bound over to keep the peace? To pass over others—Observe the Methodists, a sort of Cossack infantry, religiously irregular, who, possessing themselves of the fields, and fighting from ruined houses and church-yards, are carrying on a desultory but destructive warfare against her. In the mean time, the strong and republican phalanxes of Presbyterianism occupy an imposing position; and the columns of Catholicity are collecting, who challenge the possession of the *ark*, and, unfurling the *oriflamb*, display its glorious motto, *ΕΙ ΤΟΥΤΗ ΝΙΚΑΙ*.

"But the established church will stand,—it will survive the storms with which it is assailed, if it be built upon a rock,—but if its foundation be on sand, no human power can support it. In vain shall statesmen put their heads together,—in vain shall parliaments, in mockery of Omnipotence, declare that it is permanent and inviolate,—in vain shall the lazy churchman cry from the sanctuary to the watchman on the tower that danger is at hand,—*it shall fall, for it is human*, and liable to force, to accident, and to decay,

—IT SHALL FALL, AND NOTHING BUT THE MEMORY OF THE MISCHIEFS IT HAS CREATED SHALL SURVIVE. *Already the marks of approaching ruin are upon it; it has had its time upon the earth—a date nearly as long as any other NOVELTY; and, when the time arrives, shall Catholics be called, by the sacred bond of an oath, to uphold a system which they believe will be one day REJECTED BY THE WHOLE EARTH? Can they be induced to swear that they would oppose even the present Protestants of England, if, ceasing to be truants, they thought fit to return to their ancient worship, and to have a Catholic King, and a Catholic Parliament?*" *Vide Report of the Speech of Dr. Drumgoole.*

It is ever to be borne in mind, that this is not the language of an individual, but of a party, and that party by far the larger portion of the Catholic population of Ireland; and as such, let it be indelibly engraved on the memories of our readers.

Most wisely therefore do we conceive, that Sir J. C. Hippsley calls for enquiry, that he deprecates the precipitate surrender of our constitution into the hands of those, who term such a surrender an injury and an insult. We have lately indeed heard a rumour, to which, we conceive, no credit is to be attached, that it was the intention of government to carry these measures with a high hand; and, by way of quieting the Catholics, to force down their throats the very conciliation which they abhor. Now we do conceive, that if we wanted a receipt for rebellion, we should look for it in such a measure. The most superficial knowledge of human nature will inform us, that every bad feeling of pride, of insult, and of revenge, is much more effectually excited by a forced favour, than by a forced injury. If the adage, *volenti non fit injuria*, be founded in truth, not less is its converse, *volenti non fit beneficium*.

The more we enter into the nature of the securities demanded, the more we shall stand astonished at the virulent and intemperate spirit of the Irish Catholics, who would reject with indignation those restrictions, which, so far from being arbitrary or novel exactions, emanate from the immediate and inherent rights of the Crown. To what extent the supreme secular power of the State has been accustomed to interfere in the affairs of the Church, is a question therefore of considerable importance, and we are happy to find it discussed in a most able and impartial manner, in the volume which stands second in the title of the present article. Mr Brown has commenced his investigation as high as the reign of Constantine the Great, and proposes to continue it down to the Reformation. The present volume comprises an account first of the Donatist schism, and of the ecclesiastical powers which the emperor exercised upon this memorable occasion: and, secondly, of the Arian heresy, and the proceedings

ceedings of the councils upon it, in which the emperor appears to have employed a similar degree of authority. In justice to the work before us, we do not hesitate to declare, that the labour which Mr. Brown has expended on the collection, and the accuracy which he has shewn in the disposition of his material, merit our warmest approbation. In depth and variety of research, and in display of testimony and document, he is unrivalled. As far as it proceeds, it is a most valuable reservoir of ecclesiastical history, not only in the information which it actually gives, but in the means which it affords, by its numerous citations and references, of pursuing the enquiry to a still greater extent. We earnestly hope that Mr. Brown will find sufficient encouragement to enable him to proceed in his promised work down to the latest period.

From the evidence which he has adduced on the first of these questions, he arrives at these, among other, important conclusions.

“ That the emperor required and received the same compliance with his commands, and submission to his authority, from the bishops and clergy of his dominions, which he required and received from his other subjects; their immunity from the discharge of secular offices being derived from concessions, limited in the extent of their operation, by the opinion which he had formed of the compliance of one of the opposing parties with the established rules of ecclesiastical discipline\*; their attendance, as well on his secular courts, as in the ecclesiastical assemblies which he convened to determine their differences, being required and enforced in the same authoritative language†, and by the same compulsory measures, as those which he adopted to enforce the attendance of secular persons, in causes purely of a secular nature; their property, public and private, being liable to confiscation, and their persons being subject to arrest, imprisonment, banishment, and even death, in accordance with, or in opposition to, the decision of ecclesiastical commissioners, legally appointed by himself and to that of councils, or pretended councils‡, composed of the greater part of the clergy of a large portion of his empire§.

“ Finally; that there are no traces of any distinction having then existed between the supreme head of the church and the supreme head of the state||, as the emperor in his character of guardian of the peace of the former, convened those meetings of

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“ \* See Appendix A. and B. p. 1, 2.

“ † See Note XIX.”

“ ‡ Those of the Donatists of Africa.”

“ § See, upon these points, Prynne's Eccl. Jurisd. b. ii. c. 3, vol. i. p. 49, 50; Gibbon's Roman Emp. c. 21, vol. ii. p. 231—5.”

“ || See Note XX.”

ecclesiastics, by whose deliberation he wished the disputes that might arise amongst the clergy of his empire to be determined, and for this purpose called the prelates and other inferior members of that body from their dioceses and charges, at his pleasure, giving them directions for the preservation of order in their sees and churches, during their absence, through the medium of secular officers \*, to whose tribunal these disputes were occasionally referred by his rescripts, or originally brought by the clerical complainants themselves. From the decision of these assemblies he received and heard appeals in causes ecclesiastical, at least as they respected matters of external discipline, pronouncing a judgment upon them, from which there lay no appeal. In contradiction also to their decision, but to preserve the peace of the church, he delegated to certain prelates whom he himself selected, the power of deposing two rival bishops, one of them previously declared to be orthodox, the other schismatical; a commission which these prelates readily accepted, though their authority to act was solely derived from the emperor's commands †.

“ But besides these points, which directly relate to the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction by the supreme secular magistrate of the empire, the narrative seems to establish two others, closely connected with those discussions which have prevailed during so many centuries, on the precise limits of the jurisdiction of the pope, as supreme head of the Catholic Church, and the dependence of the ecclesiastical, on the temporal power of the state; namely,

“ First, That offences committed by the clergy, from the highest to the lowest rank, against the civil institutions of the empire, were then regularly cognizable before the tribunal of a secular magistrate ‡.

“ Second, That the bishop of Rome then possessed no authority over his fellow bishops, except that which might arise from the patriarchal dignity which he possessed in common with others, or from the voluntary respect which was paid to him, as presiding over one of the largest and oldest dioceses of the empire, generally believed to have been founded by St. Peter, and the chair

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“ \* See Appendix I. p. 15.”

“ † See, upon this last point, Tillemont, *Mem. Eccl.* tom. vi. p. 59, 60. On the others, see further, Note XXI.”

“ ‡ As in the case of Silvanus, bishop of Ciritha, against whom an accusation of theft, or embezzlement, was made before the proconsul, by a deacon, or ex-deacon of his own church. See further, on this head, Giannone, *Ist. Nap. lib. ii. c. 8, § 3, tom. i. p. 138, 9, 142*; Gibbon's *Roman Emp. c. 20, vol. ii. p. 222, 3*; Mosheim's *Eccl. Hist. cent. iv. part 2, c. 2, § 4, vol. i. p. 350, 1*; *Hist. Philos. des Papes, p. 7.*”

of which was seated in its ancient and venerated capital \*." P. 21.

As a specimen of the deep research in which Mr. Brown has engaged himself in the present work, we extract his account of the character in which Constantine really appeared at the Council of Nice, which certainly bears very considerably upon the question before him.

"In what character did Constantine appear in the Council of Nice, is a question which has been very differently answered by different writers, according to the prejudices by which they have been influenced, or the conclusion which they wished to deduce from its resolution. He appeared there, says Hermant †, 'sachant qu'il estoit là comme témoin, et non comme juge; qu'il y estoit comme un des fidèles, ainsi qu'il l'écrivit luy-mesme ‡ aux eglises chretiennes, et non comme souverain.' As a consequence of this knowledge we are reminded that 'il se contenta d'un petit siege d'or qui estoit fort bas, et qui convenoit ainsi d'une part à la majesté du maistre de tout le monde, et de l'autre à l'humilité d'un prince qui estoit serviteur de JESUS CHRIST.' That he appeared there as a witness, in the legal sense of the word, there can be no pretence to say, for he certainly acted rather as an examiner of witnesses, or at least of accusers, and of the defenders of those who were accused. It must then be as a witness of the scene there exhibited, that the emperor is said to have repaired to Nice; and this is one of the motives which Tillemont, from whom Monsieur de Hermant borrowed much of his reasoning, as well as many of his authorities, assigns in the following passage §. 'Il vint tant pour voir ce grand nombre de Prelats, que pour s'y rendre le mediateur de la paix, y établir la concorde, et étouffer toutes les disputes ausquelles la folie d'Arius avoit donné le commencement.'

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"\* Consult, upon this point, Dupin, *Antiq. Eccl. Discip. diss. i.* § 7, p. 18, § 11, p. 39, 44; *diss. iv. c. 1, § 3, and c. 2, § 1, p. 317—331*; *Bibl. Eccl. tom. ii. p. 367, 8*; *Maintenu des Princes Souverains*, p. 260—276; Giannone, *Ist. di Nap. lib. viii. tom. i. p. 126—9*; *Hist. Philos. des Papes*, p. 9, 10; *Hist. Eccl. Magd. cent. iv. c. 7, p. 549, 575*; Balduinus, *de Const. Leg. Eccl. lib. i. p. 41*; Blondel, *de la Primauté*, p. 14, 15, 20—27, &c.; *Cave on Church Government*, Preface, c. 1, § 3, 4, p. 11—30, § 7, 8, p. 38—45; Sir John Hayward, *on Supremacy in Relig.* p. 50—55; Mosheim's *Eccl. Hist. cent. iii. part 2, c. 2, § 2, cent. iv. part 2, c. 2, § 5, vol. i. p. 264, 5, 351—3*."

"† *Vie de St. Athanase*, liv. ii. c. 4. p. 119."

"‡ *'Epist. Const. Ecclesiis, apud Theodoret, l. i. c. 7 (10, p. 42), Euseb. l. iii. c. 10 (17, p. 608).'*'"

"§ *Mem. Eccl. tom. vi. p. 649.*"

He came then to moderate, by his presence, the heats which might arise in the Council, and to exert all his influence for the re-establishment of the peace of the Church. To this effect is a preceding passage in the life of St. Athanasius just quoted \*. 'Le second mouvement qui le fit aussi venir à Nicée,' (the first assigned, being that of gratifying his curiosity, as Tillemont has already taught us,) 'fut qu'il souhaitoit de se rendre le mediateur de la paix et de l'union entres les Evesques. Il craignoit,' continues this biographer, 'comme prince politique, que les disputes de la foy et de la religion n'alterassent les esprits de ses sujets et le repos de son empire; et il estoit affligé comme prince chrestien, de ce que le scandale de cette division exposoit la religion chrestienne aux railleries des payens et des bouffons, qui le jouoient mesme sur les theatres, et pouvoit porter plusieurs payens qui eussent voulu se faire chrestiens, à différer leur conversion; ce qui est un effet naturel de toutes les heresies.' He appeared then,—if we may anticipate a title conferred upon a monarch, who seems to have done little more than to restore the jurisdiction of the crown in ecclesiastical affairs, to the state in which Constantine left it—as the Defender of the Faith, of which we shall subsequently find that he took upon himself, in some measure, to be the interpreter.

"But the best means of ascertaining in what character Constantine came to this Council, will be to inquire what he did when he was there, as it is recorded by one who was an eye-witness of his conduct. After giving us the speech with which this emperor opened the solemn deliberations of the council, Eusebius informs us †, that 'il permit aux presidens du Concile ‡ de dire ce qu'il leur plairoit. Alors,' he adds, 'les uns commencerent à former des accusations, les autres à y répondre, àet faire aussi des plain-

\* \* Hermant, Vie de S. Athanase, liv. ii. c. 1. p. 103."

† † Vita Const. lib. iii. c. 13. p. 605."

‡ ‡ The original words are *παρεδίδου τὸν λόγον ταῖς τῆς συνέδου προέδοις*, and the use of the plural number has naturally given rise to an opinion that the Council had more presidents than one. Such is that of Launoy, who seeks to reconcile the conflicting testimonies of the ancient writers, by sharing this office between Alexander, Eustathius, and Osius. This conjecture would derive some support from the Synodicon itself, if the number of errors which it commits in the short space of seven-and twenty lines of only one column of a page, did not deprive that register of every degree of credit. For we there read, that over the proceedings of that assembly 'præfuerunt et præsederunt Vito et Vincentius presbyteri locum tenentes Silvestri papæ Romani, ejusque successoris Julii: Alexander, Alexandriæ: Macarius, Hierosolymorum: Eustathius, Antiochæ: vice Metrophanis, Constantinopolitani, Alexander presbyter: Hosius, Cordubæ episcopus: et Constantinus inter Christianos imperatores apostolus."



tes. Ces contestations-la ayant excité un grand bruit, l'Empereur écouta avec une extrême patience tout ce qui fut avancé par les partis differens, expliqua quelque-fois leurs raisons, et enfin les mit d'accord. Il leur parla,' he further tells us, " en grec dont il avoit quelque connoissance, loüa les uns, convainquit les autres par la force de ses raisons, et flechit les autres par la douceur de ses remontrances jusques à ce qu'il eut terminé leurs differens, et appaisé leurs querelles.' The differences which have arisen amongst modern historians as to who was the president of this convocation have already been noticed \*, but it seems to be difficult to conceive a more correct description of the duties of this office, as it would have been exercised in times, when the share which the individual who filled it was to take in the debate was not so correctly ascertained as it now is, than that which this passage affords us, and from which I think we may safely conclude, that whilst present in the assembly, (and there is no reason to think that he was absent during any part of its solemn and public disputations,) the emperor himself presided over the deliberations of the Council, which he had unquestionably convoked †. It is not contended that he voted with the bishops; (if, indeed, from the general unanimity which he finally established there was any voting in the case,) but it must be remembered that, even in our times, the Speaker of the House of Commons, and the president of other assemblies, have only a casting vote, in case of an equality of voices.

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" \* This point is very fully discussed by Pagi (An. 925, § 11—18, tom. i. p. 406—8), and by Samuel Basnage (An. 925, § 19—22, tom. ii. p. 700—3) to which I refer those readers who may wish for further information on the subject. The former of these writers argues in favour of Hosius, Vincent, and Vitus, as legates of the papal see; the latter in favour of Eustathius, patriarch of Antioch."

" † 'The truth is,' says Dr. Comber (Roman forgeries, part ii. p. 86), 'Constantine himself was the president of this Council, and sat on a gilded throne (not as the preface saith falsely, *below all the bishops*; but) *above all the bishops*, as Eusebius an eye-witness relates; and the Notes at last own he sat in the chief place. Yea, the Annalist confesseth he acted the part of a moderator in it. Richerius,' continues our author, 'goes further, saying, It is clear, by undoubted testimonies, that the appointing and convening of this Council depended on the authority of Constantine, who was the president thereof.' In fact the canon law itself makes the same admission; for in the canon *Futuram*, c. 12, p. 1, we read that Constantine 'præsidents in sancta synodo, quæ apud Nicæam congregata est, cum querelam quorundam conspiceret coram se delatam, ait: Vos a nemine dijudicari potestis: quia solius Dei iudicio reservamini. Dii etenim vocati estis: et idcirco non potestis ab hominibus judicari.'"

When

When the assembly broke up, we find that Constantine 'ecrivit ce qui s'étoit passé dans le Concile à ceux qui n'avoient pû y assister \*'; and that, in one of these letters, speaking of the bishops who had been present in obedience to his summons, to those who were not there, he writes †, 'j'ai assisté a leur assemblée comme un d'entre vous. Car je n'ai garde de dissimuler le sujet de ma joye qui est que je suis comme vous, et avec vous, serviteur de Jesus Christ.' In what sense he used this expression, we may perhaps determine from the speech in Eusebius ‡, already quoted in the former chapter of this work §, in which Constantine represents himself as being appointed by God, 'Evêque, pour le dehors de l'Eglise,' as were the prelates to whom he made this declaration, 'pour le dedans.' Whilst thus referring his authority in ecclesiastical affairs, as it related to the external discipline of the Church, to the same divine original, as that of the successors of the Apostles in the internal, it is readily admitted that Constantine did not always exactly observe the distinction which he here lays down, but seems to have reserved to himself a general controlling power, which he brought into action as circumstances appeared to call for its exertion, for the benefit of the people committed to his government, and of the Church which so gladly availed itself of his protection. It is not, however, my business to maintain, or even attempt to maintain the consistency of his conduct on these points, but merely to show what that conduct was." P. 57.

Such then was the antiquity of the interference of the supreme secular power, in matters purely ecclesiastical, and we hope to trace its progress with Mr. Brown, through all its various channels, especially in these dominions, from the earliest ages down to that of the Reformation; we shall then look to the documents which the industry and the influence of Sir J. C. Hippisley has collected, as an exposition of the practice of the Roman Catholic States of the present day, on the various branches of Ecclesiastical jurisdiction. From all this concurrent testimony, but one inference can result, that those who refuse to admit the exercise of such influence, whether of the parliament or of the crown, in their own affairs, are but ill adapted to direct it in the affairs of others. We are called upon to admit the Romanists to a participation of the same privileges and power with their Protestant brethren, while they themselves both refuse and execrate those

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\* \* Eusebius, Vita Const. lib. iii. c. 16, p. 607."

† † Ib. lib. iii. c. 17, p. 608."

‡ ‡ Vita Const. lib. iv. c. 24. p. 666."

§ § Note ii. p. 2.

restrictions and regulations under which every Protestant is uniformly bound. They meet us not on equal terms. They demand not an equal, but a larger share of the constitution than ourselves. Any measure, therefore, that would secure to them their demands, would be not the concession of a part, but the surrender of the whole. We have purposely refrained from entering upon those higher political and constitutional grounds on which we should resist the abandonment of any bulwark of our Church, and of our Protestant constitution; we would only at present evince the utter hopelessness of any conciliation without such a surrender, as the oldest and best friends of Catholic Emancipation would feel it their duty to resist.

In the Appendix to the Speech of Sir. J. Cox Hippisley, we find the Bull for the re-establishment of the Order of the Jesuits: upon the revival of such a society, at such a time, our limits will not permit us at present to enlarge; we trust, however, in the course of a very short time, to present to the public a full and extended view of this obnoxious Order, and to draw their attention to the alarming consequences, which must necessarily result from their re-establishment and re-admission into these dominions.

ART. VIII. *A Letter from a Rector to his Curate, on the Subject of the Bible Society.* 8vo. pp. 73. Hatchard. 1816.

SHOULD any young man, upon first entering into the Church, or still more, upon undertaking the care of a large and populous parish, be desirous of forming a temperate, just, and practical view of this very controverted question, we could not recommend him to a more clear, compendious, and convincing statement of the case, than is contained in the pamphlet before us. It is clearly from the pen of one who has been accustomed to the habits of teaching; we have heard it ascribed indeed to the late head-master of one of our first public schools, and from the sound and useful sense displayed throughout the whole, we are induced to give credit to the report.

The Rector is supposed to answer, in a friendly letter, the objections of a young and inexperienced curate, to remove certain scruples, and to point out the erroneous tendency of certain sentiments, which the young man has submitted to his judgment. The character of the Rector is well kept up throughout the whole; there is a candour which cannot fail to convince, and a kindness which cannot fail to interest and to attach.

Upon

Upon every point connected with this great question, the author speaks with much good sense and discrimination: when, however, he discusses that grand principle of the Bible Society, "the distribution of the Bible *only*," his opinions are delivered with so much discrimination, that we feel it our duty to transcribe them.

"Is the present age then so enlightened, that the danger of such errors and perversion has actually ceased to exist? Is our proficiency in religious knowledge so great, and so universal, as to render the measures, which *they* found expedient, no longer necessary? Do all agree in the doctrines, which *they* endeavoured to establish? Do all venerate and support the Church, which *they* laboured to build up on a foundation so solid, that it might never be shaken?—It is true, we are happily free from many of the grosser absurdities, which equally disgraced religion and common sense, though examples of fanaticism might still be produced, scarcely inferior to any that have been mentioned—of inspirations—and illuminations—and sudden conversions—and pangs of the new birth—and very recently of persons, who were weak enough to give credit to the fanciful predictions of a foolish or designing woman, who was able to persuade them to expect the birth of the Messiah.

"But with regard to *doctrines*, much of the old leaven, it is to be lamented, still remains. So long as teachers shall be found to maintain, and hearers to believe, that '*faith alone* is sufficient to our justification,' so 'that there is no necessity for '*good works*'—'that it is impossible to resist, or fall from Grace'—so long as '*absolute unconditional election*' and reprobation are held to be truths founded on the Scriptures—so long as *Creeds* shall be published, derived (as it is pretended) from the same Scriptures, but containing less of real Christianity than the Koran of Mahomet—so long as New Versions of the same Scriptures shall be sent forth to support doctrines, whereby 'the divinity of our blessed Redeemer' is impiously called in question, and the fundamental article of '*the atonement* is denied'—so long—I can never persuade myself, that I shall promote the advancement of true religion by joining a Society, which can be satisfied with '*giving the Bible alone*,' rejecting the Prayer Book—and the Catechism—all explanatory Notes and Expositions—and '*accepting the Scripture merely as its own interpreter*.' For it is to little good purpose, that the Bible *alone* is distributed by the members of this Society, if it be followed by itinerant vendors, equally alert in circulating *new editions with enthusiastic and Calvinistic interpretations*.

"When such means are employed to disseminate such doctrines, I leave any one to determine, whether '*the Scripture can be its own true interpreter*' to those, whose judgments are no longer free—whose minds are already prejudiced, or liable every moment to be led astray—who have little or no opportunity of correcting the

false notions they have imbibed, by listening to the sober admonitions of their lawful and appointed pastors, whom they have been taught to consider no better than 'blind guides,' unable to instruct them in the saving truths of the Gospel? 'Any religion' (it has been said) 'is better than none;' but in a concern so momentous, and where the choice is free, it is surely of no trifling importance to enable those, for whose salvation we profess and feel (as we are bound to do) an earnest solicitude, to distinguish rightly between truth and error; especially at a time, when so many different sects—all of them appealing to the Sacred Writings in support of their various and opposite tenets—are daily spreading themselves wider over the country; and are indefatigable in their exertions to make new proselytes to their respective opinions. Shall no antidote be supplied to counteract the baneful effects of the poison thus administered?—Shall the clergy, who refuse to join the Bible Society, be accused of 'imitating the practice of the Romish Church?' Are they enemies to the circulation of the Scriptures?—God forbid!—The charge will be refuted by the practice of almost every parochial minister in the kingdom, who, according to his means, has seldom failed to distribute Bibles to his poor parishioners. But he has been far from thinking this to be sufficient—well knowing, that it is the duty of an established clergy, not to inculcate *general and vague* notions of religion, but *genuine and sound principles, conformably to the received opinions of the Church, to which he belongs*: and that he would discharge his duty but by halves, were he contented with 'giving away the Bible,' unless he availed himself of the additional means in his power to render it serviceable by being rightly understood. Such are the means afforded by the distribution of the Prayer Book, and of the various little Tracts furnished by the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge for the purpose of illustrating more fully the moral precepts—and explaining more clearly the sublime doctrines of Christianity." P. 65.

We cannot refrain from presenting our readers with another extract from this excellent publication, in which the author gives us a serious and important warning against the *political influence* which this enormous system of organization is gradually acquiring, and which it will apply in due time to the furtherance of purposes the most hostile to the best interests both of Church and State.

"There is one circumstance which appears too material to escape our observation. In the detail of the proceedings of the Bible Society, it is boasted, that '*political influence* has been acquired in foreign courts \*.'—Whether this boast be well founded

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\* "See the 8th Report of the Bible Society, page 78."

or not, they who have made it are the best judges. But be the influence real or imaginary, this much is certain, that they have had it in their contemplation, and have considered it as desirable: and if this be so, have not we on the other side equal reason to view it in a different light? If such an acquisition be considered of importance *abroad*, why may it not be as much desired and as ardently sought after *at home*? Should this idea be regarded as neither unnatural nor improbable, who can without the most serious alarm suffer his mind to dwell on the effects, which *may* be produced by so extensive a combination?—by the united efforts of so large and powerful a body?—by the weight they will have obtained in every part of the kingdom?—and by the means, which they possess, of appropriating (whenever the demand for Bibles shall have been supplied, as far as may be deemed expedient) the immense funds, so carefully treasured up, to the accomplishment of purposes far remote from those, for which they were originally collected.”  
P. 38.

From the extracts which we have already given, our readers will be enabled to judge of the merits of the publication before us, which will meet, we trust, with the attention which it so justly merits.

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**ART. IX.** *A Sermon preached in the Cathedral Church of Winchester, at the Lent Assizes, 1816, holden for the County of Southampton, before the Hon. Mr. Baron Graham, and the Hon. Mr. Justice Park. With an Appendix and Notes. By the Rev. Frederic Iremonger, A. M. F. L. S.* 4to. pp. 80. Jacob, Winchester; and Rivingtons, London.

THE Sermon before us is the production of the gentleman, to whose “SUGGESTIONS,” the promoters of the System of National Education are so much indebted. The text chosen by our author, is from Psalm lxxix. ver. 12, “*O let the sorrowful sighing of the Prisoners come before thee.*” As the opening of his subject is conceived in a strain of dignified piety, we shall with pleasure present it to our readers.

“It has been wisely and piously ordained by our ancestors, that the solemn Administration of Justice should commence with devout supplications to that Being who is the Supreme Governor of the World, and concerning whom it is emphatically declared in Scripture, that as Mercy and Truth go before his face, so Righteousness and Judgment are the habitation of his throne! Independent of the peculiar need which even the wisest of earthly Judges must have of the Divine Blessing, in their arduous and important

portant office, an opportunity is thereby afforded for the suitable admonitions of the Christian preacher, and of all topics suggested by the solemnity of the occasion, there is none perhaps better calculated to excite impressions of seriousness, than considering the state of our unfortunate, but pitiable fellow-creatures, who have become amenable to the laws of their country, and reflecting on the sum of individual and collective misery, confined at this moment, and to such an unusually dreadful extent, within our prison walls! Well may the *considerate* Christian approach the sanctuary of God, and there with fervency implore, that the sorrowful sighing of the Prisoners may come before Him! that their tears may be the tears of *humility* and *contrition*: that their sorrow may be the *godly* sorrow that worketh Repentance; and that, should they suffer the punishment of an *earthly* tribunal, they may, through Divine Grace, direct every thought, and raise every effort of the soul, to the Judge of Heaven and Earth, and thus, through the mercy of God, and the merits of their Great Intercessor, find acceptance, when the *final* and *irretrievable* sentence is passed upon them at the *Day of Judgment*!" P. 7.

Our author proceeds to consider the causes of that depravity, of which we find too many melancholy instances in the lower ranks of our fellow-creatures, and the remedies which may be applied. He conceives with much justice, that during the time of their confinement in prison, much might be done towards softening and purifying their minds, and towards infusing those principles of Christianity, which have too often been wholly neglected.

"Here then a question naturally arises.—Are there no means by which the *reformation* of the unhappy culprits of *all ages* may be attempted? When the companions of their guilty hours are far from them; when the outward objects which have hitherto solely attracted their attention, and 'like deceitful lights upon a dangerous coast,' have brought them within the melancholy and sorrowful walls of a prison, are removed from the sight of their eyes; when the noise, and bustle, and hurry of the world are at a distance; when scenes of riot and debauchery are beyond their reach; when *temptations to sin* no longer solicit and allure them, what better time can there be to induce them to look into the *inmost recesses* of their hearts, to scrutinise calmly, impartially, and without interruption, the motive of every transaction, and retrace the fatal steps which have gradually led them to the brink of misery and of ruin? Never are the consolations of religion, and the comforts of Divine Grace more requisite, than when the hand of affliction lies heavy upon us; and never does affliction more grievously oppress, and weigh down the soul, than when it is produced by a consciousness of guilt! The influence of religion will then be felt: the terrors of the Lord may persuade some, and they may be plucked

plucked as a fire-brand out of the fire ; while the humble peniten, may be taught to look up for comfort to Him, who came to heal the *broken-hearted*, to proclaim liberty to the *captives*, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound !" P. 13.

In the notes will be found much useful information on the arrangement of prisons, of the classification of those confined, and of the separation of the reclaimable from the totally depraved, and various observations which cannot be read without satisfaction, nor followed without advantage. A very excellent account is given of the benefits resulting from the prison-school in Newgate, a plan which we could heartily wish to see more generally adopted.

We are happy in being enabled to recommend this Sermon, not only as an animated and impressive discourse, but as furnishing many useful hints to those, who direct their pious attention to those of our poor and deluded brethren, who, within the walls of a prison, await the just punishment of their crimes. We could heartily wish to see a much longer treatise upon this subject from the hands of Mr. Iremonger, as we are persuaded, that such a task could not be entrusted to a more active, a more pious, or a more discriminating mind.

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AKT. X. *Respectful Address to the Most Reverend the Archbishops, &c.* Hatchard. 1816.

FOR now upwards of an hundred years, the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge has pursued its pious and unaffected labours undisturbed by controversy, and unassailed by the shafts of intestine hostility. Its enemies were from without. The respectful sneers, the sly insinuations, and the masked malignity of its enemies, whether Churchmen or Dissenters, have as yet had no other effect than to stimulate her exertions, and to strengthen her cause. Of late it has been attacked from within, its meetings have become scenes of bitter and unseemly contention, and if we augur rightly, a still more violent attack is meditated against its principles, its doctrines, and its influence. As our country readers may be desirous of becoming acquainted with all the circumstances attending this affair from the very beginning, we shall present them with a short but accurate statement of the causes and the progress of the present controversy.

At a General Meeting in March, 1813, a Tract, entitled  
" Directions for a Devout and Decent Behaviour in the public  
Worship



Worship of God," was submitted by special recommendation to a Committee for the purpose of revision. This Committee having reported, that in the Table of Collects (in that, we believe, for Christmas Day) annexed to that Tract, they found the word *Regeneration* placed, where evidently the word *Rénovation* should stand, the alteration was directed by the Board to be made in all subsequent editions of the Tract.

In consequence of a suggestion made to the Board, it was agreed on the 15th of June, 1813, that the Committee of Revision for the Family Bible, should also be a Committee of Revision for all the Books and Tracts upon the Society's Catalogue; and that they should consider the expediency of reprinting such as were out of print. The power also of recommending to the General Board any corrections, alterations, and additions, was entrusted to their discretion. To allow, however, a full opportunity to any member or members of the Society to transmit their observations upon any point which might arise, the interval between the notice for a reprint and the actual reprinting, was extended from one to three months. Nothing surely could be more open and fair than the whole of this proceeding.

The adoption of these resolutions however tended very materially to alter the established practice, in regard to the reprinting of the Society's books and tracts. The Society itself, before this period, had little or no concern in the matter. Messrs. Rivington had always been accustomed to reprint the books and tracts as often as new editions were required, without any formal order from the Board; and it had been left to their discretion, as booksellers, to determine whether the demand for any particular tract warranted the undertaking of a new edition. If, in their opinion, there was no sufficient demand for any particular tract, which was no uncommon case, the title of such tract was transferred from the Catalogue to the list of tracts out of print.

The Committee of Revision, in obedience to the directions given them by the Board, entered into a careful examination of all the books and tracts stated to be out of print, and, as those who have regularly attended the Board can testify, made constant reports of their proceedings. At the very commencement of their labours, notice was given by Messrs. Rivington that Bishop Bradford's tract on Baptismal and Spiritual Regeneration, among others, was nearly out of print, but that as there was but little demand for the tract, a new edition was not at present necessary. In consequence of this report from the Society's booksellers, the Committee did not recommend to the Board a reprint of the tract in question; but no sooner did Messrs. Rivington report that the demand was greater than they originally had stated it to have

have been, than a *Reprint was immediately ordered to be undertaken.*

The alteration made in the title to the Collect for Christmas Day, and the non-appearance of Bishop Bradford's tract in the Catalogue attached to the Society's Report for 1814, gave, as it appears, much offence to several members, and occasioned some severe animadversions on the proceedings of the Society. It was said, in particular, that the Society had rejected Bishop Bradford's tract. This assertion, however, can be proved to be unfounded in truth. Bishop Bradford's tract, like many others, had been transferred from the Catalogue to the list of tracts out of print. It might at any time have been reprinted, and since the demand for it has revived, it has actually been reprinted, and restored to its place in the Catalogue. Many very valuable tracts are now in the same condition, and remain out of print, not because they are rejected by the Society, but because there is no demand for them.

The main attack, however, made upon the principles and practices of the Society, originated in Dr. Mant's celebrated tracts on Regeneration and Conversion. At a General Meeting in April, 1814, Dr. Mant's tracts on Regeneration and Conversion were regularly recommended to the Board as a work calculated in the highest degree to promote the objects and views of the Society. These tracts being submitted to the usual revision, were admitted by ballot in May, 1814. The admission of these tracts would not, perhaps, have excited so much attention, if the Board had not ordered a copy of the tracts to be transmitted with the Annual Report for 1814 to each of the members. In enclosing, however, this and other tracts with the Annual Packet, the Board did nothing out of common course; it having been generally the custom of the Society to send with the Annual Packet copies of the most important tracts admitted within the year.

Soon after the distribution of the Annual Report for 1814, several works issued from the press on the subject of Regeneration, &c. particularly one from the pen of the Rev. John Scott, Vicar of Ferriby, in Yorkshire; another from that of the Rev. T. T. Biddulph of Bristol; and the anonymous publication now before us. This vastly *respectful* address was circulated with extraordinary zeal and activity in the two Universities. In the three works above mentioned which excited a considerable degree of public attention, the doctrines maintained by Dr. Mant were attempted to be controverted; the Proceedings of the Society were severely censured; and the Society itself was charged with gross and palpable inconsistency.

Such was the situation of affairs at the commencement of the present year. At a very numerous General Meeting, on the  
6th

6th of February, 1816, a violent opposition was made to the admission of another Tract of Dr. Mant's, entitled "A familiar and easy Guide to the Understanding of the Church Catechism, in Question and Answer, for the Use of Children." This Tract had been regularly recommended by three Subscribing Members, and had been referred to the usual Examination and Revision. The Referees having at this Meeting made their Reports to the Board generally favourable, but suggesting certain alterations for the improvement of the Tract, which alterations were acceded to by the author, the Tract was at length admitted on the Society's Catalogue by ballot. No sooner was this part of the business of the day brought to a conclusion, than a long and vehement discussion arose on the subject of Dr. Mant's Tracts on Regeneration and Conversion. The debate was terminated by Mr. Dealtry's giving notice, that, on the first Tuesday of the next month, he intended to make a motion to the Board, in the following terms, viz. "That the Society do take into consideration an Inconsistency in a fundamental point of Doctrine, which appears to him, and other Members of the Society, to exist in certain of its Tracts."

At an extra General Meeting, holden on the 20th February, 1816, Mr. Dealtry, being present, notified to the Board, that he revoked the notice which he had given at the last General Meeting of the Society, respecting a motion which he had intended to bring before the Board, on the first Tuesday of the next month. His Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, who was in the chair, declared it to be his decided opinion, that, as a most serious and weighty charge had been preferred against the Society, it was the duty of the Board to take the matter up in a serious manner, notwithstanding Mr. Dealtry had thought proper to revoke the notice of his motion. It was agreed, therefore, on the suggestion of His Grace,

"That the Committee for Revision should be desired to examine the Books and Tracts on the Society's Catalogue, in order to ascertain, whether there was any Inconsistency or Contradiction in them, and to make their Report thereupon to the Board."

The Committee for Revision, in compliance with the request of the Board, entered immediately on the task assigned to them; and, after a most laborious examination of the Books and Tracts on the Society's Catalogue, they unanimously concurred in framing the following Report, which, as it was twice distinctly read at the last General Meeting, we are enabled to give with accuracy.

"The Committee having received the directions of the Board to examine the Books and Tracts on the Society's Catalogue, in order

order to ascertain, whether there be any Inconsistency or Contradiction in them, particularly on the doctrine of Regeneration, and to make their Report upon these points to the Board, have proceeded carefully to examine the same, as far as respects the doctrine of Regeneration, and do Report that there is nothing to impeach the Consistency of the Tracts, or involve them in Contradiction with each other on the point of doctrine; although, in some instances, the term Regeneration is used, sometimes strictly and properly, as applied in our Liturgical Offices, to the Grace conveyed in the Sacrament of Baptism; and, at other times, in a larger and laxer sense, by different, and, occasionally by the same authors."

This Report was presented to the Board by the Lord Bishop of London, at a very numerous General Meeting, on the 14th inst. As soon as the Report had been read, His Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, who presided on this occasion, moved that the thanks of the Society be returned to the Lord Bishop of London, and the rest of the Committee for Revision, for their satisfactory Report then before the Board. The motion of the Archbishop was warmly opposed by several members present; but at length the vote of thanks, which was understood to express the Board's approval of the Report, was carried by a large majority.

Such are the causes which have contributed to disturb the union and harmony which has ever prevailed in the Society. That any member or any party of members are, in the present state of the Society, entitled to declare their opposition to any intended measure of the Board, we shall not deny; but that clamorous harangue and obstinate tautology are the best means of effecting their purpose, we must be allowed to doubt. Surely a temperate memorial and a simple vote would be a much less objectionable method of proceeding, or if they should still think themselves aggrieved, as a last resort, the press is open to their hands. It is, however, somewhat extraordinary, that in more instances than one, especially in the instance of the supposed author of the work before us, that the press was first resorted to (out of *respect* as we suppose to the Society,) and after that a vague and tedious harangue. Now if only half the members were to insist upon the privilege of hearing themselves talk upon Regeneration and other controverted points, the Society might sit, as was well remarked, as long as the Council of Trent, and after eighteen years discussion conclude where they began. We cannot too often protest against the degradation of the Board at Bartlett's Buildings into a British Forum, or of its Meetings into those of a Bear-garden.

Thus

Thus much as to the manner of proceeding. As to the matter we shall say but a very few words. It is too well known that a party has newly sprung in the Church whose principles upon the subject of Regeneration (as it is called), and other important points, though differing in various degrees among themselves, are all fundamentally opposite to those of the old and orthodox Clergy. The opinions of which are founded in a just and Scriptural view of Christianity, it is not our province at present to decide. We would only put two plain questions to those of the new party, who have raised so much dissension in the Society. First, whether, when they were admitted members of that Society, they were not fully aware, that its doctrines, its views, and its influence, were not in decided opposition on all Puritanical points to their own; and whether it has not always been considered as the organ of the Unpuritanical portion of the Established Church? This they cannot deny; and if so, we would ask them by what right they call upon that Society to resign the grounds on which it stands, or how they are justified in interrupting its long established harmony by clamorous and obstinate opposition? And secondly, with respect to the immediate question before us, we would ask, whether, quibbling and verbal distinctions apart, there is one principle in Dr. Mant's Tracts which may not be found in other Tracts of the Society; and conversely, whether there is any Tract now on the list, which contains doctrines *fundamentally* different from those of Dr. Mant; or, in other words, whether there is any one Tract, which teaches their principles, and inculcates their peculiar notions. For ourselves, having examined the greater number of them, we cordially assent to the Report of the Committee, being fully convinced that in all and every one of these Tracts, though there may be a laxity of expression there is an unity of doctrine, and a consistency of principle. Dr. Mant has indeed spoken strongly, and we thank him for his manly and able exertions; but attacked as the Clergy now are by fanatics of every description, it becomes them boldly to assert their doctrines and to vindicate their cause. Dr. Mant's Tract is the strict application of ancient and established doctrines to the peculiar circumstances of the present times.

We trust that no further attempts will be made to sow dissensions in a Society, which has long been the bulwark of the Established Church, and of pure Christianity, not only in these dominions, but in all quarters of the globe. Its doctrines and its practice are consistent, but not Puritanical: and we trust that every attempt to render them so, will be crushed, like the present, in its earliest bud.

ART. XI. *Alastor, or the Spirit of Solitude, and other Poems.*  
By Percy Bysshe Shelley. 16mo. pp. 101. Baldwin.  
1816.

IF this gentleman is not blessed with the inspiration, he may at least console himself with the madness of a poetic mind. In the course of our critical labours, we have been often condemned to pore over much profound and prosing stupidity; we are therefore not a little delighted with the nonsense which mounts, which rises, which spurns the earth, and all its dull realities; we love to fly with our author to a silent nook.

“ One silent nook  
Was there. Even on the edge of that vast mountain  
Upheld by knotty roots and fallen rocks  
It overlooked in its serenity  
The dark earth and the bending vault of stars.”

Tolerably high this aforesaid nook, to overlook the stars: but

“ Hither the poet came. His eyes beheld  
Their own wan light through the reflected lines  
Of his thin hair, distinct in the dark depths  
Of that still fountain.”

Vastly intelligible. Perhaps, if his poet had worn a wig, the case might have been clearer: for then it might have thrown some light on the passage from the ancient legend.

“ By the side of a soft flowing stream  
An elderly gentleman sat;  
On the top of his head was his wig,  
On the top of his wig was his hat.”

But this aforesaid hair is endowed with strange qualities.

“ his scattered hair  
Sered by the autumn of strange suffering,  
Sung dirges in the wind.”

This can only be interpreted by supposing, that the poet's hair was entwined in a fiddle-stick, and being scared with “the autumn of strange sufferings,” *alias* rosin, “scraped discords in the wind,” for so the last line should evidently be read. But, soft—a little philosophy, for our poet is indubitably a vast philosopher.

“ Seized by the sway of the ascending stream  
With dizzy swiftness round, and round, and round  
Ridge after ridge the straining boat arose,

Till on the verge of the extremest curve  
 Where through an opening of the rocky bank  
 The waters overflow, and a smooth spot  
 Of glassy quiet 'mid those battling tides  
 Is left, the boat paused shuddering."

A very animated boat this ; something resembling that of the Irishman, which must needs know its way to Greenwich, because it had been down the stream so often. We cannot do sufficient justice to the creative fancy of our poet. A man's hair singing dirges, and a boat pausing and shuddering, are among the least of his inventions ; nature for him reverses all her laws, the streams ascend. The power of the syphon we all know, but it is for the genius of Mr. Shelley to make the streams run up hill. But we entreat the pardon of our readers for dwelling so long upon this *ne plus ultra* of poetical sublimity.

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ART. XII. *Eura and Zephyra, a classical Tale ; with Poetical Pieces.* By David Booth. 8vo. 6s. 6d. Gale and Fenner. 1816.

WHETHER this *Eura and Zephyra* be a prose tale in poetry, or a poetical tale in prose, we cannot with safety pronounce. As it is printed without the divisions of poetry, we would suppose that it is intended for prose ; at the same time, the first paragraph would again decide us in favour of poetry.

" The loves of Zephyrus and Flora have been often sung by the poets. Amid orange groves, with underwood of myrtles and roses ;—in bowers of jessamine and woodbine, where spring follows in the train of autumn, banishing winter from the blissful clime ;—there these happy immortals whispered the tender accents of love." P. 11.

We are informed that this is a classical tale—be it so. We can only say, that the Classics are under very great obligations to Mr. Booth, for presenting them with two new personages, *Zephyra* and *Eura*, of whom they certainly never heard before. What the end of the author may be in the tale before us, we profess ourselves unacquainted : from a few words here and there, we should collect that it was something about education. Of the philosophical principles of our author, the following sentence may give us a fair idea.

" Man is a machine in the hands of necessity. His wishes and his wants are formed by the objects around him, and over these objects he has little, if any controul."

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We suspect Mr. Booth to be a little interested in this assertion, as nothing but necessity could offer any excuse for the trash with which the prose department of this volume abounds. The poetry of the latter half is somewhat better than the prose; but neither of the versification, nor of the principles, can we speak in any very high terms of commendation.

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ART. XIII. *Carpe Diem; or, the true Policy of Europe, at the present Juncture, with regard to France.* 8vo. 44 pp. 1s. 6d. Stockdale. 1815.

THIS Pamphlet, evidently the production of no sciolist in the revolutionary system by which the peace of Europe has been so long disturbed, discusses the important question, what precautions should be taken by the Allied Sovereigns in the adjustment of their relations with France, for preserving in future the tranquillity of their several states.

As far as its main object is concerned, viz. the offering suggestions to those by whom the treaty of peace was to be concluded, our notice of it comes too late; and we have only to observe, that of the precautionary stipulations which the author considers indispensable, whilst cessions of frontier territory and fortresses have been insisted upon by the allies and conceded by France to the extent deemed requisite to protect the neighbouring nations from molestation, and provision for the stability of her legitimate sovereignty has been made, it does not appear that any guarantee has been given to maintain the succession to the throne according to the fundamental laws of the monarchy; the interruption of which, should it be disturbed, the author represents, with too much appearance of reason, as "a practicable breach in the ramparts of social order, through which the host of Jacobins would storm their way, again to carry war and desolation to the extremities of Europe."

The grand mistake in which all the misconceptions and mistakes, which are the sources of our danger, originate, is thus pointed out in the pamphlet before us:

"Europe has been too apt to look upon Buonaparte as its only scourge, and to consider his destruction as all that was necessary for its safety. It has most unaccountably forgotten that this tyrant was but 'the child and champion of Jacobinism,' and that the monster might have other children and other champions to fight its battles."

Jacobinism then is the object to which the author endeavours to awaken public attention, as the bane, no less of the restored monarchy



monarchy of France, than of that which fell a victim to its diabolical machinations: and thus he describes that consummation of subtlety, that source of all the blood-guiltiness of France, and of all the horrors which, for a quarter of a century, have been desolating Europe.

"It should ever be remembered," he says, "that Jacobinism is a perfect Proteus. It can borrow any form, it can assume any character, to effect its purpose. It can wear the garb of royalism for the destruction of royalty. It can declare for the house of Bourbon; in the hope of dividing that house against itself, and thereby ensuring its fall. It can extol the virtues of the King, or of a Prince belonging to a collateral branch of his house, with the intention of hereafter urging the want of those virtues as a reason for disturbing the succession, and in order to break in upon the dynasty. It can even admit that the King is recalled to his throne by the voice of the people. This is one of the most subtle of its artifices. An artifice which is calculated to impose even upon the Sovereign himself, to whom it cannot but be grateful to consider himself as possessing the affections of his people, and as the object of their choice. But the Jacobins are aware that the fact of a choice, though conceded to-day, may be disputed to-morrow; when they will take advantage of a momentary recognition, by the friends of Monarchy, of a right to choose, as necessarily implying a right to reject—proving in this as in so many other instances, that they concede only with a view to ensnare." P. 22.

"In all these changes, Jacobinism is perfectly consistent. It follows strictly the Horatian rule—to which its opponents would do well to adhere, *servetur ad innum qualis ab incepto processerit et sibi constet*. Its element is anarchy, towards which it is always impelled by the resistless force of instinct. The constant object of its hostility is regular and stable government; and it well knows that the only solid basis of government, is a clear and legitimate title to the sovereignty, according to fixed and fundamental laws. When, therefore, the times are not favourable to a direct and open attack upon the existing government, the Jacobins put on a mask,—they boast of their loyalty—they shout *vive le Roi*. But all this while they carry on their attack upon the principle of legitimate title, in order to undermine the very foundations of government. Their grand weapon for this purpose, and that which they have constantly in use, is the insidious principle,—that *the people have a right to choose their government*." P. 24.

We subscribe most entirely to all our author's reasonings, and participate in his fears. The events which have happened subsequent to the publication of this pamphlet, have fully verified the predictions of its author. We see, as he does, in all that has been done in France the secret workings of the conspirators of the revolution. We are satisfied that there is abundant evidence before

before the world to bear him out in his assertion, "that these pests of society are spread over every country in Europe, that they have got a firm footing in America, and that the contagion of their principles is every where diffused;" and further our conviction is, that in this country their operations are exemplifying another of his positions, "that they invariably make an attack upon the altar, preliminary to their attack upon the throne." In short when we see the Papists, the Dissenters, and the Jacobins, each intrenching themselves in societies of their own, formed after one common model, which are so many *imperia in imperio* wherever their ramifications extend, we cannot close our eyes to the catastrophe in which such combination and proselytism must terminate, we cannot but forebode a much more tremendous convulsion than that recently subsided, by which not Europe only, but the whole civilized world will be shaken to its foundations. We therefore consider the pamphlet before us a very seasonable production, and in order to give what furtherance we can to the author's truly philanthropic labours, we close this article with his description of the practical effect of that insidious principle that *the people have a right to choose their own governors*, which is the Jacobin's grand weapon, whether he acts under the mask of the religious or the political reformer: and we appeal to the state of vassalage in which both France and our own country have been fascinated at two distant periods of time, by the magic sounds in one instance of *the sovereignty of the people*, and in the other of *setting Christ upon his throne*, in proof of the accuracy of the representation.

"Having, by means of popular commotion, obtained the ascendancy, these Demagogues will avail themselves of that advantage, to seize, into their own hands, the reins of power, which they will continue to hold, in spite of the people and their rights, until some rival faction shall, by similar means, force those reins out of their hands. In the mean time, in order to awe down that spirit of resistance which usurpation is ever sure to excite, they will be obliged to govern by violence and terror. Not, indeed, that they will disclaim the authority of the people: on the contrary, they will boast that they are chosen by the people;—they will do every thing in the name of the people;—they will pretend to be the mere organs of the public will;—they will flatter the people with an ideal sovereignty, even while they exercise over them the most galling tyranny;—they will, perhaps, cajole them with a new Constitution, under the pretence of ensuring and perpetuating their liberty, but, in reality, as a cover to their own despotism." P. 32.

ART. XIV. *Travels through Part of the Russian Empire and the Country of Poland; along the Southern Shores of the Baltic. Illustrated with Maps and numerous coloured Plates. By Robert Johnston, A. M. 4to. 460 pp. Stockdale. 1815.*

THOUGH written in rather too declamatory a style, this volume has considerable merit. The language is good, the descriptions animated, and the political sentiments enlarged and just. Mr. Johnston does not appear to have travelled in vain. He is endowed with a discriminating and observant mind, and his work will be read with no inconsiderable interest. His tour comprizes not only Poland and Russia, but all the southern coast of the Baltic. In addition to his very picturesque and amusing account of the habits and manners of the various cities and countries which he traversed in his route, he has given us a considerable number of coloured engravings, which make no unimportant addition to the value of his work. The following is his account of the present state of Borodino, and of the celebrated battle which was fought on its plains.

“ Leaving Mojaiske, we entered on a rising and extensive plain, partly covered with brushwood and dwarf oak. About ten miles from the town we reached the monastery of Bolgin, situated on the plains of Borodino, where the memorable battle between the Russian and French armies was fought, on the 7th September, 1812. As we came in view of the village we could not but gaze, with horror, at the scene before us: one complete mass of destruction and desolation presented itself. Wretched mothers and naked orphans immediately surrounded us, and their extreme eagerness in intreating, and their unbounded gratitude in receiving the smallest donation, too plainly bespoke their distresses, and could not fail to excite sympathy in the coldest heart. Nothing but the sad remnants of its desolation now remain; the whole is almost a desert. The ruins of the monastery and village are situated on a gently rising ground, on the west side of a small river, which is crossed by a temporary floating bridge of planks. Not a single house of the village is capable of sheltering the wretched inhabitants from the inclemency of the weather. The walls of the monastery and roof are still standing, though otherwise in a state of ruins; the popes have left it. The surface of the ground, on the south side of the river, is flat, but gradually rises up to a plantation of fir, in front of which is the breast work of the French battery, on which it is said nearly one thousand pieces of artillery were placed, during the action. On the opposite side of the river, and on each side of the road, is seen the spot on which the Russian cannons were placed. The monastery stood almost in a line, between them, and

and was taken and retaken three times successively. No spot could have been better selected for the operations of a battle. The country is, in general, flat and cultivated: the river, which waters the valley, is not above ten yards wide; its banks are steep and partly covered with brushwood. It flows into the Moskwa. Here we learned that the Russian army lost thirty-five thousand men, and that of the French, somewhat more. The bodies of the killed were burnt on different parts of the fields—layers of trees and bodies were piled alternately above each other, to a considerable height, and thus consumed. The Russian Commander in Chief, Koutousoff, had made such excellent preparations to oppose the enemy, that the army of Napoleon was foiled at every attempt, and, after three days continued fighting, both armies retired from the combat. The Russians waited for a supply of men, while Napoleon took the advantage and pushed an advanced guard on to Moscow. The victory was claimed by both parties. On the first and second day the French were completely beaten; and, after the third, the Russians were only prevented from renewing the attack, from the want of men. Nothing can be a more convincing proof of the ardour with which they fought, than the number of the enemy which was killed." P. 336.

As very few of our modern travellers have given us any description of that long forgotten and oppressed country, Poland, it will not be uninteresting to our readers to present them with an account of Warsaw, which will also afford them a fair specimen of Mr. Johnston's descriptive powers.

" The approach to Warsaw, from the north, affords the most pleasing view of the city. It stands on a rising ground, on the south-west side of the Vistula; which, on ascending, extends into a level plain, towards the south. The houses are old, clumsy, and irregularly built. Many large palaces in a state of neglect, and gothic churches without spires, fill up; together with occasional spaces, occupied by mean hovels and gardens. Passing through the town, the stranger is both pleased and distressed, at the contrast of huge piles of building mouldering into decay, and paltry hovels filled with Jews. The streets are narrow, badly paved, and without any regular footpath; on each side is a broad kennel to carry off the rain. The houses are either of wood, as in the suburbs, or of brick, stuccoed to imitate stone. The principal houses are those of the nobles; but most of them are abandoned by their once opulent and noble possessors, and now converted into hotels and shops. These houses are built extremely plain, and without any ornaments; they are only conspicuous from their immense size. In the town there are forty churches, sixteen of which are monasteries or nunneries. The cathedral stands in the centre of the city: it consists of a lofty body, without either spire or dome; its interior is neatly decorated with private altars, and

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the seat of the late king. The other churches and convents are more heavy and clumsy. All the churches are built with the gable end to the street, and some of them terminated at each corner with a lower square tower. In the whole city, there are only five or six small spires, the highest not more than two hundred feet. The largest, and best built church in Warsaw, is that of the Lutherans. It is of a circular form, surmounted with a large dome. The late king, though a Catholic, gave from his private fortune three hundred thousand florins towards building this church. From the gallery, at the top of the dome, we commanded a boundless prospect of the surrounding country. Nothing can be conceived more flat than the surface of the country; the distant plains and forests seem to extend beyond the reach of the eye, and lose themselves in ether. The windings and sandy banks of the Vistula are seen, far from the east, majestically rolling on its course towards the Baltic, while its floating bridge undulates with every wave. On the north side of the river are the mouldering ruins of the Praga, pointing to the unhappy Pole the horrors of the Russian massacre of 1794. On the opposite side of the river is the other part of the suburbs, called the Kraka—where, in former times, during the elective monarchy, the kings were chosen; and which was often the scene of contention and wars. In the reign of the late king the new constitution of Poland was formed, and the monarchy became hereditary in his family. This has the worst and meanest buildings attached to the city, but it makes the most picturesque appearance. These wooden huts are built in a most irregular and straggling manner, each surrounded with orchards full of fine fruit trees. Through this part of the suburbs the road passes to the summer palace of the late king, situated about a league from the city. Viewing the scite of the town from the top of this church, the houses appear low and large. The scites are not extensive, but the number of gardens spreads its boundary beyond what the population should allow. Excepting two tolerable streets, crossed at right angles by other two, with the houses closely built together, all the other parts of the town are divided into gardens, which vary in size, from a few roods, to four or five acres. They are all thickly planted with fruit trees, which gives the town the appearance of being placed in the midst of a luxuriant forest. In this respect, Warsaw appears even more singular and picturesque than Moscow. Such is a bird's eye view from the Lutheran church. In walking along the streets, an air of former grandeur every where arrests the attention, but now sadly divested of its former glory. In the principal street is the college, a large and not inelegant structure, at present shut up. The ancient palace of the Dukes of Saxony is now converted into a public school, where the students are well instructed in the various branches of literature, particularly the classics.

“ The palace is a large square building, close to the river; the public rooms are few, but superbly furnished and painted: the whole

whole was done under the immediate directions of the late king. In one small room were placed the portraits of his Majesty George III. of Great Britain, the kings of France, Germany, and Prussia, who were contemporary with Stanislaus. In the centre of this royal group is his own portrait. We next visited the summer palace of Stanislaus, situated on the banks of the river, about three miles from the city. The road passes through the suburbs of Kraka, and enters into a beautiful avenue, divided by nine rows of trees, which terminate in a large circular octagon, from which branch off eight other avenues, each, at a short distance, crossed by others, and forming a kind of labyrinth. One of them passes a deep cut, made through a ridge of clay, on the top of which are erected elegant barracks for soldiers. Below this bank, in a sequestered vale, and on the edge of a small lake, near to the Vistula, is the elegant and beautiful summer palace of the late king. All which the exquisite refinement of education, and a chastened genius could invent, have been executed—no obtrusive gothic irregularity offends the eye, no voluptuous indelicacy hurts the feelings; neither magnitude nor vain shew disgust the taste—all is elegance, simplicity, and perfection. The house is small, and of an oblong form, between two narrow lakes, which wash its very foundation; from which it is sometimes called *la Maison de Bain*. The rooms are beautifully painted and gilded—the pannels and doors are formed of elegant glass mirrors, and the floors inlaid with Mosaic work.

“ About one hundred yards from the palace, in a retired grove, is situated the theatre, built partly from the model of Vespasian's amphitheatre. The stage is divided from the audience by a stream of water, and was intended to represent the ruins of the temple of the Sun at Palmyra; the whole is beautifully covered with the dark foliage of the surrounding trees. The part allotted to the spectators consists of a circular series of steps, the last row of which supported a range of statues. The whole is uncovered, and the performance was usually exhibited in the afternoon. To behold a theatric exhibition in so retired and calm a spot, and under the cooling shade of trees, must have afforded an exquisite treat to the lovers of the Drama. In an adjoining thicket was placed the concert-hall, where Pan and his Sylvan train might have responded to soft sounds of music. Such was this beautiful spot, planned and executed by the good Stanislaus, who, with short-sighted hope, promised himself a quiet and sequestered abode, in which the evening of his life might have passed, and the pressure and turbulence of the government have been softened. This amiable prince beautified the environs of his capital from his private fortune; and, while he expended it in adorning the public grandeur of the capital, his ungrateful nobles wrangled, and allowed their glorious independence to be subdued, the sceptre of the realm to be broken, and the monarch to abdicate the throne, and end his days in a foreign land.” P. 425.

**ART. XV.** *A Manual of Latin Grammar. Intended to combine the ancient Plan of Grammatical Institution, originally enjoined by Royal Authority, with the Advantages of Modern Improvement, with Prefatory Hints and Observations on the Methods of commencing and pursuing Classical Learning in Schools, and by private Study. By John Pye Smith, D. D.*

**DR.** Smith, who, if we are rightly informed, is Divinity Tutor at the Independent Academy at Homerton, commences this Manual with the following preliminary observations.

“ In the reign of King Henry VIII. a Latin Grammar, with an English Introduction, or Accidence, was composed by William Lily, Dr. John Colet, Dean of St. Paul's, and other distinguished scholars, and was enjoined by the authority of that learned but arbitrary sovereign to be ‘ only and every where taught for the use of learners ’ throughout his realm. The exquisite knowledge, care and accuracy manifested in that well known work must appear to every unprejudiced person. But within the last hundred and fifty years the venerable ‘ Common Grammar, ’ has been assailed by many objections and cavils, and an innumerable host of new grammars and introductions have been forced upon the public attention. The captivating promises of the novel plans have procured to some of them an extensive adoption, that uniformity of grammatical institution, the beneficial effects of which our ancestors so justly appreciated, has long been exploded ; and the consequence has been, a lamentable weakness and deficiency in the classical learning acquired at a great proportion of our schools and private seminaries.”

Dr. S. laments that so little time is devoted “ for laying the foundation deep and firm in Lily's Grammar.” And that many persons “ look back on six or seven years of *professed* classical education, but which has proved an useless sacrifice of time, and a cruel mockery of hope, principally because it was not founded upon a solid and accurate grammatical institution.” There is some truth in the above remarks. Speaking of “ the Eton Grammar ” the author thus expresses himself.

“ The Eton Grammar is extensively adopted in private and public schools. It is an abstract from Lily, and I must confess my opinion, that it is inferior in usefulness to the original. The high tone of erudition and classical taste which is sustained at Eton College has probably been attributed to the use of this elementary book, and so many have promoted its implicit adoption ; but that effect is more rationally to be ascribed to the eminent talents of the masters of that royal foundation, and the knowledge, accuracy, and classical purity, which have become traditionary among the scholars.”

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This tribute of merited respect to Eton College, and to the learned conductors of its education, is followed by critical remarks on Ruddiman's and Dr. Adam's Grammars.

"Ruddiman's Rudiments," says Dr. Smith, "the popular grammar in Scotland, is a book of great excellence, but most unaccountably and unfortunately it takes not the slightest notice of prosody. On the basis of Ruddiman, the late Dr. Adam, of Edinburgh, whose indefatigable life was always directed to pure usefulness, constructed his *Latin and English Grammar*, a work which will seldom fail to afford the learner whatever information he may need. Its pages, however, are so crowded, and the portions requisite to be committed to memory, are so intermixed with comment, that the attention of a child is overwhelmed, and his recollection obscured. Dr. Adam's Grammar is not adapted for the purpose of initiating learners, so much as for pupils whose attainments and whose judgment are considerably advanced: to such it cannot be too much recommended." P. 3.

The author of the grammar before us, informs us, that he has designed it

"To serve either as a preparative for Lily or Adam, to each of which it is adapted nearly in the same way as Mr. Lindley Murray's *Abridgement* is to his justly popular *English Grammar*, or as of itself a sufficient grammatical introduction, for enabling the learner to proceed at once to the proper course of reading and pausing."

Dr. S. takes occasion to express his disapprobation of the editions "In usum Delphini." We think that this Latin Grammar may not be an useless auxiliary in some parts of a classical education.

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ART. XVI. *The First, or Mother's Dictionary for Children, containing upwards of Three Thousand Eight Hundred Words, which occur most frequently in Books and Conversation. By Anna Brownwell Murphy.* 4s. 6d. Darton.

THE fair author of the present work is one of the Edgeworth School. We confess we cannot perceive any peculiarly new feature in this Dictionary, most of the words being as correctly explained in various works of a similar nature. We cannot approve of "thunderbolt" being explained "*lightning*," when "a ball of electric fire" would have been almost as concise, and a much more accurate expression.

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ART. XVII. *Natural History of Quadrupeds, for Children.*  
By the Author of "*The Decoy*."

THE present work is chiefly extracted from that portion of Dr. Goldsmith's *History of the "Earth and Animated Nature,"* which relate to Quadrupeds. The author might, with great advantage and profit, have gleaned from other writers; and augmented the fund of juvenile information. We observe that the kangaroo, a most curious animal, unknown in the time of Goldsmith, is not in this collection. The opossum and rein deer, of Lapland, are also omitted.

ART. XVIII. *The Ornaments discovered; a Story.* By the Author of "*Aunt Mary's Tales*." 16mo. pp 191. Darton, junior. 1815.

THIS is a singular title, and somewhat enigmatical. We were happy to discover that the ornaments of the mind are here designated, and the story which in many places is interesting, is destined to impress on the young mind this maxim, "That amiable manners, and a well regulated mind, are the only truly valuable ornaments." There are some pretty lines addressed to a Primrose Bud.

ART. XIX. *The History of Little Davy's New Hat.*

THIS is a simple village tale, fitted to the capacities of children, and inculcating sentiments of good nature and charity.

ART. XX. *The Expeditionious Arithmetician, or Preceptor's Arithmetical Class-Book: containing Six separate Sets of Original Questions, &c. Seven Parts.* By B. Danby and J. Long. Hull.

THE design, as stated by the authors of this arithmetical class-book, is to teach youth effectually the first principles of arithmetic, by methods of greater ease, correctness, and celerity, than by those which are generally used.

In connection with other works on the rudiments of arithmetic, the present performance may be of some utility; but we certainly do not perceive those traits of novelty, which the authors led us to expect; neither do we think the science is more simplified in this than in many other elementary books of arithmetic.

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ART. XXI. *The Philosophic Mouse, or a pleasing Explanation of some Philosophic Subjects included in the Narrative of a Mouse.*

THIS Philosophic Mouse is an entertaining little companion; and unfolds to us many curious subjects connected with natural and experimental philosophy. The nature of air, the construction of the air pump, the magnifying power of the microscope, and the wonderful properties of electricity are elucidated. Mr. Greaves, in describing the different nature of gasses of which atmospheric air is composed, gives the following description of carburreted hydrogen gas, or heavy inflammable air, which is now used in lighting up our public buildings and streets.

“ It is nothing more than hydrogen-gas holding carbon in solution. This gas is likewise the cause of the explosion of gunpowder, not the only cause, for something more is requisite. The component parts of gunpowder are nitre, charcoal, and sulphur. The nitre, when ignited, produces oxygen-gas; the charcoal, carburreted hydrogen-gas, or heavy inflammable air, the sulphur at the same time that it ignites, the charcoal and nitre explodes the gasses that are thus generated by the ignition.” P. 24.

This apologue is most ingeniously written. The mouse is supposed to narrate the experiments tried upon him, and the reader is at once initiated into some of the chief branches of that noble and sublime science, Natural Philosophy.

ART. XXII. *Collectanea Latina; or Easy Construing Lessons, from the best Latin Authors. For the Use of Junior Scholars in Grammar Schools. By the Rev. W. Allen, M. A. Master of the Grammar School, Bolton-le-Moor.* 159 pp. Law and Whittaker. 1815.

A WELL digested and easy introduction to the Latin tongue. The respective divisions answer to the syntactical rules, as arranged in the Eton Grammar.

ART. XXIII. *A French Delectus, or, Sentences and Passages from the most esteemed French Authors. By the Rev. Israel Worsley.*

AMIDST the numerous elementary books on the French Language, this Delectus may rank as a useful work. The Author has not been guided by the decision of the French Academy

demy as to the manner of spelling the past definite tense of the indicative. The promiscuous sentences contain a pleasing variety of extracts, both in prose and verse, from the most celebrated French writers; and there is also a copious selection of idiomatic expressions.

**ART. XXIV.** *French Pronunciation, with Spelling Vocabularies, and New Fables in French and English.* By C. Gros. Law and Whittaker.

**THE** Author of this work has certainly committed an error in his title page, so far from the Fables being new, they are the most common of *Æsop's*, and may be met with in almost every English spelling book.

**ART. XXV.** *New Orthographical Exercises, with the correct Orthoepy of every Word, according to the most approved modern Usage.* By Alexander Power, Master of the Commercial Academy, Ashford, Kent. 12mo. Law and Whittaker. 1814.

**MR.** Power has been at great pains in compiling this little work, but we have doubts of its utility, and many words have a disorganised and improper pronunciation. Thus we find education, according to Mr. P.'s System of Orthoepy, pronounced, "éd-jú-ká'-shún," virtue, "vé'r'-tshú," and nature, "ná'-tshûre." P. 26. We deprecate many innovations introduced of late into the English language, by a pedantic and false method of pronunciation, of which there are too many instances in these "Orthographical Exercises."

**ART. XXVI.** *Grammatical Figures and System of Rhetoric, illustrated by Examples of Classical Authority, for the Use of Senior Forms in Grammar Schools.* By the Rev. George Whittaker, A. M. Author of the "Latin Exercises," &c. Law and Whittaker.

**MR.** Whittaker has in the present work concentrated a mass of useful instruction in a very small compass. It is an easy introduction to the study of rhetoric, and the classical examples are peculiarly appropriate. The whole is well calculated for those classes in grammar schools whose improvement the author chiefly had in view.

ART. XXVII. *History of the Small Pox.* By James Moore, Director of the National Vaccine Establishment. 8vo. 12s. 312 pp. Longman and Co. 1815.

TO those who are desirous of becoming acquainted with the history and the progress of this dreadful malady, we recommend the volume before us, as abounding in much useful and entertaining matter. The various opinions on the origin of the disease, are detailed, together with the earliest accounts of its progress in Asia and Africa, down to its general diffusion over Europe and America. On the superstitious notions of the Indians, respecting the Goddess of the Small Pox, we find the following curious account.

" A physician in the service of the East India Company informed me, that when he was at Benares, a great alarm was one night raised by the appearance of a multitude of lights, moving to and fro, and waving about at a distance, in a manner which seemed almost supernatural. This physician, being determined to find out the cause, ran out of the town with one of his friends towards the place where these nocturnal lights appeared, but before he reached it, the phantoms had thrown away their fires and vanished; and the field was strewed with small wisps of half-burned straw. On making enquiry he learnt, that this was a mystic rite, performed by the women of the village to disperse the contagion of the Small Pox, and to appease the wrath of the superintending deity.

" There are many monstrous idols of this malignant power throughout India: and among a fine collection of original Hindoo drawings brought to this country, which illustrate the mythology and manners of the East; there is one whose subject is, a religious dramatic representation of the actions of the Small Pox Goddess. This evil spirit stands with two uplifted crooked daggers, threatening to strike on the right and left. Before her are a band of the executors of her vengeance. Two of them wear red grinning masks, carry black shields, and brandish naked scimitars. White lines, like rays, issue from the bodies of the others, to indicate infection. On the right, there is a group of men with spotted bodies, inflicted with the malady: bells are hung at their cinctures, and a few of them wave in their hands, black feathers. They are preceded by musicians with drums, who are supplicating the pity of the furious deity.

" Behind the Goddess on the right, there advances a bevy of smiling young women, who are carrying gracefully on their heads, baskets with thanksgiving-offerings, in gratitude for their lives and their beauty having been spared.

" There is, besides, a little boy with a bell at his girdle, who seems

seems to be conveying something from the right arm of the Goddess. This action may possibly be emblematic of inoculation." P. 32.

The latter part of the volume contains all the methods of treatment which have been practised both in barbarous and enlightened ages, with a full history of the origin and progress of inoculation.

The following is the history of its first commencement in England, by an experiment upon six felons.

"Five of the felons contracted the Small Pox favourably: the sixth, who concealed having previously had the Small Pox, was not infected; but all escaped hanging. A seventh criminal was likewise pardoned, on the easy terms of having a few Small Pox crusts put up her nostrils, according to the Chinese mode, at the suggestion of Dr. Mead, and only a sore nose was the consequence.

"This success encouraged Mr. Maitland to inoculate some others; by the event of which it appeared, that the inoculated Small Pox was sometimes severe; and he was amazed to find, that the artificial disease was as infectious as the casual. This was a circumstance totally unexpected, and it ought to have induced the profession to pause e'er they proceeded; or at least to have prompted them never to inoculate without adequate measures being adopted to prevent the infection spreading to others. The neglect of this easy precaution, has occasioned the loss of millions of lives." P. 232.

ART. XXVIII. *Synopsis of French Grammar, comprehending the most useful and necessary Rules in the Grammar of Chambaud.* By P. F. Merlet. Longman. 1815.

AS an abridgement of Chambaud, this might have been a useful publication, particularly to those who are desirous of acquainting themselves with the Elements of French Conversation, with the least possible expenditure of time and trouble, had the French Idioms been translated into English.

ART. XXIX. *Notice of Christian Observer.* 1816.

IN our Review of Gurney's Visitation Sermon, Nov. 1815, the following sentence will be found: "In p. 8, occurs the following inexplicable passage; 'Hope as an anchor of the soul, both

both sure and stedfast entereth into that (what?) within the veil, whither our Forerunner is for us entered, even Jesus."

Upon which the Christian Observer makes the following remark, "Is it not to be lamented that the writer of this paragraph, had no kind friend to point out to him the passage in Heb. v. 19, and to remind him that his criticism was applied, not to Mr. Gurney's Sermon, but to the inspired word of God." And again, with his usual *Christian* candour, he observes, "that nothing but the conviction of the Reviewer's ignorance, can defend him from the charge of profaneness."

We feel ourselves vastly obliged to the Christian Observer for this piece of information, that the passage in question will be found in St. Paul, and in return, we will present him with another, equally profound, of which, however, he appears to stand in no little need: viz. That many sentences in authors inspired as well as uninspired are perfectly *explicable* when taken with the context, but perfectly *inexplicable* when taken *alone*. He, for instance, who reads the whole chapter from which the sentence in question is taken, will clearly understand what is signified by the word "*that*;" while he who reads the sermon of Mr. Gurney will find the isolated sentence, as we observed in our Review, wholly *inexplicable*. The charge therefore of ignorance and profanation rests upon those who, by random citations, make nonsense of St. Paul, not upon those who discover and expose it when made.

## MONTHLY LIST OF PUBLICATIONS.

### DIVINITY.

The Inquisition. A Letter addressed to the Hon. Sir John Cox Hippisley, Bart. M.P. &c. By a Catholic Christian.

Essays, Religious and Moral. By Isaac Hawkins Browne, Esq. F.R.S. 12mo 7s.

Thoughts arising from present Affairs. In a Sermon, preached in the Cathedral Church of Norwich. By the Rev. H. Bathurst, L.L.B. Archdeacon of Norwich. 3s.

The Doctrine of the Church of England, upon the Efficacy of Baptism, vindicated from Misrepresentation. By Richard Laurence, LL.D. 5s.

A Sermon, preached at the Anniversary Meeting of the Stewards of the Sons of the Clergy, in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul's, on Thursday, May 11, 1815. By the Rev. Geo. Mathew, M.A. Vicar of Greenwich. 1s. 6d.

A Sermon, preached in Lambeth Chapel, at the Consecration of the Right Reverend Robert, Lord Bishop of Nova Scotia. By Joseph Holden Pott, A.M. Archdeacon of London, and Vicar of St. Martin in the Fields. 2s.

Dr. Mant's Sermon on Regeneration, vindicated from the Remarks of the Rev. T. T. Biddulph. By a Member of the Salop District Committee of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge. 1s. 6d.

A Sermon, preached during Lent, in the Parish Church of Saint Peter, Sandwich, Kent. By the Rev. W. Wadsworth, Pembroke College, Cantab. A.M. 2s. 6d.

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Sermons on various Subjects and Occasions. By George Stanley Faber, B.D. Rector of Long Newton. Vol. 1. 12s.

A Course of Sermons, preached at Great St. Mary's Church, before the University of Cambridge during April, 1816. By the Rev. William Sharpe, A.M. Chaplain of Trinity College, Cambridge. 4s.

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The Speech of Charles Phillips, Esq. Barrister, as delivered by him in the Court House, Gulway, on April 1, 1816, in the Case of O'Mullen v. M<sup>r</sup> Korkill, for Defamation. 1s.

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The Observations of Dr. Monro (Physician to Bethlem Hospital) upon the Evidence taken before the Honourable House of Commons for regulating Mad Houses. 1s.

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## BIOGRAPHY.

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THE  
BRITISH CRITIC,

FOR JUNE, 1816.

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**ART. I.** *The Common Prayer Book of the Sect of the Thirty Nine Articles, (still whimsically enough styling Itself the Church of England) made Scriptural in Point of Language; if not in its Mode of Address to the One only true God, viz. the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. For the Use of Children at Scriptural Schools, and other Protestant Christians, who have not an Opportunity of attending any other Place of Worship than the Parochial Building of the aforesaid established Sect. Uxbridge. 1816.*

**WHEN** we had dispatched the subject of Mr. Jones and his associates, of the Unitarian fraternity, we were far from gratifying ourselves with the hope, that we had silenced the frontless blasphemers, or put down the pestilent heresy. The vanity which had prompted those adventurers to make a desperate effort, in a contest which might be decided by fortune or address, had seduced them so far out of their depth, as to leave them ample cause to repent their temerity. For with whatever boldness they advanced to the assault, we venture to believe, that we left those confident pretenders little reason to triumph, at the pitiful exhibition which we made of their qualifications, to sustain the character, which they assumed as critics and reasoners. But it is seldom the part of ignorance, folly, or conceit, to profit by castigation, however salutary in the administration. The three champions, who added insult to defiance in provoking us to the field, had pledged themselves to maintain the ground on which they planted themselves, when they challenged us to contest it. From adversaries whose obstinacy is hardened by continued aggression and defeat, we never expected the compliance of an easy submission. Whatever, therefore, be our mortification in returning to the offensive subject which we resume, we return to it, with expectations prepared for its recurrence,

P p

But

But however mortified we may feel, that our efforts have failed in reducing those empty and confident boasters to silence, we have still our consolation, in thinking that they have not proved wholly abortive. If we have not secured the sacred frontier, which we are prepared to defend against the fury of the assailant; we have at least paralyzed his means of offence, and contracted the sphere of his hostility. We have taught the most wily and unwearied of our opponents, that the stores of Lardner and of Peirce are not to be rifled by every plagiarist, who aspires at the reputation of learning, by concealing the sources from whence it is pilfered. We have instructed others, that the weak and mouldering fences behind which Priestley and Towgood had taken shelter, afforded little protection to the Belshams and Asplands who now undertake to defend them. Here we would have willingly suffered a contest to rest, from which we conceive, our adversaries can derive as little profit, as we derive pleasure. But whatever counsel prudence might have dictated to our opponents, vanity has stimulated them to a different conduct. The internal evidence of the despicable production before us warrants us in believing it the joint production of two of those respectable champions of Unitarianism, whose names and qualifications we have already emblazoned; for, an imbecile effort to cover the senseless blunders of Mr. R. Aspland, and Mr. J. Jones, affords sufficient ground to support a conjecture, that their united efforts have been employed in its composition.

The production, of which we have transcribed the title, at the head of the present article, is nearly composed of the "Order of Morning and Evening Prayer" extracted from our Liturgy; but adapted to the worship of the Unitarian conventicles, by a rejection of every passage and expression, which relates to the fundamental doctrines of the Christian Religion. With thus much of the plan of the work we are in no respect disposed to quarrel; we have no inclination to question the right of any body of seceders to pray by whatever formulary they may deem fit, however immoral or blasphemous; we have no desire to dispute their right to publish that formulary if they think proper, however absurd and impious. But to the Order of Prayer thus mutilated there is prefixed an Introduction, and the whole production is interleaved; the supernumerary pages being devoted to a libel upon the Established Religion, the nature of which may be collected from as much of the title, as we have already laid before the reader. For it is necessary to observe, that in addition to the intention which that title undauntedly avows, the following promise is recorded, of which however the author or authors have forgotten the performance; "To which are added, a few words of note and comment on the Authorized Version of the Scriptures."

tures." Of the vast expectations, however, which this prognostication naturally excited, there was unfortunately no further realization, but that contained in the following reference, inserted opposite p. 5, the latter part of which was as unfortunately legible through a blot, intended to conceal it: "See the Notes on the Authorized Version *at the end*."

Now how little important soever this circumstance may appear, we cannot pass it over in silence; as it is a full admission, on the part of our opponents, that they have already felt their utter incompetency to make good, as much as their vanity flattered them they should be able to accomplish. And if the reader turn to No. xxiv. Vol. iv. p. 657, sqq. of our Review, he will probably discover the causes of this change in the operations of our opponents, which was rather dictated in a moment of prudence than repentance. As our first strictures upon them, in the months of September and November, had doubtless excited the desire to return the attack with promptitude and vigour; the first intention of the respondents was to extend the range of their operations, by directing their hostility against the Authorized Version, as well as the Established Liturgy. Between the time required to form this intention, and to carry it into effect, we taught them to know, that this ground was not to be trenched upon with impunity; or had probably spoiled the effect of some of their strongest objections, by exposing, even to themselves, the ignorance and shallowness of the undertakers. To these circumstances it is probable we owe the result; that, while they leave their objections to stand against the Book of Common Prayer, they have prudently withdrawn their exceptions to the Authorized Version; merely qualifying the threat denounced against it in the title-page, by a few stale objections, now subjoined to the Introduction, which principally apply to the received text of the Greek Testament. It now remains for us to prove, whether it would not have been as wise in our opponents, to have shewn that deference to the Prayer Book, which they have, very much against their will, paid to the Authorized Version. From this account of the scope and intention of the production before us, we shall proceed, without further preface, to the consideration of its subject. On the general character and tendency of the work, we will speak in due time; and as the sentence is decided, which we have to pronounce upon the authors of a libel upon the established mode of worship, which is as unprovoked as it is daring; we wish it to be preceded by a formal statement of the grounds on which our opinion is founded.

The 'Introduction' opens with contrasting the doctrine of the Unity and Trinity, and representing them as inconsistent and contradictory. In a change rung upon the phrase "One God,"

the Persons of the Holy Trinity are impiously ridiculed, under the title, of "this One God, and that One God, and the other One God;" the mystery of our Redemption and Sanctification blasphemously derided, by describing them in a variety of propositions, which are reduced to nonsense, by suppressing the personal diversity of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and ascribing their distinct acts to apparently the same Person. We state these facts without further comment; but we cannot but feel some embarrassment to discover, whether it be owing to the extraordinary ingenuity or singular good fortune of our opponents, that they so frequently succeed in blundering upon objections to their adversaries' opinions, which when turned against themselves demolish the crazy structure of their own systems. The first article in the Trinitarian's creed is rejected, because it is incomprehensible and mysterious; but have these sage reasoners never given themselves time to think, whether this objection does not equally affect the first article of the Creed of the Unitarian? For if the nature and attributes of the One God whom they worship be reducible within the bounds of comprehension, and the limits of a definition; what account are they prepared to give of his *infinity*? And if they are disposed to admit nothing as an article of faith, which they are unable to comprehend; how come they to comprehend *this attribute*, out of an infinity, equally incomprehensible; how, to acknowledge him as God while they deny it; for deny it they must, in consistence with their own principles, as they are unable to comprehend it? To such a length does this objection extend which is used to overthrow the orthodox doctrine; but which brings in Atheism by necessary consequence, levelling the Unitarian creed by the same stroke with which it overthrows the Trinitarian!

As a subject, however, which is not so utterly out of the range of the objector's skill and attainments, let us proceed, in order, to his observations upon the divinity of Christ; in which he exhibits the same felicity of argument and range of information. After some preliminary remarks, on the impropriety of addressing ourselves in Prayer to Christ, of which we shall give a good account, in due time; the Divine Author and Finisher of our Faith is commended to the notice of "children at scriptural schools," in the following respectful remark, dictated with a due regard for the religious and moral improvement of the rising generation.

"He did not know, probably, when the siege of Jerusalem was to take place, an event which occurred in a few years after the prediction which he delivered concerning it: nor certainly the day of judgment. Mark xiii. 32. The Maker and Lord of the Universe not know when he was again to visit in human shape this mere atom

of his creation! God the judge and yet not so much as aware when he was to execute the office!!! O Fie! Fie! Orthodoxy!!!” P.v.

The decency which we have remarked in the first observation is even surpassed by the learning which is displayed in the latter. The foundation of the blasphemous aspersion thus cast upon Him whom we worship as God, lies in Matt. xxiv. 34. “this generation shall not pass away till *all be fulfilled*.” And here we might feel some embarrassment at the potent objection; did it but reach the original; Matt. *ibid.* ἡ μὴ παρέλθῃ ἡ γενεὰ αὕτη ἕως ἂν πάντα γένηται. As γένηται, however is indefinite, it has unfortunately respect to present not perfect time\*, which would be properly expressed by γέγονε, γεγονέναι †; the meaning of the disputed phrase consequently is, “till all be passing;” or if we must retain the verb fulfil, “till all *be fulfilling*.” We should therefore counsel the authors of these remarks, before they make their objections again, to look to their lexicons.

With respect to the objection urged from St. Mark, the wise author seems to have been little aware, that the peculiar reading of this text, which gives a colour to the objection, has been charged, by St. Ambrose, as an interpolation of the Arians‡. But we do not insist much on this mode of evading a text, of which the orthodox have in no age manifested much apprehension §. The

\* Passor. Lexic. Nov. Test. p. 166, 2. “Ex hisce exemplis patet *ἰγνώμην* in *indicativo* et *participio semper esse præteritis temporis*: in *imperat. vero optat. et subjunctivo, præsentis*: in *infinitivo utriuslibet*,”

‡ The past *perfect* action is properly expressed by the perfect middle;” all this *was done*; Matt. i. 22. τὸτο ὅλον γέγονεν, Conf. Matt. xix. 8. xxi. 4. xxiv. 21, &c. The future *imperfect*, or passing action is properly expressed by the indefinite subjunctive: “till all *be doing*.” Luc. xxi. 32. ὥς ἂν πάντα γένηται; Conf. Matt. iv. 3. v. 45. vi. 10. x. 25. But the future *perfect* action is properly expressed by a different verb; “that all things *may be done*, or fulfilled;” Luc. *ibid.* 22. πληρωθῆναι πάντα: Conf. *ibid.* 24.

‡ S. Ambros. de Fid. Lib. V. cap. xvi. §. 193. col. 586. b. Scriptum est, inquit [Ariani]; “de die autem illo et hora nemo scit, neque Angeli cælorum, *nec Filius*, nisi solus Pater.” *Primum veteres non habent codices Græci* ‘quia nec Filius scit:’ sed non mirum si et hoc falsarunt, *qui Scripturas interpolare divinas.*” Conf. Lib. II. cap. xv. §. 135. col. 494. e.

§ The sentiments of the ancients, on this text, are collected by Suicer, Thesaur. Theol. Tom. II. col. 164. sqq. ed. Amst. 1682.

The humiliation of Christ was an inaction of that glory which, as the eternal Logos, he had before the world was, (Phil. ii. 7. John i. 1); and in his humiliation the child "Jesus increased in wisdom and stature," (Luke ii. 52); and as a man he admitted of different degrees of union and communion with the Divine Nature, (John xvii. 5.) We therefore see no greater objection to his divinity, in Mark xiii. 32, which supposes that, as a man, he wanted a knowledge of the day of judgment; than in Luke xxii. 43, 44, which supposes that he wanted that natural strength, which would enable him to sustain the terrors of approaching death, without preternatural succour. Had the humanity of Christ admitted of a perfect participation of his Divinity, on earth, he must have been impassible and immortal; and of course incapable of suffering for our redemption. As we must thus admit the necessity, that some of the divine attributes should be withheld from a suffering Saviour; there can be no greater objection to his Divinity, by including omniscience in the number, than impassibility. It might have been necessary, to his mortal state, as a state of probation, that the knowledge of *this* event should be withheld from him, and so far his wanting the attribute of omniscience is reconcilable to reason.

These observations are but *preliminary* to a particular discussion upon the terms "Son of God;" as the title is applied to our Lord in Scripture. With a view to recover the ground, which had been betrayed by that blundering advocate Mr. Jones, in his interpretation of those terms, it is obvious to us the Introduction of the production before us was written. In support of the meaning which, in the profundity of his wisdom and information, he ascribed to those terms, the powers of heaven and hell are summoned; and the testimony of Satan, of our Lord, of the Almighty, and of the Apostles, is cited in order. We shall examine their testimony, as we find it; the first hearing being given by our opponents to their very good friend, the prince of darkness.

"Satan, or the devil, thought him [Christ] such a Son of God as might not only be prevailed but imposed upon. He gravely tells his Son of God—that Son of God with whom he supposes himself to have to do—that the kingdoms of the world were in his gift. Or was God the Son (did this all but omniscient being [the devil] as he is generally supposed to be think) so eminently peccable as to be seduced to the worship of his own creature, from the worship of God the Father? See Matt. iv. Luke iv." P. vi.

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1682. Those of the moderns are collected by Wolfius, Cur. Philolog. Tom. I. p. 518. ed. Hamb. 1733. They do not differ from that inculcated above.

But

But how, we would gladly be informed, is the difficulty avoided, by supposing our Lord such a Son of God as is claimed by the objector; "one pre-eminently authorised, and emphatically charged with doing his will?" For was this a person likely to be influenced and misled by the father of lies; in asserting, that the kingdoms of the world were at his disposal? Let us, however, set the matter in its true light; and then beg of the sagacious objector to point out, to us, in what the difficulty consists.

"If thou be (the) Son of God," declares the tempter, "command that these stones be made bread." The bare question proposed implies,—that while Satan possessed no doubt of the existence of a Son of God, he doubted, whether he was incarnate in the anointed Jesus; and with this view proposed a question, which was calculated to prove what he doubted. In this light the scene of the temptation has been regarded by the primitive Church, which was immediately instructed by the Apostles\*; the divine economy of man's redemption having been considered a mystery, withheld from the angels of light, much more from those of darkness†. And in this light every objection, not merely to the account of the temptation, but to the history of the angelical hierarchy, whose fall is otherwise involved in inexplicable difficulties, directly disappears.

From the testimony of the tempter, our authors descend, by an easy transition, to the testimony of the tempted.

"Why should our Saviour so invariably refer every thing to God, i. e. that Being whom he called his Father, if he were himself also God? Was it not of more moment that his auditory should be apprized of his own omnipotence, which they could know only by communication from him, than of his Father's, of which they were fully aware? Supposing him a man commissioned by God—authorized to assume the title of his Son, was not the language he uni-

\* S. Ignat. ad Ephes. cap. xviii. p. 15. Ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ἡ Χεὶρ τοῦ ἐκπορεύοντος ἐκ τῆς Μαρίας, κατ' οἰκονομίαν Θεοῦ—Καὶ ἔλαβε τὸν ἀρχοντὰ τῷ αἰῶνι τὴν παρθενίαν Μαρίας, καὶ ὁ τοκετός αὐτῆς, ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ θάνατος τῷ Κυρίῳ, τρία μυστήρια κενυγῆς, ἅτινα ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ Θεοῦ ἐπεράχθη· πῶς ἐν ἱφανείᾳ τοῖς αἰῶσιν; ἀγὰρ ἐν ἑρανῇ ἡλαμψεν. κ.τ.λ. Conf. Matt. ii. iv. 3.

† S. Chrysost. in 1 Tim. Tom. XI. p. 606. α. ὁ γὰρ ἰσχυρὸς πάντων ἀνθρώπων [τὸ μυστήριον Θεοῦ φανερωθέντος ἐν σαρκί] δῆλον, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐν ἀγγέλοις ἦν δῆλον. πῶς γὰρ ὁ ἱφάνης διὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας; διὰ τὸ φανῆναι, ὁμολογουμένως μέγα ἰσχυρὸς καὶ γὰρ ὅπως μέγα. ἄνθρωπος γὰρ ἵσχυρος ὁ Θεός, καὶ Θεὸς ὁ ἄνθρωπος. ἄνθρωπος ὡφθὲν ἀταμάρτητος, ἄνθρωπος ἀναλήφθη, ἐκπεράχθη ἐν κόσμῳ· μετ' ἡμῶν εἶδον αὐτὸν οἱ ἄγγελοι. μυστήριον τοῦτον ἰσχυρὸς. Conf. Col. i. 26, 27,



formly held, the conduct he uniformly adopted, precisely the very language he would hold, the conduct he would adopt ; but as God-man as precisely the reverse ? Under the consciousness of the former character, would he not of course labour as the *ne plus ultra* he had to prove—that he came from God—that he was sent by God—that he could do nothing of himself ; that if he honoured himself his honour was nothing, that the Father not himself did the works, that having seen him, they had seen the Father," &c. &c. P. vi.

Without delaying to insist on the dexterity with which the last text is nuzzled in, among its fellows ; we shall merely bring a little information to the inquiry, and then put the question to the objector whether it will not shed a different light upon the subject. When it is therefore known, that even after our Lord's appearance in the flesh, and death upon the cross, his *humanity* was denied, and his body considered a phantom \* : that, agreeably to the oriental theology, the maintainers of this opinion, asserted the existence of *two Gods*, one of a nature essentially good, the other of a nature addicted to evil † : that the Creator of the world was the evil God, and that Christ came, as the legate of the good God, to destroy his works, of the creation ‡ : the difficulties which embarrass the subject will not be quite as insuperable, as the learned objectors at present imagine. A suspicion will then probably strike the wits of our opponents, that the peculiar care which is employed,—in proving Christ really a *man* ; in asserting that he was sent by *the one* true God ; and that he came to *do the will* of that God who was the maker and ruler of all things, not to counteract his providence, or destroy the works of his creation ;—was employed, to contravene the prejudices of ancient sceptics, not to favour the errors of modern infidels. To those who take this information along with them, in appreciating the objection before us, it cannot require a specific refutation. On the hypothesis of the objector, it was not merely nugatory to employ any *labour* in proving the Messiah a *man*, as commissioned by God ; but superlatively absurd, to prove it by asserting, " that having seen him, they had seen the Father."

From the testimony of the Son, an appeal is next made to that of the Father.

" The immediate attestations from heaven to the character of Christ, point not to a physical and co-eternal Son of Jehovah, but

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\* S. Iren. Lib. I. cap. xxiv. §. 4. p. 101.

† S. Iren. Ib. Lib. III. cap. xi. p. 188. Lib. I. cap. xxvii. p. 106. S. Epiphani. Hæc. XLII. p. 304; a.

‡ S. Iren. Ib. cap. xxvii. §. 2. p. 106. S. Epiphani. Ib. p. 305, a.

to a beloved Son from a particular moment, to *an only Son begotten in time* "to day;" a Son of God to be declared with power by his resurrection from the dead. Let any unprejudiced enquirer read with reference to the particular question, the account of the Baptism, Transfiguration, the Crucifixion of Christ, and then let him lay his hand to his heart, and say to whether of the two 'Sons of God' the miraculous accompaniments of these events applied. One might safely rest the controversy on his answer." P. vii.

In illustration of the accuracy or honesty of the objector, it must be observed, in the first place, that *not one* of the immediate attestations from heaven, to the filiation of Christ, retains the phrase "to day." They are recorded in Matt. iii. 17. xvii. 5. Mar. i. 11. ix. 7. Luke ix. 25. 2 Pet. i. 17 \*. but all, in place of "this day have I begotten thee," have either "in whom I am well pleased," or, "hear ye him," or both these phrases together. And be it observed in the next place, that it is in the Psalms the phrase occurs; and it is there coupled with the eternal decree of God; Ps. ii. 7. "I will declare *the decree*: the Lord hath said unto me, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee." From the Psalms the phrase is repeated in the Epistle to the Hebrews, but repeated merely as a quotation; and here again the subject is connected with eternity; Heb. v. 5. 6. "Christ glorified not himself to be made an high-priest; but he that said unto him, Thou art my Son, to-day have I begotten thee. As he saith also *in another* [Psalm.] Thou art a priest *for ever*, after the order of Melchisedec." If consequently the term "to-day" defines the filiation of Christ, from "the particular moment" when the expression was uttered; it necessarily antedates his pre-existence to the times of the Psalmist, and thus, pierces at a stroke the heart of the Unitarian hypothesis. Unfortunately, however, for the credit of the objectors before us, they stand convicted of ignorance, in more respects than one, by proposing their objection; for the term חַיִּים, which is rendered "to-day," if we may believe those who were best qualified to decide the point, does *not* point out Christ, as "a Son from a particular moment †."

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\* Such however was the reading of the Ebionite Gospel; Ap. S. Epiph. Hær. xxx. p. 138. b. και φωνή ἰέντο ἐκ τοῦ ἑρανοῦ, λέγουσα· σὺ με εἶ ὁ υἱὸς ὁ ἀγαπητὸς, ἐν σὺ νῦν δέκχου. καὶ πάλιν ἐγὼ σήμερον γεννητὰ εἰμι. καὶ εὐθὺς περιέδαμλε τὸν τόπον φῶς μέγα.

† Cellar. Instit. Rabbin. p. 93. "Exemplum si postulet *Judæus* ubi חַיִּים *hadie* a limitibus temporum circumscriptis eximatur, damus ex Ps. xciv. 7. cujus loci 'hodie' valet 'semper,' καὶ ἡ ἐκείνη ἡμέρα, ut Divinus Apostolus Ebr. iii. 13. reddidit" ap. Reland. Annalect. Rabbin. ed. Ultraj. 1702.

The last witnesses cited to prove, that the filiation of Christ was not understood in that sense, in which the orthodox now understand it, after the whole Jewish nation, are the holy Apostles.

"Immediately after the solemn annunciation of his Son-ship, in a moment the mere circumstances of which seem to have well nigh bereft the immediate spectators of their senses—the three disciples, on finding themselves again alone with their companion, are all at once quite at their ease again also, and familiarly interrogate him as if nothing had happened. Not long afterwards—of these very objects of the divine revelation, one is seen lying on his bosom—another is heard to rebuke him in common conversation—and all probably to concur in an opinion that "he is beside himself." Mark iii. 21. Strange, passing strange, surely this, if they had ever indeed thought that they had at their elbow Jehovah the Son." P. viii.

The liveliness of this observation, ought, surely to make up by its wit, for what it wants in decency. And yet, its appositeness even surpasses its humour: as two of those who were witnesses of the transfiguration, have left on record the effect which that scene had upon their minds, and have thus refuted, in express terms, the inference now deduced from their actions. We shall transcribe their account, as the best answer to the impious reflection of the objector; John i. 1. 14.—"the Word was God;—was made flesh, and dwelt [pitched his tabernacle] among us\*, and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of his Father, full of grace and truth." 2 Pet. i. 16, 17, 18. "For we have not followed cunningly devised fables, when we made known

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\* Joh. ibid. Καὶ ὁ Λόγος σκηνῆξεν ἐν ἡμῖν καὶ ἑσκηνώσεν ἐν ἡμῖν. The phrase is obviously adopted from Ps. lxxviii. 60. יששׁכנו שׁל אהל שכן בארץ: "he forsook the tabernacle in Shilo: even the tent which he had pitched among men." In which passage, it is observable, that the verb שכן is the root of סְכִינָה, an oriental word; and consequently the root of שְׁכִינָה, improperly written *shekinah*, and used to denote the divine glory by the Rabbins: who most probably adopted the Greek term by changing Η into ς, according to the modern pronunciation; as they have adopted סְנַחְדְּרִיּוֹן, ΣΥΝΕΔΡΙΟΝ, and numberless other words from the same source. The full force of the passage before us consequently is, "the Divine Logos, who was God, took a human body, as his *shekinah*, or the visible receptacle of his glory." In this sense St. Paul clearly speaks, Heb. viii. 2. "of the true tabernacle which the Lord pitched, and not man." Ib. x. 20.—"of the new and living way which he hath consecrated for us through the vail, which is his flesh." And in the same sense our Lord speaks "of the temple of his body." Joh. ii. 21.

unto you the power and coming of our LORD Jesus Christ, but were eye-witnesses of *his majesty*. For he received from GOD the Father *honour and glory*, when there came such a voice to him from *the excellent glory*, 'This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased. And this voice which came from ~~heaven~~ we heard, *when we were with him in the holy mount*.' It would be an idle waste of time to undertake by a comparison of Mark vii. 32. with Matt. xvi. 22. and of Mark iii. 21. with Ib. ix. 7.; to expose the dishonesty with which the Evangelists are misstated, in order to represent them as blaspheming their Lord and Saviour. In justice, however, to that knowledge of Greek, for which our opponents distinguish themselves, in every attempt to improve on the authorized version, we shall merely observe; that *the rebuke* of St. Peter stands thus, Matt. xvi. 22. "Ἰλαῖς σοι Κύριε ἡ μὴ ἔσαι σοι τῆτο, and literally means "Be favourable unto thyself Lord; this shall not happen unto thee \*."

From this observation we may now proceed, by an easy transition, to what our authors term their remarks on the Authorized Version, with which they bring their "Introduction" to a conclusion. It is consequently, in the first place, objected that

"From its 18th verse the first chapter of Matthew's Gospel, (as it is named in the above-mentioned Version) and the whole of the second, is of doubtful authority. They were not found, it is upon good evidence believed, in the copies of the Gospel used by the Hebrew Christians." P. ix.

We have already had occasion to distinguish between the Hebrews of the orthodox and deistical communion; the Nazarenes having believed that Jesus was the Son of God; and the Ebionites, that he was merely the son of Joseph and Mary. If the testimony of the latter be of any service to our opponents, they are fully entitled to any benefit which may arise from it; for we frankly allow, that they not only rejected the opening chapters of St. Matthew, but what enhances the value of their testimony, they rejected the entire of the remaining Gospels, and the whole of the epistolary writings †. What respect, of course, may be due to their testimony, *on any part* of the canon, we refer it to our

\* Thus also St. Jerome interprets the passage; Comm. in Matt. Lib. III. cap. xvi. Tom. VI. p. 34. e. "Absit a te Domine. Vel ut melius habetur in Græco: Ἰλαῖς σοι Κύριε, ἡ μὴ ἔσαι σοι τῆτο, hoc est, Propitius sis tibi Domine, non erit tibi hoc."

† S. Epiph. Hær. xxx. p. 137. c. 127. e.

adversaries to determine. But whatever benefit may arise from the testimony of the Nazarenes, of which we do not stand in much need, we beg leave to claim in our own behalf; as they not only received the whole of the Old and New Testament, but retained St. Matthew entire, and possessed his Gospel in the original Hebrew \*. A doubt, has, we admit, been expressed by Epiphanius, whether they retained the genealogy †; and the wise and learned Mr. J. Jones, whose qualifications we have just set forth, has consequently divined, in the depth of his penetration, that Epiphanius could not have seen their copies of the Evangelist, and that he is, of course, entitled to no attention ‡. We, whose penetration does not pierce so very deep, would merely conjecture, that he had not seen the genealogy; the copy, which fell into his hands, having possibly lost one or two pages at the beginning: or, as we are rather inclined to believe, the sources from whence he drew his information, not having been accessible, when this particular point became, at a subsequent period, an object of accurate enquiry §. Allowing due credit to his testimony, we consequently assert, that upon no good evidence can it be believed, that the disputed chapters were wanting in the copies of the Hebrew Christians, while we admit they were suppressed in those of the Judaising Heretics.

\* Id. Hær. xxix. p. 122. c. *χεῶνται δὲ ἔτσι [οἱ Ναζωραῖοι] ὁ μόνον Νέα Διαθήκη, ἀλλὰ καὶ Παλαιὰ, καθάπερ καὶ οἱ Ἰεδαῖοι.* Id. *ibid.* p. 124. d. *ἔχουσιν δὲ τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον Εὐαγγέλιον πληρεῖστον Εβραϊστί. παρ' αὐτοῖς γὰρ σαφῶς τὸτο, καθὼς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐγράφη Εβραϊκοῖς γράμμασιν, ἔτι σῴζεται.*

† Id. *ibid.* p. 124. d. *ἐκ οἷδα δὲ, εἰ καὶ τὰς γενεαλογίας τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀβραάμ ἀχρὶ Χριστοῦ περιεῖλον.*

‡ Seq. to Eccl. Research. P. I. ch. x. p. 179.

§ As the Cerinthians had tainted the Nazarenes who settled at Pella and Cochabis (Epiph. *ibid.* p. 123. a.); and had mutilated St. Matthew's Gospel (Id. *ibid.* p. 113. b. 110.); St. Epiphanius might have well indulged a doubt, whether these sectaries had not corrupted their copies of the Evangelist. This he however states, merely as matter of surmise; while he is explicit in asserting, that the Nazarenes retained St. Matthew's Gospel entire; such having been the positive information he had collected respecting them. The very utmost, of course, which can be collected from his uncertainty of opinion, is, that he considered the general information which he had collected, respecting those sectaries, not sufficiently explicit; on a point which admitted of some doubt, though he had no means of ascertaining how far it was well or ill founded.

But it is further insinuated, that those chapters are defective in the internal evidence ;

“ If it be true, as St. Luke seems to relate, that our Saviour had completed his thirtieth year in the fifteenth year of *the reign of Tiberius*, he must have been born two years at least after the death of Herod.” P. ix.

As the periods of Herod's death, and Tiberius's accession are determinable by an eclipse ; the former having taken place near March 13, An. Jul. Per. 4710 \*, and the latter near Sept. 27. An. Jul. Per. 4727 † ; in the fifteenth year after the latter period, our Lord, if born at the former period, must have been *thirty-two* years old ; which is the assumption on which the objector founds his exception, St. Luke having made him *thirty*, at that period. But Tiberius was admitted to a participation of power, two years *previous* to the time of his accession to the throne ‡ ; and from the former time it is that St. Luke calculates his age. (1) He speaks expressly of “ the fifteenth year *τῆς ἡγεμονίας*, of *the government* of Tiberius § ;” (2) he fixes the meaning of the term which he thus uses by applying it, in the same sentence, to Pontius Pilate, who had not attained to supreme power ¶ ; and (3) the fifteenth year of *the reign* of Tiberius, would have been properly expressed by ἐν ἔτει πεντηκαιδε-

\* Conf. Joseph. Antiq. Lib. XVII. cap. vi. § 4. p. 845. Petav. de Doct. Temp. Lib. XI. cap. i. p. 292. a. ed. Par. 1627. Hales Anal. of Ant. Chron. Vol. I. p. 190.

† Conf. Tacit. Annal. Lib. I. cap. xxviii. Tom. I. p. 42. ed. Gronov. 1721. Petav. Ibid. cap. vi. p. 299. c. Hales, Ibid.

‡ Suet. in Tiber. capp. xx. xxi. p. 353. ed. 1656. Tacit. Annal. Lib. I. cap. iii. p. 6. Vel. Paterc. Lib. II. cap. cxxi. p. 130. ed. Ox. 1711. Dio. Hist. Lib. LV. cap. vi. p. 776, s.

§ Arist. de Mund. Καθόλη ὅπερ ἐν τῇ κυβερνήτῃ, ἐν χορῷ δὲ κορυφαῖος, ἐν πολίῃ δὲ νόμος, ἐν στρατοπέδῳ δὲ ἡγεμὼν, τὸτο Θεὸς ἐν κόσμῳ. This passage and the testimony of Paterculus shed mutual light on each other. “ Eadem et virtus et fortuna subsequenti tempore ingressa animum imperatoris Tiberii fuit, quæ initio fuerat—et Senatus Populusque Rom. (postulante patre ejus) ut æquum ei jus in omnibus provinciis exercitibusque esset, quam erat ipsi, decreto complexus esset,” &c.

¶ Luc. iii. 1. ἐν ἔτει δὲ πεντηκαικάτῳ τῆς ἡγεμονίας Τιβερίου Καίσαρος, ἡγεμονεύοντος Πούλιου Πιλάτου τῆς Ἰουδαίας, καὶ τετραρχήντος τῆς Γαλιλαίας Ἡρώδης κ.τ.ι. Conf. Matt. xxvii. 23, 24.

κατὰ

κἄτω τῆς αὐτοκρατορίας Τιβερίου \*. As the difference of two years is thus easily accounted for, by making allowance for the double commencement of Tiberius's reign †; the whole force of the objectors' remark consequently evaporates in exposing their want of learning, to perceive the meaning of ἡμεμονία.

After we are told, though with what rational object we pretend not to divine, that,

"No allusion is made to the extraordinary events narrated in these chapters, in any subsequent passage of the sacred writings."

We are next informed, with a due contempt for the authority of St. Luke (ii. 4—7.) and St. John (vii. 42.) as well as of St. Matt. (ii. 5—8.) that

"If Jesus had been born as is here stated, his proper name, according to the invariable custom of the Jews, would have been Jesus of Bethlehem, not Jesus of Nazareth. His disciples at least would always have designated him by a name which bore testimony to the supposed fulfilment of a remarkable prophecy in his person as the Messiah. Yet to the last moment of their history they call him by no other name than that which seemed to *give the lie to such prediction*. Even at the interview of our Lord with St. Paul, he denominates himself Jesus of Nazareth." P. ix.

As our opponents are never more amusing than when they undertake to settle some point of ecclesiastical antiquity, and do

\* As accuracy was the object of St. Luke iii. 1. who *distinguishes* the Emperor, Procurator, Tetrarchs, and High Priests, under whom Christ's ministry commenced; no force is done to his words by taking them in *the strictness of the letter*. Had it been his object to date the reign of Tiberius, from its *latest* epoch, he might have *marked it*, by several terms; as μοναρχία, αὐταρχία; Vid. Chron. Pasch. uti inf. n. †.: but the proper term would have been αὐτοκρατορία. Dio. Hist. Rom. Lib. LXVII. cap. xii. p. 1110. 59. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶ μὲν Γλαβρίων ὀλεθρος, τῶ δὲ Τραιανῷ ἡ τῆς αὐτοκρατορίας ἀρχὴ προεῖρήθη. Vid. Joseph. ap. Steph. Thesaur. Tom. II. p. 411.

† Pagi, Crit. Hist. Chron. in Annal. Baron. ad. An Chr. 29. p. 12. after Archbishop Ussher, and Langius de Ann. Christ. P. II. cap. xiv. p. 324. ed. Lugd. Bat. 1649. have shown, that this double method of calculating the years of a prince; from his first admission to power, and subsequent accession to the throne, was usual in sacred and profane history. Thus the Alexandrine Chronicle dates the reign of Augustus, from two epochs; Chron. Pasch. p. 209. c. ed. Ducang. τεσσαρακοσὶ τῆς Αὔστου Καίσαρος βασιλείας, ἥτις εἰκοστὴ ὀγδόη τῆς αὐτῇ μοναρχίας ἐγινήθη κατὰ σάρκα Χριστός.

it in their usual tone of modest assertion; we shall merely refer, in illustration of this *dictum* to the case of Maimonides \*; of whom the Jews declare, "From Moses to Moses [ben Maimon] none was like unto Moses." But as we are amused with the modesty of the assumption; we are charmed with its wisdom. The use of proper appellatives is, we believe, *to distinguish persons*; in bestowing which attention must be paid to the vulgar acceptance of language; and some controversy, it is notorious, has arisen with respect to the person of the Messiah: how far the Apostles would have contributed to settle these controversies, and *identify the person of their Lord*, by terming him Jesus of Bethlehem, while he was *generally known* as Jesus of Nazareth our wise opponents are no doubt prepared to inform us, who are anxious to be instructed on this subject.

Having thus destroyed the credit of the opening chapters of St. Matthew, the credit of the concluding verses of the same Evangelist is dispatched with equal facility.

"Baptizing them in the name of the Father," &c. Matt. xxviii. 19. "This part of the precept there is *abundant reason* to believe was not uttered by its supposed author. If the Apostles had been instructed by their master to baptize in this fashion—they could not have baptized "in his name" *only*. And in no other does it appear did they ever baptize. See Acts ii. 38. viii. 12. 16. x. 48. xix. 5. Gal. iii. 27." P. x.

That he who is said, Acts ii. 38. viii. 16. x. 48. to be "baptized in the name of the Lord," or "of the Lord Jesus," is said to be "baptized in his name *only*," is, we cannot deny, very effectually proved, by the dexterous insertion of this little expletive *only*, which converts an elliptical into an exclusive assertion. To do justice, however, to the inference thus logically deduced from the sacred text, we shall exhibit the context of Acts xix. 5: as deciding the controversy.—"And finding certain disciples, he said unto them, Have ye *received the Holy Ghost* since ye believed? And they said unto him, We have not so much *as heard* whether there be *any Holy Ghost*. And he said unto them, Unto *what then* were ye baptized? And they said, Unto John's baptism." According to our dialectics, there is neither pertinence nor coherency in the reply of the Apostle,

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\* Buxtorf. de Abbrev. Hebræor. p. 186. v. מברך ed. Basil. 1640. "R. Mosche filius Majemoni, abbreviate Rambam dictus. Patria fuit Cordubensis, sed in *Ægypto educatus*, et studiis consecratus, et inde vocatus Moses *Ægyptius*."



unless on the supposition, that baptism "in the name of the Holy Ghost" had been generally, if not universally, practiced. For, to us it appears, that there is no alternative, between admitting the text with the following explanatory phrase, and reducing the passage to palpable nonsense; "unto *what then* [but the Holy Ghost] have ye been baptized?" As of course baptism "in the name of the Lord Jesus," Acts xix. 5, does not exclude baptism in the name of the Holy Ghost, Ibid. 3: it cannot exclude it in any of the adduced passages. Such consequently is "the abundant reason which there is *to believe*, that Matt. xxviii. 19. was not uttered by its supposed author!"

The ingenuity by which the forecited passages of St. Matthew are proscribed, renders any vindication of Acts xx. 28. 1 Tim. iii. 16. 1 John v. 7, which are next impugned, perfectly nugatory. If the former passages be not genuine, the entire body of evidence by which the latter are proved spurious, must be corrupt; and consequently not entitled to the least degree of attention. And yet, say the modest impugnors of Matt. i. 19. xxviii. 19, &c.

"Griesbach, (the first of biblical scholars, and a Tri-unitarian) concludes a long disquisition in condemnation of it [1 John v. 7.] to this effect:—'The whole text of the New Testament must be abandoned as *doubtful*, if we are to consider this *genuine*.'" P. xi.

May we now ask those equally consistent and ingenious reasoners, if Matt. xxviii. 19. be "of doubtful authority," by what mode of proof can the authority of any text be impugned or defended?

We have thus endeavoured, at the expence of some patience, to do justice to the ingenuity of our authors' objections to the received text or Authorised Version. Before we take a final leave of "the Introduction" we would willingly acquit ourselves of every obligation to them, on the score of information as well as ingenuity: the example which it affords of the force of conjecture, when opposed to authority, having large claims on our admiration and gratitude.

In exonerating ourselves from this obligation, we observe, in conclusion, that the opening chapters of St. Matthew are not only found in every Manuscript and Version which has been discovered, in whatever region or language they may have been published; but of the extraordinary facts recorded in these chapters, explicit mention is made by the Christian Fathers, from the  
earliest

earliest period\*. The very Jews†, Heathens‡, and Heretics§, have admitted the authenticity of those parts of the Sacred Records, while they have impugned the truth of the facts, which rest on their authority. And with respect to the particular incidents, to which the objectors except; the *date* of our Lord's nativity, or of the first inrolment of Judea under Quirinus, was an epoch determinable from the public records of the Romans; to which the primitive Christians absolutely appealed in confirmation of the truth of their accounts||. With respect also to the *place* of his nativity, which is now called in question by those who affect to receive him as the Messiah; the expectation of the Jews had not only been turned to Bethlehem, from the earliest period¶, but the very cave in which our Lord was laid, was shewn near that village; and sought as an object of sacred attention, by those who visited the Holy Land in pilgrimage\*\*, for some centuries after his birth. Such is the weight of evidence which we are to carry along with us, in appreciating those invincible objections, in which the credit of the disputed passages is now overthrown, by the force of conjecture and assertion.

In proceeding to estimate the objections specifically urged to THE LITURGY, it is to be observed, that the first place is assigned to the vindication of a blunder of Mr. R. Aspland's. In replying to some remarks of that gentleman, which he was pleased to consider "criticisms," we gave it as our opinion that his knowledge of the original language of the New Testament, did not extend to an acquaintance with the force of the preposition ἐν. Here we would have willingly permitted a subject to rest, which is as offensive to us as it is disgraceful to him. But his own folly or the folly of some of his besotted admirers, has now put us upon

\* S. Ignat. ad Eph. cap. xix. p. 16. Just. Mart. Dial. cum Tryph. p. 303. d. S. Iren. adv. Hær. Lib. III. cap. ix. §. 2. p. 184. 2. Tert. adv. Jud. p. 192. c. d. 193. a.

† Cod. Schabb. fol. 104. 2. Beth. Jacob. fol. 127. 1. Conf. Buxt. Lex. Talm. p. 1460. v. טבש.

‡ Cels. ap. Orig. contr. Cels. Lib. V. cap. lviii. p. 622. e.

§ Valentin. Vid. Tert. Præscr. cap. xxxviii. p. 216. b.

|| J. Mart. Apol. Maj. p. 75. d. κόμη δὲ τις [Βηθλεὲμ] ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ Ἰουδαίων, ἀπὸ χύσας σταδίους τριακοσιπέντε ἱεροσολύμων, ἐν ᾗ ἐγενήθη Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, ὡς καὶ μαθῶν δύνασθαι ἐκ τῶν ἀπογεγραφῶν γινωσκόντων πρὸς Κυρίου, τὸ ὑμεῖς ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ πρώτῃ γινώσκοντες ἐπιτρέψατε.

¶ Joh. vii. 42. Chald. Parapr. in Mic. v. 2. R. Salomon. R. Dav. Kimclii, ap. Pears. on Creed. Vol. II. p. 97.

\*\* Orig. contr. Cels. Lib. I. cap. li. p. 367. b. Euseb. Dem. Evang. Lib. VII. cap. ii. p. 341. d. 342. c.

the proof of what we then merely affirmed. After due time taken to consider the force of that word, and our objection, it is observed, in reference to the phrase "for his sake" in the General Confession, which is selected as the first object of animal-version:—

"For the sake." This part of the petition is founded on a *pale mistranslation* of Eph. iv. 32. in our Authorized Version of the Bible. In the Greek text the expression is 'God in Christ.' God forgiveth sin freely, of his mere free grace and love, for no sake but his own." P. 3.

A reply to this learned objection need not be sought from any great depth. "In" interprets Dr. Johnson, '*for the sake*;' and again, "sake" according to the same authority "I. final cause; end; purpose, &c." "'Εν" interprets G. Pasor, "*propter*, ex Hebraismo, Matt vi. 7. *ἐν τῇ πολυλογίᾳ*, *pro diὰ τὴν πολυλογίαν*, *in multiloquio*, hoc est, *propter multiloquium*. Eph. iv. 1. *δέσμιος ἐν Κυρίῳ*, *pro διὰ τὸν Κύριον*, *vinctus propter Dominum*\*." Those different phrases, "*in their much speaking*," and "*bound in the Lord*" are here taken as synonymous with "*for the sake of their much speaking*," and "*bound for the sake of the Lord*." The latter phrase *ἐν Κυρίῳ*. Eph. iv. 1. comes pretty near *ἐν Χριστῷ*. Ibid. 32: being found *in the same chapter*; it will abundantly demonstrate, that in the doubts which we formerly expressed of Mr. R. Aspland's knowing any thing whatever of Greek, we were not wholly mistaken. But the manner in which the repeaters of his objection have contrived to express themselves, warrants us in passing a higher commendation on their learning, as it justifies us in suspecting, that their knowledge of the meaning of the English word "sake" was not greater than that of the Greek preposition *ἐν*: the reader who reviews the objection will probably see good reason to concur in the same opinion.

From the General Confession a transition is made to the Lord's Prayer; in commenting upon which it is apparently insinuated that we address the Divine Being, in our prayers, under a different title, than that of God the Father. To this objection it cannot be thought necessary, that we should condescend to make any reply. The phrase "Our Father" is however made introductory to the following profound observation, on the filiation of Christ.

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\* Pasor. Lex. Nov. Test. p. 284, 1.

"N. B. Let it be observed, that in the Sermon on the Mount (one of the earliest discourses) our Saviour speaks of God as standing in that relation [of Father] to us, nearly *twenty times*, before he speaks of his standing in the same relation to *himself*—After his resurrection, how *emphatically* does he state it, '*my Father, and your Father, my God and your God.*'" P. 4.

From this numerical argument we must either collect the following meaning, or no meaning whatever; that God is nearly twenty times as much our Father, as the Father of Christ. And with respect to the expression, "*my Father and your Father,*" which we are told, marks *emphasis*; we are assured, on the authority of a Greek, that it marked *opposition* and *distinction* \*. This observation may be of course added to those which prove the qualifications of Mr. Jones and his associates to improve on our Authorized Version.

As the preceding observation illustrates our authors' ingenuity and knowledge of Greek; the subsequent will evince their acquaintance with ecclesiastical antiquity.

"These Doxologies [Glory be to the Father and to the Son, &c.] as they are termed, are a *Popish Invention*. A Protestant, *i. e.* a scriptural Christian may well be excused," &c. P. 4.

Yet this *Popish* invention unquestionably originated in the *Eastern Church*. A learned person who has inquired into this subject, with the greatest care and curiosity, has pronounced, that the custom of closing each Psalm with the doxology prevailed in the East from the primitive ages †. And such is the felicity which attends the Unitarians in all their conjectures, that in the Western Church, where the custom was unquestionably late, it was adopted, after the practice of the Eastern Churches ‡, as it is believed by Pope Damasus, at the recommendation of St. Jerome §. Of all the Western Churches, it was exclusively used

\* S. Cyril. Catech. vii. § iv. p. 106. l. 2. ed. Oxon. 1703. οὐκ εἰπὼν πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα ἡμῶν ἀλλὰ διελών, καὶ εἰπὼν πρῶτον τὸ οἰκίον 'πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα μου,' ὅπερ ἢ κατὰ φύσιν εἴτ' ἐπαγαγὼν 'καὶ Πατέρα ὑμῶν' ὅπερ ἢ κατὰ θείον. Conf. S. Chrysost. in loc.

† Thomassin. de Eccl. Discipl. P. I. Lib. II. cap. lxxi. Tom. I. p. 455. It accordingly occurs in S. James's, S. Basil's and S. Chrysostom's Liturgy; Vid. Liturg. SS. Patr. pp. 8. 44. 75. ed. Par. 1560.

‡ Mabill. de Liturg. Gallic. disquis. de Curs. Gallic. §. 32. p. 405. ed. Par. 1685.

§ Sigeib. Chronogr. ad An. 382. Int. Scriptt. Rer. Germann. Tom. I. p. 403. ed. Francf. 1613.

in the Gallican, down to a late period; the Council of Narbonne having decreed that "Glory be to the Father," &c. should be sung at the end of each Psalm \*. Can it be now matter of surprise that they who decide thus presumptuously, upon subjects on which they possess not the smallest information, should find so much to object to, in the Established Religion?

From the Doxologies we proceed to the Apostles' Creed.

"This Creed was not written by the Apostles, whose name it bears. And as we have an opportunity of repeating, when we please, their own genuine Creed out of the Scripture, it is not worth while to fasten on them, or on ourselves, any other. It may not be amiss to remark, that in Christian Churches before the Council of Nice, the first article stood, I believe in *One God*. (See Pearson.)" P. 8.

We have here another decision, delivered as usual, *ex tripode*. Yet peremptory as this *dictum* is, we venture to call it in question. Erasmus, we are fully aware, impeached the authenticity of this creed; and Vossius attacked it, in an express dissertation †. Their arguments, however, seem not to have made much impression upon the admirable Primate Usher; and we conceive they may be disposed of, without much trouble to the undertaker. We do not pledge ourselves to maintain the many improbabilities which have been recounted respecting it; that it is the joint production of the *twelve* Apostles, or was originally committed to writing ‡. But we believe it not impossible to prove, as St. Jerome seems to have believed §, that it was dictated by some of those immediate disciples of our Lord, and was thence traditionally handed down, in the Eastern and Western Churches.

The first argument which may be urged in support of this creed, is deducible from the circumstance of its having been received, in those Churches; either in its present form, or with the addition of a few explanatory phrases directed against subsequent heresies; the impression, at the same time, prevailing that it had been traditionally delivered by the Apostles. Such was the opinion of Rufinus, in the West, who wrote expressly

\* Mabill. ubi supr. §. 56. p. 423.

† Erasm. Præf. in Paraphr. Matt. Voss. Dissert. de triß. Symbb. Amst. 1662.

‡ Vid. Voss. uti supr. Dissert. I. §. x. p. 8.

§ S. Hier. ad Pam. Ep. LXI. cap. ix. Tom. II. p. 219. "In Symbolo fidei et spei nostræ, quod ab Apostolis traditum, non scribitur in charta et atramento, sed in tabulis cordis carnalibus, post confessionem Trinitatis, et unitatem Ecclesiæ, omne Christiani dogmatis sacramentum carnis resurrectione includitur." Conf. inf. p. 585. n.\*

on this subject; and the same conclusion may be gathered from Eusebius in the East, who possessed every means of investigating the tradition\*. It seems not easy to account for its being thus generally received, but on the supposition, that it was authorized by the Apostles.

The same supposition receives the strongest confirmation from the internal evidence of the creed; and from the external testimony by which it is supported. Every article of this creed is directed against some error of those heresies which arose before the close of the Apostles' ministry. And every fundamental error of those heresies finds its express contradiction, in this short formula. As this assumption is not verified, in this Creed and the state of opinion at any subsequent period; and as every *addition made to it* must be referred to subsequent heresies†; it seems impossible to account for these facts on any principle, but that which presupposes, that this creed, though subsequently *accommodated to later heresies*, was compiled in the apostolical age, and of consequence composed by the Apostles.

We are not destitute of external evidence, even in the inspired writers, in referring this creed to this primitive period. Bishop Sherlock has ingeniously concluded, from the appeal to the authority of the Apostles, in St. Peter and St. Jude, who were themselves of apostolical rank, that some "Form of sound words," composed by the Apostles and directed against those heresies, must

\* Ruffin. in Symb. §. 1. p. 17: int. Opusc. subnex. Cypr. ed. Oxon. "Iccirco, denique hæc non scribi chartulis atque membranis, sed retineri cordibus [Apostoli] tradiderunt, ut certum esset, neminem hæc ex lectione, quæ interdum pervenire ad infideles solet, sed *ex Apostolorum traditione didicisse sufficeret.*" Euseb. ap. Socr. Hist. Eccl. Lib. I. cap. viii. p. 23. l. 8. καὶ παρὰ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν ἐπισκόπων κ.τ.ι Ibid. l. 29. καὶ ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν ἀπεστέλλων εἰς τὸ κήρυγμα τὴν αὐτὴν μαθητὰς κ.τ.ι.

† This assertion may be easily illustrated from Ruffinus in Symb. §. 4. p. 14. "*Orientis Ecclesiæ omnes ita tradunt, 'Credo in unum Deum Patrem Omnipotentem:' et rursum in sequenti sermone, ubi nos dicimus, 'Et in Jesum Christum, unicum Filium ejus, Dominum nostrum;' illi tradunt, 'Et in unum Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, Filium ejus.'*" Here in consequence of the notion, which prevailed in the East, relative to the existence of *two Gods*, vid. supr. p. 572. n. †. and of *separate persons* in Jesus Christ, vid. S. Iren. Lib. I. cap. xi. p. 188: the term "*unum*" was inserted before "*Deum*," and "*Dominum nostrum*" in the *Oriental Creeds*; though omitted in the original Creed, which was disseminated in the West and other regions, where those notions were not prevalent.

have prevailed in the first age ; and he justifies his opinion by the language of those inspired writers, who plainly distinguish between these traditionary forms, and the general doctrines of the Gospel \*. As it is utterly inconceivable, that these forms of doctrine should have wholly disappeared, and a form, like the apostolical creed, have succeeded in their place, answering in every respect to the description given of them : we therefore conclude, that "the traditionary faith," to which there is a plain reference in St. Paul, St. Peter, and St. Jude, must be the Creed of the Apostles. In this consideration a leading objection of Vossius, deduced from the silence of the inspired writers †, is at once overturned ; as this Creed was directed against the heresies, which arose at the close of the Apostles' ministry, it could not have been mentioned in any part of their writings, but some of the later Epistles.

The chain of tradition, in favour of this Creed, may be easily extended below this period, to the fourth century, when the documents respecting it are full and explicit. Whatever scepticism is indulged respecting the Apostolical Constitutions, it is on all sides admitted, that they preserve the traditions, which prevailed in the Church, from the earliest ages. They, however, contain, not only an account of the Apostles having opposed those early heresies ‡ ; but ascribe a formulary to them which is merely the Apostles' Creed, interpolated with some explanatory phrases, directed against subsequent heresies §. A further objection of Vossius, deduced from the silence of the primitive fathers ¶, thus easily finds its answer. It could not have been necessary to repeat a Creed which, previously to its being superseded by a fuller exposition of the faith compiled by the first General Council assembled at Nice, every one committed to memory. Previously to that period, when Christianity became the established religion, it was a matter of religious scruple with Christians, to preserve their Creed, undivulged to the Pagans ¶. In the fourth century those obstacles to its promulgation were removed, by the suppression of Heathenism ; in this century, it is consequently mentioned, without reserve or scruple.

\* Vid. 2 Pet. iii. 2. Jud. 17. Comp. Bp. Sherl. Dissert. I. p. 196. 199. subj. to Disc. on Prophec. Lond. 1749.

† Voss. ubi supr. §. xxv. p. 21.

‡ Constit. Apost. Lib. VI. cap. xiii. p. 345.

§ Ibid. Lib. VII. cap. xli. p. 383.

¶ Voss. ibid. §. xxiii. p. 18. §. xxviii. p. 23.

¶ S. Cyril. Hieros. Cat. vi. §. xv. p. 97. l. 21. Conf. Rufin. supr. p. 585. n. \*.

After this period it must be nugatory to search after evidence, in attestation of its authenticity. The fathers who mention it after this time, (among whom we number St. Jerome, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, and Ruffinus \*,) ascribe it, with one consent, to the Apostles †. Nor is there any thing in the subsequent objections of Vossius which at all invalidates their testimony. The improbability on which he insists, that any Church would invent a new Creed, had this been composed by the Apostles ‡, arises from his own false assumption, that such Creeds were invented. They invented no new Creed, while they preserved it altogether; merely adding such explanatory clauses, as were necessary to oppose the growth of error §. And any verbal difference, which is discoverable in the substance of the Apostles' Creed ||, as preserved in their larger formularies, is at once accounted for, on considering what St. Jerome attests, that it was preserved by tradition.

With respect to the final remark, on the phrase "I believe in one God," our authors exhibit their usual felicity of conjecture. For though it is true, that this phrase is found in the Creed, which Eusebius produced in the Council of Nice, and in that which the Arians published at a subsequent period ¶; as containing the original traditional faith of the Churches of Palestine and Alexandria: there is ample ground to believe that they retain the term "one," as an interpolation, of the original. For (1.) the Roman Creed wants this term \*\*; and of all the Creeds in the Eastern and Western world it only possessed the reputation of being unaltered ††. (2.) The Palestine and Alexandrine Creeds in which it occurs, are obviously accommodated to later heresies ‡‡; and of course disqualified from deciding the question. (3.) The intro-

\* S. Hier. ad Pam. Ep. lxi. cap. ix. Tom. II. p. 219. S. Ambros. Ep. xlii. §. 5. Tom. II. col. 967 b. Conf. Ep. xx. § 4. col. 853. b. S. August. Serm. cxv. de Tempore. Tom. X. c. 849. b. ed. Basil. Ruffin. in Expos. Symb. §. i. p. 17.

† Guebrard. de Trin. III. p. 230. ed. Colon. 1560.

‡ Voss. ibid. §. xxix. p. 23.

§ Vid. supr. p. 585. n. †.

|| Voss. ibid. §. xxxi. p. 24. sqq.

¶ Vid. Socrat. Hist. Eccl. Lib. I. cap. viii. p. 23. l. 15. Id. ibid. cap. xxvi. p. 61. l. 26. Conf. Theod. H. E. Lib. I. cap. xii. p. 38. Sozom. H. E. Lib. II. cap. xxvii. p. 83.

\*\* Vid. Usser. de Symb. p. 12. Lond. 1647.

†† Ruffin. ubi supr. §. ii. p. 17. "Illud non importune commonendum puto, quod in diversis ecclesiis, aliqua in his verbis [Credo in unum Deum Omnipotentem] inveniantur adjecta. In Ecclesia tamen urbis Romæ hoc non deprehenditur factum."

‡‡ Vid. Usser. ubi supr. p. 14, 15.



duction of the term is fully accounted for, by considering the prevalence of the Valentinian and Marcionite heresies, against which it was particularly directed \*. This circumstance, however, will effectually expose the vanity and folly of the objector, who discovers some opposition between this term, and the doctrine of the orthodox.

The "observations" on the Athanasian Creed, which is most humorously denominated a "delectable sarrago of nonsense, anathema, and antibiblist," p. 25, afford nothing which merits a reply. We shall, therefore, conclude our remarks, by considering the objections urged against the Litany.

We record the objections to the first petition; as they merit attention, for the novelty of the discovery; and the solemn importance with which it is published.

"That our blessed Lord intended to substitute for the ONE object of his nation's religious worship THREE *several distinct objects* of religious worship, there is not the shadow of evidence in Scripture. That he did *not* so intend is more obvious and certain than reasoning can make it, from his conversation with the woman of Samaria," &c. P. 28.

The observations to which the second petition gives rise, deserve to be put on record, from the knowledge which they exhibit of the Greek language.

"This petition [to the Son] will be of course omitted by those who think themselves interdicted from direct prayer to the Son by his own *express command*, John xvi. 23."

—and those persons, we pronounce, will be precisely as many as happen not to know, that the phrase in Greek, John xvi. 23. *ἐμὲ οὐκ ἐρωτήσατε* οὐδέν literally means, "ye shall *interrogate* me, *inquire* of me, nothing;" this sense being not merely determined by the proper force of the verb *ἐρωτάω* †, but by the context, Ibid. 19, 30. We have here another attempt at critical accuracy, and of course, another exposure of ignorance. To the third petition we find the following potent objection.

"That God the eternal Omnipresent Spirit must be a person distinct from his Spirit—that when God is said to *pour out* his Spirit upon Israel—to *put* his Spirit upon his beloved, within

\* Vid. *supr.* p. 585. n. †

† Labbe. Glossar. Antiq. p. 80. ed. 1679. *ἐρωτάω*. scrutor, interrogor. Thom. Magist. p. 75. ed. Franq. 1690. *ἐρωτῶ*. τί ἀποκρισὶν ζῶντι. Vid. Steph. Thesaur. Ling. Græc. Tom. I. col. 901. g.

us, &c. &c. it is meant that another person than HIMSELF is literally to come, and to inspire the particular object, or objects of HIS OWN immediate *personal* agency—is really!—but one forbears, from a respect towards those who hold so passing strange a conceit.” P. 28.

This objection will doubtless go home to the mark, when it strikes at the following passage, and its divine Author. John xiv. 26. “But the Comforter, which *is the Holy Spirit* whom *the Father will send* [τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ὃ πέμψει ὁ Πατήρ] in my name, HE shall teach you [ἐκεῖνος ὑμᾶς διδάξει] all things,” &c. We feel but one difficulty in this passage which our adversaries, whom we know to be casuists, will probably solve; how ONE PERSON, at the instigation of a second, may be said to *send himself* from HIMSELF.

Such are the objections to the Trinity, which Dr. Priestley has branded as a *Platonic* invention, but which the next observation informs us, is “*a Popish name*,” and of consequence to be erased “from every Protestant’s memory.” The “mystery of Incarnation,” is, in conclusion, dispatched with the following remark:

“But for the questionableness of this adjuration, [by the mystery of thy holy, &c.] See the Notes on the Authorized Version.” P. 29.

Until we are informed where these “notes” may be found, we shall venture to transcribe the following very wise observation, by Mr. Jones, which we doubt not the author of the foregoing reference, had in view, when projecting a note on the passage before us. Sequel to Eccl. Res. p. 258. “It is *worthy of observation* that John, in this place [ch. i. 14] sets aside as false the *miraculous birth* of Jesus, by saying the Logos *became* flesh, and not that he was *born* flesh:” and in a note we find added; “Σαῶξ ἐγένετο, and not σὰρξ ἐγεννήθη. This distinction between γίγνομαι and γεννᾶω is uniformly preserved by all writers.” For a proof of the justness of the last observation we refer the reader to Rom. ix. 11. 1 John v. 1, 18. who doubtless will still have to enquire, with ourselves, how the Apostle would have asserted “the *miraculous birth* of Jesus,” had he affirmed what no man but a Gnostic has ever denied, that “he was *born* flesh.” This, however, though, an exquisite specimen, as must be confessed, of the ingenuity of the objector, is but a small part of the sagacity which his objection displays; in which he undertakes to refute the orthodox by disproving “a *miraculous birth*,” while it is notorious, that they maintain a *miraculous conception*, and a *natural*

*tural* birth \*. This, however, is not the whole, for the acme of his ingenuity lies in the circumstance of his refuting them, by the very text which establishes the doctrine; "the Word *was* made flesh," says the Apostle, and "the Word *was* God;" of course, God was made flesh, and was, of consequence, incarnate. On dismissing the consideration of such objectors, and their objections, who can avoid reflecting with Boileau; what fools God hath for his enemies!

Having thus gone through the weary and disgusting task, which has been imposed upon us, by the author or authors of the production before us, a very few words will express the sum of our sentiments on its contents. To enable the reader to form an opinion of the justice of the sentence which we pronounce; we have only to inform him, respecting the exposé which we have made, that we have endeavoured to render it as plenary, as it is faithful, by a specific statement of every objection urged by them, which seemed worthy of the smallest attention. He may of course form a judgment for himself. So disgraceful is the exposure which we have made of their qualifications to sustain the part, to which they so confidently pretend; that we could almost feel pity for them in the contemptible light in which they exhibit themselves: but that the tone of insolent defiance, in which they have provoked a castigation, has shut up every avenue to our compunction. Strong as this language may appear, it conveys but one half of our sentiments of the authors of a libel which is as unjustifiable as it is daring. Independent of the hostility which it manifests to the established mode of worship, that which it frontlessly avows to every species of creed, is deserving of remark; as revealing a little more of the true character of its authors, than in meet prudence, they deem politic openly to acknowledge. When with this consideration we take into account, their impious rejection of the written word; their blasphemous mockery of its inspired authority; their profane derision of all religious mysteries,—that sentence will not be surely condemned as severe, in which we express our conviction, that they are masked infidels who merely pretend to as much of Christianity as will shelter them in subverting the whole; and that they are consequently deserving of the execration of every friend of civil society.

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\* S. Ambros. ad Syrio. Ep. xlii. §. 4. col. 967. a.

ART. II. *Armageddon. A Poem; in Twelve Books. By the Rev. George Townsend, B.A. of Trinity College, Cambridge. The first Eight Books. pp. 314. 1l. 11s. 6d. Hatchard. 1815.*

THE pleasure derived from Poetry is increased to every reader of true taste, not only in proportion as the plan of a Poem may satisfy his judgment, the sentiments excite his interest, or the manner win his attention, but also as the general effect of the whole is to enlarge his understanding and improve his heart.

To the pages of Sacred Poetry, therefore, every well-disposed mind turns with feelings of unalloyed pleasure; satisfied that the subject, even though it be not clothed in verse of the highest order, is one which the mind can dwell upon without fear of danger, and with such feelings we should hope every reader will open the Poem of Armageddon. If he find now and then parts of the work which his judgment and taste cannot approve, he will not, therefore, lay it aside, but reading with delight what may be excellent, and with attention even the less striking passages, he will proceed with pleasure, because he cannot read without improvement. The scenes into which he is introduced—the characters presented to his view—the awful period of time chosen for the action of the Poem—all are calculated either to warn from evil, or animate to good.

The interpretations of the word chosen for the title of this Poem have been various, and few scholars are agreed as to its precise meaning. Those who have hitherto treated on the subject have referred the term either with Grotius and others to a point of time past, or with Newton have applied it to some great event in future history; such as a tremendous conflict in the last days between the Roman Catholic and Protestant armies—others have supposed Armageddon to be the name of a place, where the infidel power of France shall be utterly broken and destroyed.

Mr. Townsend uses the word in one of these significations. Indeed he leads us to another sphere of action, and carries us into scenes of far higher interest: rising from an earthly to a heavenly contest: he presents to us the powers of heaven and hell, set in array against each other on a plain, called Armageddon—an imaginary space, placed between the abodes of eternal happiness on the one hand, and of eternal misery on the other.

On this scene of action, previous to the battle, are assembled mankind to receive their final doom. The quick and the dead are summoned to judgment. Thus we find ourselves in the midst of scenes more awful than those even which Milton's genius has painted to our imagination.

How far Mr. T. has been successful in the execution of this difficult task we have now to consider; and if we appear fastidious in some of our remarks, it will proceed partly from the real value we set on the Poem, and partly because, from the youth of the Poet, we cannot help indulging an hope that he may have both willingness and opportunity to profit by our well-intentioned suggestions.

As the foundation for the machinery of his Poem, Mr. T. has adopted a theory of the universe, scarcely at all different from that which Milton built on the foundation of Holy Writ.—Eternity being an attribute of God only, he is of course stated to have existed alone from all eternity; but to accomplish his own wise though inscrutable purposes, it pleased him to form other beings, and to prepare for them appropriate places of abode; having first, as the primary act of Omnipotence, created heaven, the residence of the more peculiar manifestation of his glory. Perfection and Omniscience being also attributes of God only, and his Omniscience perceiving that no being but himself could be absolutely perfect, a place of punishment, called Hell, was next prefaced for those of his creatures, who, by imperfect obedience, should fall short of that standard of excellence which alone could allow them a hope of Heaven: between these opposite worlds of happiness and misery, a space, called Chaos, was commanded to roll, partly occupying that portion of infinity in which the stars now move. After the creation of heaven, hell, and chaos, that disobedience among the inhabitants of heaven which had been foreseen, took place; part of them sinned against heaven's King; followers, therefore, of evil, they were consigned to the darkness prepared for them in the region of hell. Upon their defection God determined to form new worlds; accordingly, at his word order arose out of confusion; suns and their systems were formed out of part of chaos, and filled with beings, to be received after sufficient probation, into the presence of their maker, in the room of offending angels. That part of chaos which was removed to make room for the new creation was called by the attendant ministers of the Deity—“Armageddon.”

“Wondering the host of heaven survey, and call,  
The banished chaos Armageddon's plain.”—P. 76.

: All the suns are supposed to have been inhabited; but this  
earth,

earth, rolling as a planet round one of them, is represented, as

“ The only spot throughout the works of God,  
Where evil entered and deformed its race.”—P. 79.

When all things with respect to mankind in their state of probation are accomplished, the Almighty removes them, quick and dead, to the plain of Armageddon, where they are judged. The earth, deserted by its inhabitants, is given up a prey to the powers of evil, who destroy it, and overthrow also the whole material universe ; the inhabitants of the stars having been first removed to heaven.

“ That destruction is represented as beginning with the burning of the earth by a column of fire attracted from the surface of a comet. All the suns and constellations, inclosed by the wide circle of Armageddon, rush together in inextricable confusion ; the beings that are saved rest in happiness ; the condemned continue with the powers of evil. Chaos is commanded to resume its first seat, forming an impassable gulph between the realms of happiness and misery ; the dispensations of Providence are completed, and time is lost in eternity.”

We see nothing objectionable in this scheme on the score of propriety ; neither revealed truth, nor the deductions of reason, are at all at variance with it. The subject is one on which we may speculate for ever ; but we hasten to the consideration of the Poem itself, which is divided into twelve books.

We do not advance far into the first book before we find ourselves engaged in the action of the Poem. The universe having existed its appointed time, the Deity is pleased to bring to a close the state of those beings who had inhabited earth and the surrounding stars. He wills that they should be called to final account, and that the place for judgment should be Armageddon. Accordingly they are summoned, quick and dead, to appear before their God. Angels are commissioned to conduct them from the several lower worlds to a higher region, the appointed plain, there to await their sentence. The overwhelming sensations which affect those thus “ gathered to await their judge,” are well imagined to be of a nature so powerful, so new, that every corporeal and mental energy is at once deadened ; all power of action precluded by intensity of feeling.

“ The clamorous outcry, and the whispered prayer,  
The piercing shriek, the sigh, the groan, were hushed

La

In mournful silence ; one oppressive calm  
Aroused the sleepless horrors of mankind  
To burning madness." P. 31.

The Messiah, descending from heaven, (properly so termed, the seat of his glory) proceeds to final retribution. The spirits of the just are admitted into the heavenly kingdom, as good and faithful servants entering into the joy of their Lord : for the slaves of sin is reserved the sentence of everlasting death ; condemned to be for ever separated from God, from his angels, and the light of heaven. At this point of time Adam, the patriarch father of mankind is introduced, mourning the fate of those souls, whose vices, when on earth, have caused them woe and death in the world of spirits. He imagines himself to be the cause of their miseries, is agonized, because on him

" Fierce in the torture of despair they turn,  
And hurl their loud reproaches on his soul."

This introduction of Adam has certainly a good effect as far as Poetry be concerned ; we shall therefore give the passage as it stands : but from the circumstance of his bemoaning with agony the doom of the suffering wicked, and attributing to himself their final condemnation, doctrines may, and indeed must be deduced, the propriety of which, as strict Theologians, we be tempted to dispute.

" Why from yon cloud of glory rise those notes  
Of anguish ? Friends, and Sons, and Parents, weep  
Their sad farewell ; and louder than the rest  
The patriarch Father of mankind was heard :  
' Before thine awful throne, Almighty King !  
In agony of heart a suppliant bows,  
That, safely harboured from the wreck of Earth,  
Amid the ruin of his helpless sons,  
Entreats thy grace. Let not the Lord of Life  
Be angered with his servant when he prays  
For pardon on his miserable race !  
By me they fell, the Father of their sin !  
On me thy fury-pour, but spare my sons !' " P. 40.

We doubt then how far it be correct to suffer Adam, or any other being when once beatified, to know pain and sorrow more, from whatsoever cause they might be supposed to arise. The strong and perfect sense which, as spiritual beings, we shall have of the entire justice and mercy of God, will surely prevent any drawback to our felicity, though we should witness as Adam

is here supposed to do, the miseries even of those to whom in life we were bound even by ties of blood.

But we must beg to point out another doctrine equally indefensible and still more dangerous, deducible from this passage : the doctrine of necessity. That the wicked, ever ready to assign for their guilt any other cause than the true one, ready to lay the blame on any rather than on themselves, and anxious to extenuate their conduct by any false pretences, that they should turn in their torments to Adam, and charge him with all their vices, all their woe, might at first, perhaps, appear probable and reasonable to suppose : but even this we cannot allow. The wicked, in the midst of their misery, will be spirits ; and, therefore, thoroughly informed on the vast mystery of redemption ; universal in its offers of mercy, though too often rendered vain by the perverseness of the impenitent. So strong will be their sense of God's justice, that the accursed shall confess the mercy even of an avenging God.

We find the second and third Books strikingly contrasted. In the former the blessed are taken up into heaven, and there instructed, by the song of the Cherub Jediel, in the history of the universe ; including heaven, hell, Armageddon, and the stars. In the latter Book the condemned are represented as conveyed to the infernal regions, their appointed place of torment ; where, instead of a cherub's song of joy, are heard only the mingled groans of the tormented, and the mocking taunts of the tormentors ; whilst they lie

“ Whelmed in the stormy gulphs of rolling fire.”

The descriptive passages here have some fine lines, though not perhaps equal in strength of expression to the vast ideas they are meant to convey. The chiefs of the demons are now introduced as consulting how they may, with most probability of success, make war against heaven's King. This consultation is interrupted by the unexpected approach of Sin in person. The thought is well conceived, and managed with peculiar spirit and effect. Sin comes forward as the parent of the demons : she urges them, by an assurance of her ready presence, to aid them to assault the heaven of heavens.

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“ I will be with you still :

Rouse your keen thoughts, and, pointing to the skies,  
Break my whole influence o'er your willing souls,  
And rear the scorpion-lash of wild despair,  
When fainting toil shall sink beneath the bolt  
Of heavenly wrath. On to the higher world !” P. 118.

The



The scene in which her figure is discernible through the vapoury cloud, is painted with such warmth, and yet with such propriety, that we cannot but present it to the reader. The image of Sin herself; the blind love which the demons "her sons" bear to her; the change in her form, withering and melancholy at the prospect of her closing reign; and the additional effect which her waning charms have, by the influence of that pity, which is always naturally excited by the contemplation of fallen greatness, even though the fall be merited, and which may be supposed, in the present instance, to have recurred, with mournful recollection, to days of youthful grace and beauty; all these circumstances are combined with great skill in the following animated description.

————— " They from the hovering cloud  
Beheld th' emerging shape, beloved so long,  
Of Sin their common Parent; lovely seemed  
The Phantom, though her hovering form had lost  
Its youthful grace: and horror and revenge  
Glowed from her deepened eye, and withering rage,  
And stern impatience, writhed in every limb:  
Yet oft, as indistinctly seen, she beamed  
Amid the gloom, the lowering countenance wore  
A melancholy paleness, that attracts  
Their constant gaze, and all her native grace  
Returned, in fancy, to their ardent minds  
In mingling beauty, and delightful change.  
As to the dying Lover's sight appears  
The smiling image of his long-lost fair,  
Amid the hateful and demoniac dreams  
Of wild delirium mingling; the dread shapes,  
Around his burning head, flit fearfully,  
Inspiring horror, while the beauteous maid,  
With mournful look, smiles languidly, and cheers  
The fevered youth; so, from the spectre Sin,  
The various terrors, and remaining charms  
Of fancied softness shone. Slow to the tribes  
She turned, and, from the covering darkness, hailed  
Her sons, and bade them prosper, while the voice  
Infused new strength, as from their eager view  
She vanished in the gulph of billowy fire.  
And long they watch in silence, as they hear,  
Borne on the sullen whirlwind, dismal groans,  
And curses of despair, and nameless blasphemies." P. 119.

The demons continue their consultation in the fourth Book, and the result of their deliberation, animated by the speech of Sin, is, preparation for the battle of Armageddon. To fill up the space of time which is supposed to intervene between the preparation

preparation for war and the battle itself. Brahma and Ithream, two spirits of evil, are introduced, commissioned by Satan to burn the earth : and to effect this destruction, they are directed to seize a comet which may be attached to some distant star, direct it to our solar system, and destroy it. To execute this commission, the rebel chieftains, as we find in the opening of the fifth Book, begin their journey. Ithream, a spirit of inferior power and knowledge to Brahma, sees, for the first time, as he emerges from the region of Armageddon, the starry world. The feelings, which he expresses at the sight, give rise to a beautiful passage, full of sentiment, and in a true spirit of poetry.

“ Beneath the cloudless sky, at autumn eve,  
 The smooth, and green Pacific sweetly smiles,  
 And o’er th’ unruffled mirror of the deep,  
 The stars of heaven shine gloriously, and deck  
 The shoreless sea ; when on the silent wave  
 Some northern bark glides slow, whose daring prow  
 To southern climes before was never bent :  
 Up to the firmament the sea-boy turns,  
 With curious eye ; scans the blue depths above,  
 And bows to view, reflected in the tide,  
 The clustering constellations, world on world,  
 In ignorant wonder lost ; till Fancy spurns  
 The rolling globe, and all its boundless sky :  
 So bursting from the confines of the realms  
 Of night, and death, the Cherub Ithream gazed  
 On the wide plains of nature, star-filled space,  
 First seen, and first admired ! before him hung  
 The radiant splendors of the God of heaven,  
 In all their rich variety, and tired  
 His envious eye unsatisfied. ‘ Is this,’  
 The Cherub cried, ‘ this the created World  
 Our Chieftain bids us in revenge destroy,  
 Breaking the chain of Deity, that binds  
 These glowing orders with his matchless power ?  
 Here reigns in truth Omnipotence ; here lives  
 Th’ Eternal King ; this is the world of God ! ’ ” P. 165.

“ Poised on expanded wing,” and keeping their way through spheres deserted now, since their several inhabitants had been called to judgment, they arrive at the central world. This spot is supposed by Mr. T. to have been ordained as the more immediate throne of the archangel and his minstering spirits ; who from thence, as from a centre, were employed at the command of God, in watching over and benefiting surrounding worlds : whilst their face was especially directed to the inhabitants of this earth ; in guarding us from temptation, in comfort-

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ing

ing us under affliction, and in raising our thoughts from mere worldly objects to a higher aim, they were "the watchful guardians of fair nature's realms."

"And oft, for us, their vernal bowers they left,  
At his command, to shield us in the scenes  
Of life, protect us, when the smiling world,  
With treacherous bait, allured; or, peace inspired,  
In want, or misery, as the changeling frowned.  
Around the beggar, and the King, alike  
Their sheltering wing extends; they love the race  
Of mortal Man, and searching every heart  
Bestow the happiness that soothes it most,  
Calling on cheering hope to calm the breast  
Of anxious grief, or, raising from the Earth  
Our grovelling wishes, point us to the skies.  
Oft did they whisper to the pensive soul,  
Not all the wealth of states, or Fame, or Pride,  
Or Pleasure's glittering joys, or, fading Pomp,  
Or, Beauty's winning smile, or want, or woe,  
Or all the forms, and pangs of agony,  
Can sink, or elevate, th' immortal mind,  
That self-possessed, self-governed, knows its powers,  
Careless of praise, or censure undeserved,  
Enriched with kind benevolence to Man,  
In mute obedience to th' approving God,  
To life resigned, looks humbly on to Heaven,  
With hopes that breathe of the celestial state,  
Where knowledge reigns, and God himself abides.  
Thus did they guard mankind." P. 170.

Whether by angels, or by other agencies, the Almighty is pleased to shelter and protect us amidst the dangers and difficulties of life, is, perhaps, of no importance for us to enquire, since we are assured, by the experience of every hour, that such protection is vouchsafed; but the belief that angels, who are only a little higher than ourselves in the scale of being, should have the immediate guardianship over us; that, perhaps, even the spirits of the just, of those we loved on earth, may be permitted to wing their airy way around us, and be the instruments of conveying to us some blessing from heaven—deliverance from danger—comfort in trouble—all this is too congenial with our better feelings, too agreeable to all the sympathies of our nature, to allow of our willingly resigning it: the introduction of it here adds much to the beauty of the Poem, and in no small degree strengthens its moral tendency. The whole passage is good and interesting.

These ministering spirits had now departed from the central world: in their late abode, however, perpetual spring still reigned,

reigned, and the whole scene was characterized by more that earthly loveliness. The lotos, the rose, and herbs of blooming pride there flourished; and amongst them all bloomed the amaranth, to make the spot as Paradise. Leaving at length these seats of blessedness, Brahma and Ithream proceed on their journey: the latter astonished at the splendor of the starry systems which blaze around him, enquires of his companion on what great cause those worlds depend. Brahma, in answer, concisely narrates the history of creation, and (though a fallen spirit) is very properly made to express unwilling admiration of that wondrous Being, by whose power the various systems of the universe are ordered in their regular course, and ordained to keep that course, till he having permission granted him, grasp the comet;

“ And the wild ruin of the world begin.”

Having thus in their view the destruction of the universe, they pass rapidly through the starry space, and at last,

“ Descend, exulting, on the golden sun.”

Immediately following this line, is an apostrophe most naturally and happily introduced; evidencing equal skill in the manner of its introduction, and power in the execution.

“ Where is thy guardian angel? where, oh Sun!  
The blessed Cherubim, that once encamped  
Around thy brightest globe, to save thy train  
Of radiant planets from destruction's hour,  
To guard Creation from the wreck of Time,  
And the fell rage of demons? ever gone  
To yon celestial world, they proudly leave  
The silent masses of material things,  
The sport of Time and Chance; alike to them,  
And their Almighty Lord, the passive bulk  
Of empty stars, their splendors, and their charms,  
With all the pomp, the majesty, and grace,  
Of varied Nature: Mind alone obtains  
Its Maker's care, the glory of our race,  
Th' eternal angels, and the sinless host!  
Mind ever lives, immortal, great, and good,  
Though the world's mighty fabric shall decay,  
By God protected, honored, and beloved.” P. 179.

The sixth Book opens with the Poet's reflections on the immortality of the soul. These reflections are continued till the chief is again introduced, and proceeds with his

“ Varied tale;  
 “ Of nations, states, and empires, that possessed  
 “ The now deserted earth.”

The several quarters of the globe, with each more important part of them, seen as spots upon the distant earth, furnish matter for the tale. An historical view is given successively of America, Asia, Africa, and Europe, which closes with a description of France. All the Poet says of that ill-fated country is just and well brought forward; her natural advantages of climate and soil, and the blessings which might be expected to result from them are strongly contrasted with her political miseries consequent upon her rebellion and anarchy; whilst the character of the “ Prosperous Islander,” under whose dominion she of late had placed herself, is well depicted.

“ There Gallia spreads her rich and fragrant vales,  
 And purple vines; there Nature's loveliest charms  
 Adorned the fertile realm, and called aloud  
 For peace, but called in vain: successive kings  
 Her sceptre held with glory, but her Sun  
 Was veiled in darkness, when rebellion seized  
 The best of their illustrious line, and stained  
 Their blushing country with a Monarch's blood.  
 Accursed, and cruel deed! ignoble feet  
 Trampled the sacred lily; base-born hands  
 Despoiled the flowers of fair nobility,  
 And bade them fade in distant climes, and droop  
 In anguish, and in exile: soon the land,  
 Fatigued with factions, anarchy and war,  
 Obeyed the prosperous Islander, that grasped  
 Th' unsteady helm, the last dread scourge of Earth!  
 His was the midnight murder, his the smile  
 Of unrelenting, jealous cruelty;  
 His was the iron heart, the tearless eye  
 That mocked the miseries himself had caused.” P. 221.

In these lines one passage more particularly engages our attention: it is that which describes Napoleon Buonaparte as

“ The last dread scourge of earth.”

If we apprehend the expression rightly, Mr. T.'s opinion is, that we of this generation live in the last days (strictly speaking). Our supposition is strengthened by observing, that after speaking of France, her aggressions, and the checks she meets with from Great Britain, the Poet brings to a close man's history, as now constituted; and immediately passes, speaking in the person of Brahma, to declare the approaching Millenium.

“ Now

"Now had six thousand years rolled on, and brought  
The full completion of the Prophecies,  
The consummation of the word of God." P. 223.

Brahma proceeds to state, that, after the six thousand years were accomplished, came the millenium, the sabbatical rest of a thousand years. The holy Scriptures having been spread through every land, a highway was prepared for the second Advent of the king of Kings. The earth was no longer subject to its present variations of seasons and climate, but resumed its original state of perpetual spring. This physical change the Poet supposes to have been brought about by the active agency of ministering spirits at the command of God.

—————"Descending from on high, were seen  
The seraph armies in the solar way,  
To turn the earth's great axle, till the sun  
Beamed with the lustre of perpetual spring,  
Full on the renovated plains: and smiled  
Upon the second Eden of mankind."

Then too

"The primal resurrection of the just,"

took place. These were raised, in order that they might share in the happiness of God's Church during its state of triumph on earth. At length, that period of time being also accomplished, they, together with the whole of mankind, quick and dead, the dead raised and the quick changed, were transported, for final retribution, to the plain of Armageddon.

"Such was the being man: now, be it ours  
To close the wond'rous scene; t'obey the chief  
That bade our arm destroy the rolling globe;  
To seek the burning comet, and direct  
The flaming ruin to the solar way."

Thus Brahma declares his object to be the destruction of our solar system, and resolves to pursue it: he delays, however his pursuit for a time, at the request of his companion, who enquires much of a kingdom he had heard named by the rebel angels in council,

—————"Whose righteous sway  
"In later years was known."

And concluding it to be as vast in extent, as in importance, he asks,

"—————Where is Britain's land,  
What spacious country, what extensive shore,

What

What mighty Continent did Britain hold,  
 That every realm, or kingdom of mankind,  
 Rejoiced, or trembled, as her hosts appeared,  
 And each vast region of the cultured globe  
 Confessed her power?" P. 234.

The answer to this question gives Mr. T. opportunity to speak with all a patriot's ardour of our good king, and the dominions over which he presides. Nor does he forget the Poet's need of praise to the fair of Britain's isles.

"Thine aged patriots, virtuous, wise, and good;  
 Thy youth surpassing praise; thy daughters fair,  
 As morning's earliest blush that paints the East,  
 Pure as the light, and perfect as the hand  
 Of nature framed the loveliest of the flowers  
 Of roseate spring; possessed of every charm,  
 And all the magic graces that compelled  
 The sway of beauty o'er adoring Man." P. 237.

In the seventh Book we find Ithream and Brahma preparing to leave the sun; when their attention is arrested by an image, at first indistinctly seen in the shadow of the earth, hardly discernible as aught of shape or form; gradually, however, it unfolds itself as the image of Death.

This is the finest drawn picture in the work before us; truly Miltonian, combining the wildness of Fuseli with the majesty of Michael Angelo:—We will present it to the reader, first observing, that the rebel chiefs, after holding high argument with the dreadful vision, pursue their way to the polar star, whence the comet was to be hurled.

"And now they leave the orient sun, and rise  
 Above the circling Planets; till the eye  
 Of Brahma marked the fiery comet move  
 Around the polar star, his arm should plunge  
 Among the clear Cerulean, to disturb  
 The Solar way: high o'er the Earth they flew,  
 And saw the long black shadow throw its night  
 Of empty darkness through the depths of air,  
 Veiling, sad last eclipse, the silver moon.  
 There gazing as they stood, before their sight  
 A glimmering vision floats; and pallid fear  
 And silent horror seize their daring frames,  
 Recoiling from the dull, and loathsome shape,  
 That unknown dread inspired: shade of a shade,  
 Confused and indistinct, the phantom seemed,  
 Mantled in moving clouds; a hovering mist,  
 Now on the deep it rested, now on high  
 It soared, and cast a nameless terror round,

"As

As some proud bark that holds its gallant way  
At midnight, strikes upon some barren rock  
And checks with furling sail her wary course :  
So o'er the shadow of the rolling Earth  
The mystic gloom arrests them ; the rich Sun  
Poured the full splendour of his golden ray  
Upon th' impassive darkness, that absorbed  
The living glory of his perfect beams ;  
Nor was the light reflected, nor the vast  
And black profound illumined : 'twas the throne  
Of Death ; that hopeless of his future prey  
Waited the fall of Nature." P. 243.

Indeed no other victory was now left for Death. Man was rescued from temptation ; and as heaven knew no change its inhabitants could know no death. In hell, indeed, Death would find a welcome, as Brahma suggests to him. He would be hailed with joy, as the soother of unutterable torments ; but there his dart would be ineffectual. The taunt, however, is expressed with spirit.

" Hence ! hence to Hell ! the myriads of mankind  
Call with loud groans upon thy dreadful name !  
Go ! lull their torments in oblivion's sleep,  
And close their anguish in eternal night !  
Go ! add new pangs to the infernal world,  
There shew thy form : give the Damned hope of rest  
To black annihilation then depart  
To prove their miseries may still increase !" P. 246.

Nothing, therefore, was left, on which Death might vent his rage, except the deserted world. Of that he might not only witness the desolation, but be an active agent in it, and so spread swifter destruction over smiling nature. Rouzed by this thought  
" The phantom cried—

—————" Satan, I am thine !  
Mine be the falling stars, the darkened suns,  
The hour when great Creation trembling feels  
The fierce convulsion of her conquered realms,  
And sees her shattered spheres one shapeless mass  
Of mingled elements : there, there shall Death,  
Pleased with the shadow of destruction, range,  
For ever ; glutted with the wreck of Worlds." P. 251.

He spake, and together they proceed without delay to their work of destruction. The comet, hurled from the polar star,

" Onward roars, threatening,"

and is conducted through surrounding stars to the solar system,  
6 all



all of which is destroyed, except the *Georgium Sidus*; that escapes in the wreck of worlds.

Towards the end of the seventh Book we are recalled to the main subject of the Poem, and reminded that the plain of Armageddon, having witnessed the final judgment of mankind, is appointed as the scene of the last great contest between the powers of good and evil. During the time which the action of the fourth, fifth, and sixth Books take up, the song of Jediel, which was began in Book the second, is supposed to have continued. Here the song ends; and at its close, the leaders of the angelic army, encouraged by the Messiah's assurance, that

"Virtue's cause shall triumph,"

prepare for war. The demons also appear from the opposite quarter of the plain of Armageddon, not less anxious for the battle, and separated from the heavenly array only by the spot on which mankind had been judged.

Nothing, perhaps, can be imagined more sublime, than the pause preceding a conflict; the moment between life and death, ere armies come to shock of battle; the painful expectation to each individual of what may be his fate; that mingled sensation of hope and fear; the fear of failure, not of death. That *αγανία* which, without timidity, implies a vehement and breathless earnestness to quit ourselves like men in the contest—all this rushes to the reader's mind; when, after describing the two mighty armies as ready to engage,

"While Discord waves with joy her vulture wings, proud of her victories."

The poet pauses in the tale, and asks,

"Shall distance part them longer?"

There is a skill and spirit in this change of style, which, as it is impossible not to feel, would be unjustly passed over without commendation. It is from many brilliant touches like these, that, in the vast work before us, we trace the hand of genius. Time will strengthen it.

Mr. T. animated by a true love for Milton's song, opens the eighth Book with a just tribute of praise to the author of *Paradise lost*.

The march of the demon army was a while delayed by the return of Brahma and Ithream from their work of destruction; the former of whom relates to Satan, whom he terms "his king," the mode by which he executed the commission entrusted to his charge. His description of the burning of the earth is, in many parts, highly finished, and contains much varied beauty. Seas are dried

dried up, and the several parts of the globe yield to the devouring element. The destruction of the Audes

“ Shattered in the common mass”

is particularly marked. The fall of England is reserved for the closing passage ; it sinks, merged in the burning ocean. Then

“ The mighty island, whose majestic front  
Opposed th’ embattled World, and ruled the deep ;  
Earth’s best and perfect state, the smiling land  
Of Beauty, Truth, and Honour, England fell !” P. 309.

whilst the whole surface of the earth becomes

“ A shoreless, waveless, sea of molten glass.”

In the four remaining books, not yet published, we are promised an account of the battle of Armageddon, the overthrow of the powers of evil, and the consequent consummation of all things.

From this view of the plan of Armageddon, a Poem which, if finished according to the author’s present intention, will probably nearly equal, in length, the “ Paradise Lost.” It is plain that Mr. T. has proposed to himself a work requiring no moderate talents and no common share of exertion ; for both must be proportioned to the interest his subject is so well calculated to excite. That, as far as we can judge by the part of the work now published, we think him not yet quite equal to the task, no one will perhaps be surprized.

Great variety of reading is exhibited, a rich fancy displayed, and a true love of the Miltonian style evident in the Poem before us, and to Mr. T’s praise we add, genuine piety pervades the whole : but in more instances than one we can mention, particularly in points of composition, there is wanting that nice discrimination, that solid judgment, which are to a poem, what the effect of age is to a painting, its highest finish ; and which nothing can give but the mellowing hand of time ; though in the one case time works alone, in the other the poet works with him. We think it had been a fortunate circumstance for our author, if some friend had advised him to lay aside the Poem for a few years ; he would then himself have been the critic, and we are sure, judging from his character as a liberal and good man, that he would without scruple have curtailed what he found redundant, amplified what parts of the Poem were confined, and submitted it at once to such corrections, as a riper judgment would have directed and approved. Indeed, to give fancy the wing on subjects so momentous, as the final doom of man, the contest of the powers of heaven and hell ; and the feelings and sentiments of spiritual beings,

der good auspices, by the Bishop's active exertions. In April last was to be observed, at Calcutta, a day of general thanksgiving; in June a confirmation was to be held there, and the consecration of a newly erected Church, in Madras, was fixed for November in this year, or for as early a time as in his round of visitations the Bishop could visit that quarter.

But to return to our Poet, each succeeding year, if future years be like these which we of this generation have witnessed, will probably prove more and more eventful and important; and give Mr. T. opportunity to weave into his Poem, in a more conspicuous manner, (we will answer for his doing so with effect) the wonders of these latter days.

Abhorrent even from the appearance of cavil or fastidiousness, where the work, under consideration, proceeds from a pen, employed, like Mr. T's, in the sacred cause of truth, and having been perhaps already too free in our general remarks, we shall not dwell long on any particular passages we think exceptionable; convinced that Mr. T. will hereafter be the first to correct inaccuracies, he will give us leave however to point out some faults which we must not pass over. In order to lengthen and eke out his lines, Mr. T. frequently approaches very near the bathos. In one instance he sinks down, deep indeed. The condemned wicked are depicted as

" Lost to all feeling, but the sense of guilt,  
Cursed and immortal, WRETCHED AND DEBASED."

Had the sentence ended at "*immortal*" all had been well. The reader would have feared to reflect on that vast aggregate of misery, contained in the two short words "cursed and immortal." In p. 149 there is an expression applied to *Pedmala*, for which we confess our want of taste.

" Then came the goddess Queen, *Pedmala*, fair,  
CHURNED from the milky sea."

Hell in an early part of the Poem is said to be boundless; yet in P. 157 we read of

" ——— The fearful bound  
Of hell and nature."

Nor are we at all reconciled to "*the dunghill earth*." The same carelessness has permitted Imaus to stand with a wrong quantity.

" While sultry winds the last remains of life  
Destroyed, and *Imaus*, girdle of the earth, &c." P. 303.  
This

This want of revision is very conspicuous in a passage, which otherwise has considerable merit. Satan, in P. 133, is said to have

“ ————— A front  
Serene and tranquil;”

but in the same description of him, we find that before any fresh circumstance could have arisen to cause the alteration,

“ ————— Now, on his brow  
Blind shame, and faint repentance, mad remorse,  
Keen self-reproach, despair and hate and grief  
Engrave their pangs, rage in his bleeding heart,  
And turn to agony the lingering smile  
Of hope and scorn.” P. 134.

We must observe further, at the hazard of being esteemed hypocritical, that amongst other redundancies, the exclamation “Oh” stands prominent, giving a very tame and poor effect to passages, which in themselves want neither spirit nor richness. The rhythm, which, in blank verse, is of the first importance, is not sufficiently varied. Mr. T. would do well to cultivate a more fastidious ear: Milton was pre-eminent in this particular; his ear being in a peculiar manner nice and discriminating. But we will not lengthen our list of objectionable parts of *Armageddon*: we have given it, in the hope that Mr. T. may hereafter turn to good account what we trust he will consider as friendly suggestions. It is time that we proceed to point out a few of many beautiful passages, which, exclusive of those already brought forward in our detail of the Poem, have much delighted us.

In an address to the moon (P. 11) are contrasted, with much poetical effect, the lovely stillness of that orb, and the calmness of feeling which contemplating it excites, with the raging tempests of passion, and that tumult of woe arising both from natural and moral causes to which mankind are liable.

————— “ Oh! what fearful scenes  
Of horror, thro’ thy long continued course  
Of twice three thousand years, hast thou beheld,  
Pale sovereign of the night! thy peerless rays  
Have played in transient softness, o’er the mass  
Of dark and raging tempests, as they lashed  
The sounding shores; have seen them vex the deep  
With hurricane, and swallow in th’ abyss  
Of maddening waters potent fleets, that rode  
In stately majesty above, and seemed  
To conquer Ocean! thou hast tinged the surge-

That

That closed the space of their descent, and howled  
 A louder roar, big with the dying shrieks  
 Of the wrecked Mariners, who turn to thee,  
 A sad farewell, despairing look and drown.  
 Thou, when gaunt Famine, Pestilence, and War,  
 Have swept with fevered wing the groaning lands,  
 The wealth of nations, and the pride of states,  
 Mid all the terrors of the thundering bolt,  
 And midnight lightnings, flashing thro' the clouds,  
 Of heaven; amid the battle and the storm,  
 Thou, unconcerned, hast held thy stately course,  
 And, heedless of an agonizing world,  
 Poured thine expanded beams alike on all." P. 11.

If it were proposed to us to imagine one moment of time more awful than another, we should select that in which those who may be alive at the last day shall hear the angel summon the dead, "To wake from the sleep of death." The idea loses nothing of its effect in the hands of our Poet. When the dead are summoned, the living also hear the voice which calls them to judgment. The effect is—a total cessation from every pursuit connected with things of this world, or suspension of every earthly feeling.

"The pause of life was fearful; as the voice  
 From every rock and mountain, hill, and plain,  
 And wilderness, and ocean, echoing wide,  
 Alike suspended hope, and joy, and fear,  
 Ambition, love, and hatred, and the thirst  
 Of gain, the pride, and wants, and cares of man." P. 16.

The passage is short, but the thought presented to us in it, is striking, and we think Mr. T. might have enlarged upon it, with great propriety, and with increased interest to his Poem, and, above all, with additional moral advantage to his reader. We think it of a nature to check "vice in his high career," and make even "heedless rambling impulse learn to think." There is a description of our earth after the resurrection of the dead, and the departure of the living, which displays real beauty.

The silent globe its wonted course pursued,  
 The seasons held their sway, and day and night  
 Continued: and the birds their sweetest song  
 Trilled softly, grateful to the opening flowers,  
 Wafting their perfume o'er the lonely woods;  
 And winds and waves obeyed the sovereign voice,  
 That gave them motion first: Man, Man alone,  
 The potent Monarch of this lower realm,  
 Torn from his empire, sought a nobler state!

Man

Man from the regions of the Earth had flown,  
And the sun set upon a desert World! P. 21.

Though Mr. T. be occasionally deficient in spirit, the following passage will prove him capable of the most animated style. The fiends are gazing on the wretched beings, once on earth subdued by their temptations, now in Hell tormented by them.

"To the stern roar they listen, and to shrieks,  
That, borne on many a whirlwind, wandered by;  
As in the savage islands of the South,  
Some barbarous Chieftain, on his rugged cliff,  
At midnight's solemn hour, hears the wild prayer  
For refuge from the sea-worn mariner;  
Catches the scream of murder on the blast  
Loud swelling, as his comrades in the storm  
Wave high the flaming torch, and hail the crew  
From Ocean's foaming billows to the toils  
Of slaughter, shuddering at the wished-for sound,  
Though joyous o'er his prey: so hear the fiends  
With gladness, dread, and trembling." P. 102.

Of "beauty's voice and eye," the picture is full of truth and feeling; and cold indeed must be the heart which is not warmed on reading it. From that and many passages which the reader will note with pleasure, we judge Mr. T. to possess a heart feelingly alive to all the sweet charities of life. No man who could not himself feel and act as a friend, could have depicted, in the following animated, though short, passage, the delights which friends would enjoy during the state of a millenium. Then

"Here pure and early friendship bloomed again  
In all its youthful vigour: no vain pride,  
No envious coldness, severed the true friends,  
Or broke that sacred intercourse of soul,  
The vulgar, proud, and selfish never knew." P. 230.

The eighth book closes with a scene most highly painted and touched with a master's hand. To read the last twenty lines of that book unmoved would betray a want of taste; an insensibility to every thing like poetical effect, which, we trust, can be charged upon none of our readers. The earth, after its conflagration, appears as a burning globe, glimmering in space with a dark and angry light. The scene of stilly awe presented to us—no busy hum of men on this nether world—not a living being left—vegetation destroyed, and its former variety changed to one "shoreless, waveless sea of molten glass," is well fitted to rivet all our attention.

" So closed our great commission : now we leave  
 The solar path, among th' unpeopled stars,  
 To wing our solitary way, and rise  
 To Armageddon's War : but once, once more,  
 While yet its desolated Mass was seen,  
 Down to the burning globe our anxious eye  
 We turn, around a solemn stillness reigned ;  
 Darting from every side an angry light,  
 The red ball glimmered in the troubled air !  
 The smoke had rolled away, the Earthquakes ceased  
 And o'er th' exhausted Ocean, o'er the vales  
 And mountains, o'er the sunk and ruined pride  
 Of gay Creation, and the pomp of Man,  
 A shoreless, waveless sea of molten glass  
 Moved its unruffled tide, the tomb of Earth !  
 No sound amid the awful calm was heard,  
 Save when the Comet in its wandering flight  
 Smote on some distant world, and Nature spake,  
 In dull and sullen murmurs through the deep,  
 Indignant resignation to her fate." P. 313.

It appears from our view of the part of Armageddon now published, that the moral of the Poem is of the highest character, and that the sentiments and diction, if they equal not the sublimity and extent of the subject, are at least of a superior cast. And here perhaps it might be expected that we should shew the superiority of our matchless Milton ; but Mr. T., with a modesty which does him honor, deprecates any comparison with the great master of English epic. We forbear, therefore, to institute any thing like a regular comparison, although, we must confess, the impossibility of divesting our minds of the delightful magic which pervades Milton's pictures of the same characters. Mr. T's delineation wants that appearance of truth, that realizing spirit which directed Milton's pencil. It is indeed so far unfortunate, that though the one poet draws the character of the arch rebel at the close of his career, as the reigning king of darkness, and the other has painted him, when he first began his reign, and declared himself the enemy alike of God and man ; yet the situations, in which, as a fallen spirit under torment, he is exhibited ; the characteristic energies which those emergencies call forth ; and the unconquered mind which animates him under all circumstances are too similar to, and correspond too closely with, Milton's representation of them to allow Mr. T. any hope of being equally successful. But it is no discouragement to any poet, that he is inferior to one, who was himself—" Nulli secundus."

The plan of Armageddon, as laid down by Mr. T., comprehends, as we have found, matter of the highest import. The

state of the world in the latter days, the millenium, and the final destruction of all things, are topics connected with the subject and successively taken into consideration. On the probable state of the world, in the latter days, Mr. T. might, as we have already remarked, with propriety, have been more diffuse. It is a wide field, which the poet cannot enter without finding a rich harvest before him; a vast supply of materials for fancy to work upon; and though much obscurity overshadows it, is, in such degree, only as to add to the general effect of grandeur and sublimity.

That he speaks well of his own country, its laws and its religion, is as it should be; and if his readers be of our stamp, he need not fear having said too much.

"Some apology is necessary for the frequent mention of our own great and good country: but as the history of a king is the history of a nation, so is that of Britain the history of the world: the consequences of the part for instance we have acted in the late contest, and may be required to act in the present crisis, may be productive of greater and more lasting happiness to mankind, than any other event merely human, recorded in the annals of any nation." P. xxv.

We think no apology necessary. The extract just made, written in April, seems prophetic of the events which the following June presented to us—Europe delivered, and Britain (*juvante Deo*) the deliverer. To the wisdom in council, and energy in action, which marked the decisions of the British Government, all these wise plans must be referred, and the whole of that broad and honorable policy be traced, which have been blessed by God to the preservation of civil and religious order throughout Europe. For what great events we, as a nation, may yet be reserved, is known to him only who disposes all things to his own wise and gracious purposes. In a belief, that a millenium, a sabbatical rest for a thousand years, is reserved for the Church of God, we are inclined to agree with Mr. T. This belief was very prevalent in the early ages of Christianity, but lost ground as the papal power gained strength. At the Reformation it again recovered itself, and in these latter days seems regaining consideration with all who study the Holy Scriptures, and have time to think calmly and deeply on serious subjects.

There is, and ever must be, much of mystery in high themes like these; but let not any well disposed man, whether he be philosopher, historian, or poet, be led from the contemplation of them, on the ground that they are subjects not intended for us to handle: true it is, that the study of any part of the Holy Scriptures may be turned to bad account; the infidel may read a miracle, and hold it up to scorn; the enthusiast may bewilder his

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mind with visionary dreams by misapplying the divine promises; and the fanatic may charitably exclude from salvation all who have not all his own particular notions of Christian faith. But to argue against its utility from the abuse of any thing, is always bad reasoning. We would rather encourage a calm and steady research, in humility and reverence, into every part of Scripture, as well the prophecies, as the doctrines and precepts. Indeed to do that we are not merely permitted, we are commanded, we are encouraged. To study, with judgment and humility, the word of prophecy, to look forward to the triumph of God's Church over every obstacle, to meditate on the grand consummation of all things, is to exercise the mind worthily, is to ensure a blessing on our exertions.

The Poem we have been considering tends to encourage such researches, and they may be, to our apprehension, so pregnant with advantage, by purifying our heart; and giving it juster views both of God and his creatures, by supplying our thoughts with fit matter to dwell upon, that we confess ourselves highly gratified in finding a poet devote his talents in so great and good a cause. Speculations like his, (if speculations they may be called) foster only amiable feelings, and we can hardly imagine any one so insensible as not to be interested in them. We have spoke some, what freely of the work, as a composition, because we wish well to Mr. T's fame. The Poem is yet unfinished; open therefore to any improvements which the author may hereafter make. The main point we would press upon Mr. T's attention is *REVISION*. He has chose a subject beyond the common apprehension of men's minds, a subject too vast for him to have done justice to at present: we would speak guardedly, considering his present laudable effort as an earnest of still better things. His imagination is vivid, but his diction wants strength to express his thoughts. This he would himself perceive, if he could read some passages of *Armageddon* as from any work strange to him. Let him put aside his Poem for a season, till he can look at the whole with strengthened and unbiassed judgment; he will then, if we mistake not, in part recast it, curtailing some portions, enlarging others. He will then see with a critic's eye those blemishes, which now, from long familiarity with them, he notes not; for in composition, as in morals, we may be so familiarized to our own faults, that at last we even cherish them. In the dedication to his *Grace of Devonshire*, Mr. T. has well expressed what we would briefly give as our opinion of the Poem. "The author's talents are not equal to his ambition"—let us add, they are not yet equal to his honest and laudable ambition.

If the work be hereafter compressed into ten or eight books, for we know of no magic in the number twelve to induce the  
continuance.

continuance of it. It will more than gain in strength, what it loses in bulk ; though as we have been free to suggest, much important and interesting matter may with great effect be added, and the Poem of Armageddon, if not the first epic poem we boast, may be a benefit to mankind and an honor to its author.

Mr. T. is young ; many years must elapse, ere he reach the age when Milton *began* his *Paradise Lost*. Mr. T. may draw much encouragement from this fact. Let him go on storing his mind with learning, gathered as well from reading as observation and reflection ; it will form a sound and discriminating judgment, which is what a poet generally most needs. Let Mr. T. act upon this principle, and we have no hesitation in foretelling, that, when the Poem in a few years makes its appearance, completed by such judicious curtailments, and added beauties, as he will then be so well able to manage, it will be a poem worthy of the age, and the nation. We, if life be spared us, and all who read it, shall do so with increased pleasure, and find in it a proof, that the author, whose mind is cast in a high mould, and whose aim is worthy his sacred calling, has not neglected the talents committed to his charge ; but rather, as every wise man ought to do, and as every good man will strive to do, he has, with increasing age, increased his knowledge, refined his taste, and improved his judgment.

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ART. III. *A Course of Sermons, preached at Great St. Mary's Church, before the University of Cambridge, during the Month of April, 1816. By the Rev. William Sharpe, A. M., Chaplain of Trinity College, Cambridge. 8vo. pp. 96. 3s. Rivingtons. 1816.*

THESE Sermons relate to the four following subjects ; Original Sin, Regeneration, Justification by Faith, and Final Perseverance. From the Introduction, prefixed to them, we learn that Mr. Sharpe was appointed one of the select preachers for the Academical year, which has just elapsed ; and that he selected these subjects, in order to correct some erroneous notions, which Mr. Simeon (who it seems had likewise been appointed a select preacher for that year) had endeavoured to propagate from the same pulpit. But we will let Mr. Sharpe speak for himself,

“ The author of the following Sermons thinks it may be right to preface them by a few explanatory remarks, now that he has  
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been induced to lay them before the public. It was originally far from his intention to enter upon controversy in the course of Sermons, which he had the honour of being appointed to preach lately before the University ; but, on hearing the discourses of the first of the Select Preachers of the present year, it appeared to him that they ought not to pass entirely unnoticed ; and, as he understood the matter was not likely to be taken up in a higher quarter, he himself resolved to offer some observations on certain doctrines, for the support of which those discourses were composed. He is not ignorant in what a difficult and delicate situation he has placed himself by undertaking to comment on writings which have not been published ; but, as he is conscious of no wilful intention to misrepresent, so has he good reason to believe that in the present instance no charges can be brought against him on *that* score. The truth is, he was so forcibly struck with many passages of those Sermons, that he could not forbear taking the earliest opportunity, after he heard them, of expressing their sense, and, (as nearly as he could,) their words, in writing, and it is on those cotemporary notes that he has grounded all his remarks, which relate to the Rev. C. Simeon. The circumstance, then, just mentioned, first suggested to the author the subject of the ensuing Sermons ; but their design is of a much more general nature, than to combat the sentiments of any single individual, however respectable in himself, or however powerful in his influence over others. They contain an examination of the principal discriminating opinions of that large class of the members of our Church, who profess to hold the doctrines of the Gospel in a greater degree of purity than the rest of their brethren ; the accuracy of the tenets, commonly called *evangelical*, is here attempted to be ascertained, and, principally, by a reference to Scripture."

In the first Sermon Mr. S. very properly argues against the absurd and dangerous tenet of the Calvinists, in regard to the *total* corruption of human nature. The doctrine of the Church of England, in the Article of Original Sin, is, that "man is very far gone from original righteousness, and is of his own nature inclined to evil." But the Calvinists, who depart from this, as well as from other Articles of our Church, are not contented to represent man as *far* gone from righteousness, and *inclined* to evil, but as totally lost to all righteousness, and as absolutely incapable of doing any thing that is good. They represent man as a mere lump of depravity ; and, if we may judge by their statements, this depravity has great advantages, as it affords more room for the operation of grace. In answer to this, says Mr. S. p. 6. "We firmly believe, that man is a fallen creature ; but we strenuously deny that he has fallen like Lucifer, from the heights of heaven, to the very lowest pit of moral degradation, and darkness, and depravity." He then proceeds to show, and we think very

very successfully, in what manner the Calvinistic theory, "so far from exalting the character of the Almighty, robs him of some of the principal and essential attributes of divinity." And he concludes the first part of this Discourse by shewing the pernicious effects which the Calvinistic doctrine of human depravity must have upon our morals.

"Let us advert (says Mr. S. p. 11,) to the *practical* effects, which this doctrine has a manifest tendency to produce. It destroys then, in the first place, that proper degree of respect for himself which every one naturally feels, and which is one of the strongest safeguards of innocence and integrity that can exist independently of religious considerations; for a convert to these opinions must necessarily think, that he has neither innocence nor integrity to take care of, and that, on the contrary, he is so utterly vile, polluted, and abominable, that let him commit what crimes he will, he cannot possibly suffuse his soul with a blacker dye, than that which it received from its original mould. Nay more, he has an *excuse* for sinning, and in that a strong *inducement* to it; for he will attribute his sin, (and reasonably enough) not to his own involuntary agency, but to that vital principle of deep depravity interwoven into his moral constitution, the motions of which he has no power to controul by the exertion of opposite affections and desires."

The second Sermon is a continuation of the same subject; and here Mr. S. examines the principal passages of Scripture; which bear upon this question. Our limits do not allow us to follow him through the whole range which he has taken: but we are satisfied that every impartial reader will agree with him in the conclusion, that the general sense of Scripture is adverse to the Calvinistic doctrine of Original Sin.

The third Sermon is on Regeneration; a subject, which has produced much bitter controversy, and has given rise to some tumultuous meetings at a place, which had been always distinguished by the strictest decorum. And here we cannot neglect the opportunity of returning our warmest thanks to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who presided at Bartlett's Buildings on two trying occasions, and maintained by his firmness both the dignity of the Church, and the purity of its doctrines. Nor must we omit our thanks to the Bishop of London, and the other members of the Committee, who had a task of great delicacy imposed upon them, and who executed their task in a manner, which justly entitled them to the approbation of the Board. But let us return to the Sermon before us. Though, according to the doctrine of our Church, Regeneration takes place at Baptism, this is not the doctrine of all its ministers: for there are some who deny, and still more who think it doubtful, whether Regeneration does take place at Baptism. But says Mr. S. at p. 47.

"They

"They are constrained to allow, that the *term* Regeneration itself, as far as it is applicable to the present subject, is only found once in Scripture, and that in the single passage, where it *does* occur \*, it stands in close connexion with *Baptism*, and refers to a change already past."

In the next page Mr. S. observes, that

"Many laboured and some ingenious attempts have been made of late to prove, that no such change is necessarily effected at Baptism, for the purpose of inferring that it therefore remains to be accomplished.—In the case of infant baptism, more especially, we may clearly see how completely it has been divested of its sacramental character: for our opponents have declared in plain terms, that any spiritual benefits, with which that Sacrament may be attended to an infant, arise solely from the worthiness of the Minister, and the pious supplications of himself and the congregation; that is to say, in other words, that Baptism has no sort of spiritual efficacy in itself, and operates in no respect by virtue of any blessing annexed to it, as an institution of divine appointment."

Mr. S. then informs us in a note, that such was the doctrine, which Mr. Simeon had delivered from the University Pulpit: and we can easily give credit to the correctness of the statement, because Mr. Simeon has long since published his Confession of Faith upon this subject. He has plainly told us in his two hundred and twenty-first Skeleton, that Baptism is "an outward work of man upon the body;" whence we cannot but infer, that according to Mr. Simeon there is no necessary connexion between Baptism and Regeneration. Another passage is quoted by Mr. Sharpe from Mr. Scott's *Effect of Baptism*, p. 17. from which we find that Regeneration is a blessing, which only "may be conveyed" at Baptism; and that when it is conveyed, "it is conveyed in answer to the devout prayers of the several parties concerned in the administration and reception of this Sacrament." Having stated the opinion of Mr. Sharpe on the one side, and the opinion of his opponents on the other, as far as relates to the connexion between Baptism and Regeneration, we shall merely observe, that, as both parties are professed Churchmen, the question at issue between them lies in a short compass. Every Churchman must either consent to have his religious opinions tried by the Articles and Liturgy of the Established Church, or he must renounce his character as a Churchman. And we are confident, that if the question were submitted to any impartial jury, who gave their verdict according to the

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\* Tit. iii. 5.

plain meaning of the law, they would decide in favour of those who assert, that Regeneration is *always* conferred at Baptism, when that Sacrament is rightly administered according to the rules of the Church of England.

The fourth Sermon relates to Justification by Faith, and the fifth to Final Perseverance. But as so much has been already said on these subjects, and we have already made copious extracts from the three first Sermons, we hasten to the conclusion of the fifth Sermon, where Mr. S. has briefly stated the *motives* which induced him to examine the subjects brought forward in these Sermons. He thus addresses his audience in p. 91.

"Controversy in theology is, like war in civil life, a very *great*, though sometimes a very *necessary* evil. But, whatever may be thought of the justifiableness of commencing an attack in either case, the right of opposing one will not at least be doubted. Of this right then we claim the full benefit, for you are our witnesses, that in the present instance we were not the aggressors; it must be still fresh in the recollection of every one, that when we first re-assembled in the current academic year, after a premature separation occasioned by certain awful events, which might, one should think, have reminded us all that there was better employment for us, during the short and uncertain time of our sojourning here, than to waste it in strifes, and debates, and questions; —at that moment, while we were waiting to hear the accents of Christian meekness, an alarm was sounded in the sanctuary of God; we looked to those, who should have spoken peace to us, and behold they were making themselves ready for battle. We heard with sincere regret, and not with regret *alone*, all the controverted points again brought forward which have so long agitated and divided us; we heard opinions, in themselves objectionable, proposed in terms as objectionable as could well be chosen; we heard imputations indirectly cast upon our brethren, which we are convinced they do not merit; and we heard one of the most sacred 'institutions of the Gospel' treated with such perfect levity, as actually to be made the foundation of a *joke*\*. Some of these assaults were made openly, some more in the way of mining; sometimes the bolt descended on our heads, mantled in all the terrors of the storm; and sometimes it fell when we least expected it, amid the gentle dew from heaven. Such was the nature of an attack, which we never anticipated, and in its very outset it displayed a stratagem, which, might be sometimes very successful, if it were not quite so common; for those unhappy people, who might perchance think differently from our opponents, were set down, with-

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\* "Mr. Simeon told us, that according to *our* notions of Baptism, we might date Regeneration from the Parish Register."

out farther ado, as 'vain disputers of this world,' and as persons, whose understandings were perverted by the just judgments of God! This is certainly *one* mode of silencing argument, but in the face of this formidable artillery of anathemas, of the genuine manufacture of the *Vatican*, we have ventured to question the accuracy of certain principles of our opponents; for, as long as we believe we have the word of God to support us, we need not fear the high sounding words of man."

We will conclude the present Article (after thanking Mr. Sharpe for his manly conduct in stepping forward as an advocate of the Church at the present crisis) with some brief remarks on the peculiar character, which attaches to his controversy with Mr. Simeon. Both of those gentlemen, it seems, were appointed select preachers for the same year. The controversy therefore was conducted before the same audience from the University Pulpit: and we heartily rejoice, that, as the University of Cambridge, or rather the Delegates to whom the choice was entrusted; thought proper to appoint two such heterogeneous preachers, the impression, which Mr. Sharpe must have made on his auditors, was subsequent to the impression, which we find from Mr. Sharpe's account had been previously made by Mr. Simeon. But we sincerely lament, that the minds of the young men should be distracted by hearing opposite doctrines from the University Pulpit, on subjects of vital importance. We do not wonder at the appointment of Mr. Sharpe, as we find, that the Margaret Professor as usual, has brought up the rear, though it does not appear from the subject, which he announced, that he has engaged in the present controversy. But we *do* wonder at the appointment of Mr. Simeon. The Delegates could not have been taken by surprise. When Mr. Simeon made a joke of Baptism from the University Pulpit, it was not the *first* time, that he had done so: and his controversy with Dr. Marsh on this very subject, about two years ago, must have rendered his opinion of Baptism notorious at Cambridge especially. But since he has lately avowed the same opinion from the University Pulpit, we trust that the Delegates, whoever they may be, will never again be so unguarded as to sanction an appointment of which the effects must be highly injurious to the Established Church. Mr. Simeon is doubtless, a very worthy man, and has the right, which he possesses in common with every Englishman, of holding what opinions he pleases. We do not object to Mr. Simeon, as a man, because he holds opinions contrary to those of the Church; but we object to Mr. Simeon, because knowing them to be contrary to those of the Church, he would for ever obtrude them from the pulpit of a Church University. The two Universities are the especial guardians of the

the Church : it is their especial duty therefore to provide, that the young men, entrusted to their care, should be educated in such religious principles, as are in unison with our Liturgy and Articles. But if they find, that preachers, who treat with contempt our holy ordinances, are not only allowed to teach them Divinity from the University Pulpit, but are even authorised and sanctioned by public appointment, the Church, already beset with innumerable dangers, must rapidly verge to its utter downfall.

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ART. IV. *The Substance of some Letters written by an Englishman resident at Paris during the last Reign of the Emperor Napoleon; with an Appendix of official Documents.* 2 vols. 8vo. 1l. 4s. Ridgway. 1816.

IT has lately become a fashion with authors of a certain description, to usher their works into the world without the formal sanction of their name, under no desire of disavowing the production, but with the full intention of securing its reputation to its proper owner. The reason of all this coquetry, we do not profess to understand, we shall charitably suppose that in the case of Lord Byron and of the author of the present work, it arises from that excess of modesty, which forbids a lady to appear without a veil, though its texture be sufficiently slight to display the glancing eye, and the deep-rouged cheek from within. One advantage, however, arises from this unaccountable fashion; that we are always at liberty to refuse to the supposed author the credit of his work, and to transfer its failings to another hand. Thus though the volumes before us are universally ascribed to Mr. Hobhouse, and though there are some who pretend too surely to discover in them the leaven of the Byron school, yet we shall exercise the privilege which their anonymous title-page allows us, and shall suppose it wholly impossible that an Englishman and a scholar could have sent into the world such a publication as this. The volumes before us cannot be the production of the ingenious traveller, whose journal gave us so much satisfaction; they must proceed from some wretched adherent to the cause of Buonaparte, to the chains of civil and military despotism, to the slavery and subjugation of Europe. The feeling displayed in them is wholly French; French in its most ferocious and hateful form. The author appears to be enamoured alike of the opposite extremes of revolutionary anarchy, and imperial tyranny. The government of Louis, in its attempt



attempt to steer its course between these two fatal shores, is assailed by him with the bitterest indignation and contempt. That we may not be thought too severe in our censures, we shall produce such passages as will fully warrant the opinion which we have formed.

“There has been but one nation in the world, as far as I am aware, notorious for loyalty, or love of a sovereign, as such, and that nation has long repented of so mean and unreasonable an attachment.”

This nation, we conclude, is England. Long may it continue its ancient and constitutional attachment to the person of its sovereign, *as such*, even though it may have the misfortune of appearing *mean* in the eyes of so exalted a spirit, as the author of the letters before us. Again we are informed,

“The royal vice of ingratitude finds no place in the bosom of an usurper; this baseness belongs to such as are born kings.”

We know not how far Talleyrand, Fouché, or Lucien, will coincide in this sentiment. They will probably give a very different history of the Usurper's gratitude. But the hatred which the author evinces towards every legitimate sovereign, *as such*, is more than compensated, by the idolatrous adulation which he offers before the shrine of the Ex-Emperor. The following is his description of his conduct during a review at the Thuilleries, in April, 1815.

“The vast palace of kings; the moving array before me; the deep mass of flashing arms at a distance; the crowd around, the apparatus of war and empire, all disappeared, and, in the first gaze of admiration, I saw nothing but Napoleon—the single individual, to destroy whom the earth was rising in arms from the Tanais to the Thames. I know that I never should have beheld him with delight in the days of his despotism, and that the principal charm of the spectacle arose from the contemplation of the great peril to be encountered by the one undaunted mortal before my eyes. Let me say also that the persuasion, that the right of a powerful and great nation to choose their own sovereign was to be tried in his person, and the remembrance of the wonderful achievements by which he had given an opportunity to decide that choice, contributed in no small degree to augment my satisfaction. He has been of late often seen and described by those who visited him at Elba. I can only say, that he did not appear to me like any of his portraits, except that one in the saloon of the palace of the Legislative Body, nor did I ever see any man just like him. His face was of a deadly pale; his jaws overhung, but not so much as I had heard; his lips thin, but partially curled, so as to give to his mouth an inexpressible sweetness. He had the habit of retracting the lips, and apparently chewing, in the

the manner observed and objected to in our great actor, Mr. Keas. His hair was of a dark dusky brown, scattered thinly over his temples: the crown of his head was bald. One of the names of affection given him of late by his soldiers is '*notre petit tondu*.' He was not fat in the upper part of his body, but projected considerably in the abdomen, so much so, that his linen appeared beneath his waistcoat. He generally stood with his hands knit behind or folded before him, but sometimes unfolded them: played with his nose; took snuff three or four times, and looked at his watch. He seemed to have a labouring in his chest, sighing or swallowing his spittle. He very seldom spoke, but when he did, smiled, in some sort agreeably. He looked about him, not knitting but joining his eye-brows as if to see more minutely, and went through the whole tedious ceremony with an air of sedate impatience. As the front columns of each regiment passed him, he lifted the first finger of his left hand quickly to his hat, to return the salute, but did not move either his hat or his head. As the regiments advanced, they shouted, some loudly, some feebly, '*vive l'Empereur*,' and many soldiers ran out of their ranks with petitions, which were taken by the grenadier on the Emperor's left hand: once or twice, the petitioner, afraid to quit his rank, was near losing his opportunity, when Napoleon beckoned to the grenadier to step forward and take his paper. A little child, in true French taste, tricked out in regimentals, marched before one of the bands, and a general laugh ensued. Napoleon contrived to talk to some one behind him at that moment, that the ridicule might not reach, nor be partaken by him. A second child, however, of six years old perhaps, dressed out with a beard like a pioneer, marching in front of a regiment, strode directly up to him with a petition on the end of a battle-axe, which the Emperor took and read very complacently. Shortly after an ill-looking fellow, in a half suit of regimentals, with a sword by his side, ran from the crowd of spectators, opposite or from amidst the national guards, I could not see which, and rushed directly towards the Emperor. He was within arm's length, when the grenadier on the left and an officer jumped forwards, and seizing him by the collar, pushed him farther back. Napoleon did not move a muscle of his body; not a line, not a shade of his face shifted for an instant. Perfectly unstartled, he beckoned the soldiers to loose their prisoner; and the poor fellow approaching so close as almost to touch his person in front, talked to him for some time with eager gestures, and his hand on his heart. The Emperor heard him without interruption, and then gave him an answer, which sent him away apparently much satisfied with his audience. I see Napoleon at this moment. The unruffled calmness of his countenance, at the first movement of the soldier, relaxing softly into a look of attention and of kindness, will never be erased from my memory. We are not stocks, nor stones, nor tories. I am not ashamed to say, that on recovering from my first surprise, I found my eyes somewhat moistened; a weakness that never fails to overpower some persons, when alone and unrestrained by ridicule,

ridicule, at the perusal of any trait of unmixed heroism, especially of that undaunted tranquillity of mind, which formed and finished the master-spirits of antiquity." Vol. I. P. 36.

The anecdote thus pompously introduced, appears in our minds nothing very heroical or uncommon. The author of these Letters would insinuate that he is a whig. We doubt if he be an Englishman; but if he be, we envy not the feelings of Whiggism. Not the thousands, and the hundreds of thousands of lives, which have been offered upon the altar of demoniacal ambition, not all the horrors of a Russian campaign, not all the protracted miseries of a twenty years war, could call forth a single tear from the *feeling* specimen of Whiggism. His tear started not for the human blood that was shed, but for love of him that shed it. If this be Whiggism: we are, and we trust that we ever shall be "stocks, stones, and tories."

Our author is most indignant that the character of his idol should ever have been held up in England to public detestation; he expresses in the tenderest terms his feelings of affection for the poor injured emperor, feelings, which do equal credit to his understanding and to his heart.

"The children of the present generation have been taught to start at the name of Bonaparte as if he was in the bush; our colleges and academies have given prizes to those who could best pour-tray his crimes. The painter has sketched a countenance to correspond with the fancied features of treason, murder, cruelty, and pride. Not the terrors of a degenerate Roman could have beheld the imp-begotten Attila under an aspect so hideous. The pious from their pulpit prayed for that resignation, patience, and humility, under this scourge of God, which were recommended from the benches of parliament as the true christian virtues necessary for those who were to be borne along without a murmur by the current of events, to bear all trial of taxation, and to be content with the mean instruments through whom (the help and cunning of man being altogether of no avail) they might, in the appointed time and hour, work out their salvation. Such was the general feeling; to be insensible to which was looked upon as the proof of an hardened mind, perverted by, or perhaps already associated with, wickedness." Vol. I. P. 5.

Our author seems especially enraged that any murder, assassination, or cruelty, should be imputed to such a lamb of tenderness and innocence.

"It was in vain that the imputed poisonings, and assassination of single captives, became an idle tale, abandoned by those who gave to them their original credit. The Emperor of the French, King of Italy, Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, was still to be charged with withdrawing from his throne and his myriads in arms,  
to

to strangle an unarmed British sailor: and it was still to be accounted a want of patriotism for an Englishman to regard him in any other light than the murderer of his countryman." Vol. I. P. 7.

If in his retreat, the General (Buonaparte, we mean) should cast his eye upon the volumes before us, we should think that he would be somewhat amused at the intrepid assertions of his worthy admirer and friend: that he would smile at the trouble which our author takes so undauntedly to deny, what he himself has more than once actually confessed.

From the gross and unqualified abuse of Lord Castlereagh, Lord Grenville, Mr. Grattan, and even of Mr. Burke himself, all parties alike (excepting the Buonapartists) falling under his lash, we should imagine that the author cannot be an Englishman, but some satellite of the Jacobinised Imperialists, who having failed in accomplishing sufficient mischief in France, is sent to try his hand, under the patronage of some good friends, in England. But a worse instrument could not have been selected. He appears to have been merely a bye-stander amidst the events he describes, nor to have any share in the transactions beyond that of any *café* politician. His descriptions, therefore, are always ignorant, often inaccurate. Turgid in his style, confined in his views, feeble in his conceptions, noisy in his abuse, and most tyrannical in his dogmatism, he cannot fail of amusing those whom he would wish to irritate, and of disgusting those whom he would hope to influence.

Subjoined to the second volume are a few official documents, manifestos, state papers, &c. which we consider as the most valuable part of the work, as they are uncontaminated with the boisterous flippancy, and the unprincipled presumption of the author; who, we repeat our persuasion, must be a Frenchman, and a Frenchman of the worst order—one who would gladly see his country consigned first to revolutionary anarchy, and call it liberty, then to military despotism, and call it glory.

As one specimen more of the principles and temper exhibited throughout the whole, we shall extract the author's account of the entry of the King into Paris. We shall not throw away our time in correcting the mis-statements, or in combating the bad principles with which it abounds.

"So entirely was I wrapt up in the persuasion, that the truth of the present state of feeling in France, need only be seen to carry to any mind the conviction of the injustice and impolicy of bearing back the Bourbons in triumph, over the trampled necks of Frenchmen, that I was bold enough to suppose a representation of facts, however faintly and imperfectly drawn, might not be totally lost even upon Lord Castlereagh, and might arrest his attention sufficiently to make him wait for better authority before he proceeded

proceeded to decide. The contemplation of ~~some~~ such effort, desperate as you will think it when directed against the statesman who, three weeks before Louis decamped from his dominions, wondered at his majesty's surprising progress in popularity, had, however, entered into my head, and I was employed in the act of softening down the ridicule of an individual imploring mercy for eight and twenty millions, and praying for reprieve, if not for pardon, when loud acclamations called me into the street, and saved me all further labour in vain, by presenting to me *another revolution of handkerchiefs*, and that triumph, which is so much the more easily and suddenly displayed, as every one carries an emblem of the party in his pocket. In short, a battalion of the national guards were passing with white flags, to the shouts of *Vive le Roi*. The streets were lined with the same troops, in white cockades; not a national colour was to be seen; the white flag was floating on the column of the grand army, and the windows glittered with women and white linen. My eyes were scarcely disenchanted, until I saw the *Moniteur*, with its former designation—again *the only official journal*; and read in that paper two ordinances of Louis, *by the grace of God, king of France and Navarre*; dated the 21st year of his reign. The same king, I saw, was to enter Paris about three o'clock in the afternoon.

“Napoleon is overthrown at the battle of Waterloo; he is compelled to abdicate by the representatives of the people. The conquerors arrive at the capital, to which they grant honourable terms of surrender, and respect the independence of an unfortunate nation. The Duke of Wellington, and the whole English army, behave with a moderation more noble than their victory. The sovereigns promise solemnly to adhere to their declarations. The friends of freedom cherish every hope. Lord Castlereagh arrives; the curtain rises at once; and displays the triumphant personages of the drama, unmasked, and in the attitude of revenge and rage; whilst France appears, a conquered culprit, in chains, bound to the altar, and waiting for the blow. Her government is dissolved by force; her representatives are driven from their seats; the glittering ensigns of her former glory are torn down, and displaced by the banner of treason and disgrace, the pale memorial of defeat and slavery. The monarch who, if private virtues do not interfere with a policy too likely to be pursued, may exercise the despotism of a domestic master, and the severity of a foreign conqueror, may treat her children as slavishly as if they were his own, and as unsparingly as if they did not belong to him,—is re-armed with authority, and intrusted with the infliction of every punishment, which is rendered more intolerable as it follows upon the hope of pardon, and the mockery of reprieve. It was reserved for the return of the father of his people, to inform the inhabitants of Paris that they are put into the hands of a Prussian governor, a General Muffling, who tells them so in a proclamation, which is couched in terms of menace;  
and

and which appears by the side of the two ordonnances of the restored monarch, denouncing vengeance on the culpable, and restoring all the corrupt authorities of his former reign. It was reserved for the day of his entry that the palaces of his ancestors should be defiled by the barbarians of the north—that the streets, the bridges, the avenues, of his capital should groan under the weight of foreign cannon. And under whose influence, at whose bidding, does this fatal change in the conduct of the conquerors appear to have been commanded? Is it only from a coincidence, that it has taken place at the arrival of the minister of that government, which made an exception to an article of the treaty of Vienna, because that article appeared to imply an interference with, and an aggression upon, the national independence of France? Is it from a coincidence only, that on the appearance of the apostle of good faith and sincerity, of the master of the only moral cabinet of Europe, the ferocity of a Blucher is at once let loose in violation of all honour and honesty, of former promises and recent stipulations? Vol. II. P. 154.

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ART. V. *Glenarvon, a Novel.* 3 vols. 12mo. 1l. 4s.  
Colburn. 1816.

AS the tale before us has excited much attention in the higher circles, our readers will justly expect some account of so strange a production. Its authoress is avowed to be a lady of very high rank, whose life has been passed amidst the scenes of dissipation and vice which she now describes. By a certain privilege allowed to novellists, the lady in question has made herself the heroine of her own tale, and has drawn her own character under that of Calantha. Under the title of *Glenarvon*, a certain noble Lord is said to be portrayed, and we are told that the resemblance is a striking one. Be it who it may, there are strong and sad reasons to suppose that the character is not overcharged, but that the measure of its iniquity is full.

It may now be supposed that we should abridge the tale, and present our readers with some account of the leading incidents in this extraordinary work; but we shall spare ourselves the misery of transcribing, and them the horror of reading one continued series of vice and misery. It is not that the descriptions are too highly coloured; it is not that the words themselves would raise a blush; but it is that the incidents, even when clothed in all the frowning solemnity of modern debauchery, are such as would rend the heart of the innocent, and strengthen the guilt of the profligate. For the young and innocent to dwell upon  
scenes

scenes of seduction and adultery, though veiled under an artificial decency of language, is in our minds attended with the very extremity of danger; it accustoms their minds to the visions of guilt, it initiates them in the mysteries of profligacy. Crime is most dreaded when most distant. The temptations of vice, when once presented to the mind, are but too often known to have overcome even its accompanying horrors. Its pleasures are soon separated from its punishments, and frequently its first existence in the mind has been traced to the contemplation of it in others, not in their success, but in their fall.

We would fully acquit the authoress of the volumes before us of any evil intention in thus publishing to the world her own shame, at the same time we would condemn, with the severest sentence, this triumphant display of her guilt. We do not imagine that she has yet arrived at that *acme* of wickedness to rejoice in the profligacy of others, but that as yet she contents herself with pride and gratification in her own. She speaks not in the language of a repentant sinner; she appears to glory in her guilt, even though she represents herself as writhing under its punishment.

It is with the deepest sorrow we understand, that the character of Glenarvon to be founded in reality; we would that such a monster were an illusion upon the senses of the world; but he is a man; his prototype is to be found in a human form. Proud, selfish, sensual, inexorable, his delight appears to be, by some strange fascination, to seduce the innocent into guilt, and then with cool and rancorous malignity to trample on the partners and victims of his crime. Innocence has no charms for him, excepting the hope of its destruction.

Though ruin and misery frown upon the very act of guilt, Glenarvon is still irresistible. We should conjecture, that to the infatuation of our authoress, or of Calantha, as she is pleased to call herself, more is to be ascribed than to the powers of Glenarvon. In what the charm can consist, and from whence the fascination can arise, we are at a loss to discover. Divest him of his affected cowl, of his malignant rancour, of his selfish sensibility, and of all the quackery of theatrical misanthropy, and what remains in the character of Glenarvon? A languid, nerveless, insipid sensualist, who never said a good thing, nor ever did a wise one. Yet this is the creature which is the idol of the female heart, and the irresistible tyrant, under whose fascinations innocence shall fall, under whose frowns life shall be insupportable.

Of Calantha we shall say but little, except that she appears a very silly woman. Her fall is portrayed with truth, because, as we understand, it is portrayed from life. With more eccentricity

tricity than wit, and more rhodomontade than passion, she falls a victim to the seduction of Glenarvon. She expiates her crime indeed by her death, but that death we know to be but in imagination. Calantha, we are informed, still lives; she lives rather to triumph in her guilt, than to warn others from the same offence. And here, we conceive, that the danger principally consists. The reader knows that the crime is real, but that the punishment is imaginary: the temptation arising from these scenes of seduction remain therefore in unabated force.

If, however, by a faithful delineation of the scenes daily passing in the higher circles of the fashionable world, the sturdy morality of the English nation shall be roused into action, and shall stand boldly forward to stem the torrent of Continental profligacy, Calantha will not have written in vain. Every great and good mind must stand appalled at the crimes, which now no longer are veiled in secrecy, but openly defy public decency and public justice. The curse of Continental intercourse bursts in upon us. The seducer, under the gentler and more *liberal* name of *Cicisbeo*, takes his seat in the most public assemblies by the side of his mistress. The husband is, on his side, equally well employed, and thus by mutual consent a double adultery is both sanctioned and proclaimed. The morals of Paris and Vienna are already engrafted upon the English nation. Marriage abroad is but a ceremony of mutual convenience, and we are taught, by the example of public men, to consider it as such only here at home. In the mean time the contagion rapidly descends, and there is now scarcely a military or a diplomatic dandy but must dabble a little in adultery. In this corrupted state of our national existence, infidelity on the one side, and fanaticism on the other, close in upon the few high principles of Christian morality which still exist. Against these two extremes an unequal combat is to be maintained. Though advancing in opposite directions, they unite alike in their source, and in their object; in their licentious perversity and pride, and in their hatred and hostility to true religion and morality. The union of methodism and infidelity needs no prophet to descry; it stands confessed in every corner of the land.

It is for the English nation to pass a severe and indignant sentence upon these wretched victims of guilt and corruption. The hand of public justice is raised in vain; it is the voice of public detestation alone that can arrest the progress of the crime. National glory can rest alone on the basis of national religion and national morality. If the foundations of our greatness be sapped by the influx of foreign profligacy, the superstructure will soon and suddenly fall, and most fatally will the Continent be revenged

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upon



upon us for the proud eminence on which we now stand above the nations of the earth.

As our readers may expect some specimen of the work before us, we shall present them with the description of the Princess of Madagascar, under whom is portrayed a lady, whose literary dinners and reviewing labours Lord Byron has already done so much justice to, in his "English Bards and Scotch Reviewers."

"That evening, at the hour of ten, Lord Avondale and Mr. Fremore being in readiness, Calantha drove according to appointment to visit the wife of the great Nabob, the Princess of Madagascar. Now who is so ignorant as not to know that this Lady resides in an old-fashioned gothic building, called Barbary House, three miles beyond the turnpike? and who is so ignorant as not to be aware that her highness would not have favoured Lady Avondale with an audience, had she been otherwise than extremely well with the world, as the phrase is—for she was no patroness of the fallen! the caresses and *petits mots obligeants* which dropt from her during this her first interview, raised Lady Avondale in her own opinion; but that was unnecessary. What was more to the purpose, it won her entirely towards the Princess.

"Calantha now, for the first time, conversed with the learned of the land:—she heard new opinions started, and old ones refuted; and she gazed unhurt, but not unawed, upon reviewers, poets, critics, and politicians. At the end of a long gallery, two thick wax tapers, rendering 'darkness visible,' the princess was seated. A poet of an emaciated and sallow complexion stood beside her; of him it was affirmed that in apparently the kindest and most engaging manner, he, at all times, said precisely that which was most unpleasant to the person he appeared to praise. This yellow hyena had, however, a heart noble, magnanimous, and generous; and even his friends, could they but escape from his smile and his tongue, had no reason to complain. Few events, if any, were ever known to move the Princess from her position. Her pages—her foreign attire, but genuine English manners, voice and complexion, attracted universal admiration. She was beautiful too, and had a smile it was difficult to learn to hate or to mistrust. She spoke of her own country with contempt; and, even in her dress, which was magnificent, attempted to prove the superiority of every other over it. Her morals were simple and uncorrupt, and in matters of religious faith she entirely surrendered herself to the guidance of Hoiouskim. She inclined her head a little upon seeing Lady Avondale; the *dead*, I mean the sick poet, did the same; and Hoiouskim, her high priest, cast his eyes, with unassuming civility, upon Calantha, thus welcoming her to Barbary House.

"The princess then spoke a little sentence—just enough to shew how much she intended to protect Lady Avondale. She addressed herself, besides, in many dialects, to an outlandish set of menials; appointing every one in the room some trifling task, which was performed

formed in a moment by young and old, with surprising alacrity. Such is the force of fashion and power, when skilfully applied. After this, she called Calantha: a slight exordium followed, then a wily pointed catechism; her Highness nodding at intervals, and dropping short epigrammatic sentences, when necessary, to such as were in attendance around her. 'Is she acting?' said Calantha, at length, in a whisper, addressing the sallow complexioned poet, who stood sneering and simpering behind her chair. 'Is she acting, or is this reality?' 'It is the only reality you will ever find in the Princess,' returned her friend. 'She acts the Princess of Madagascar from morning till night, and from night till morning. You may fall from favour, but you are now at the height: no one ever advanced further—none ever continued there long.'

"'But why,' said Lady Avondale, 'do the great Nabob, and all the other Lords in waiting, with that black hord of savages'—'Reviewers, you mean, and men of talents.' 'Well, whatever they are, tell me quickly why they wear collars, and chains around their necks at Barbary House?' 'It is the fashion,' replied the poet. 'This fashion is unbecoming your race,' said Lady Avondale: 'I would die sooner than be thus enchained.' 'The great Nabob,' quoth Mr. Fremore, joining in the discourse, 'is the best, the kindest, the cleverest, man I know; but, like some philosophers, he would sacrifice much for a peaceable life. The Princess is fond of inflicting these lesser tyrannies: she is so helplessly attached to these trifles—so overweeningly fond of exerting her powers, it were a pity to thwart her. For my own part, I could willingly bend to the yoke, provided the duration were not eternal; for observe that the chains are well gilded; that the tables are well stored; and those who bend the lowest are ever the best received.' 'And if I also bow my neck,' said Calantha, 'will she be grateful? May I depend upon her seeming kindness?' The poet's naturally pale complexion turned to a bluish green at this enquiry.

"Cold Princess! where are your boasted professions now? You taught Calantha to love you, by every pretty art of which your sex is mistress. She heard, from your lips, the sugared poisons you were pleased to lavish upon her. You laughed at her follies, courted her confidence, and flattered her into a belief that you loved her. Loved her!—it is a feeling you never felt. She fell into the mire; the arrows of your precious crew were shot at her—like hissing snakes hot and sharpened with malice and venomd fire; and you, yes—you were the first to scorn her:—you, by whom she had stood faithfully and firmly amidst a host of foes—aye, amidst the fawning rabble, who still crowd your doors, and laugh at and despise you. Thanks for the helping hand of friendship in the time of need—the mud and the mire have been washed from Calantha; the arrows have been drawn from a bleeding bosom; the heart is still sound, and beats to disdain you. The sun may shine fairly again upon her; but never, whilst existence is prolonged, will she set foot in the gates of the Palace of the great Nabob, or trust to the smiles and professions of the Princess of Madagascar." Vol. I. P. 217.

If our readers are acquainted with "The Pleasures of Memory," they may probably conjecture who is meant by the "Yellow Poet." The death of the Princess of Madagascar is given with a strange melange of melancholy and absurdity.

"As to the Princess of Madagascar, she lived to a good old age, though death repeatedly gave her warning of his approach. 'Can any humiliation, any sacrifice avail?' she cried, in helpless alarm, seeing his continual advances. 'Can I yet be saved?' she said, addressing Hoiouskim, who often by a bold attempt had hurried away this grim king of terrors. 'If we were to sacrifice the great nabob, and all our party, and our followers—can fasting, praying, avail? shall the reviewers be poisoned in an *eminée*! shall—' It was hinted to the princess at length, though in the gentlest manner possible, that this time, nor sacrifice, nor spell would save her. Death stood broad and unveiled before her. 'If then I must die,' she cried, weeping bitterly at the necessity, 'send with haste for the dignitaries of the church. I would not enter upon the new world without a passport; I, who have so scrupulously courted favour every where in this. As to confession of sins, what have I to confess, Hoiouskim? I appeal to you: is there a scribbler, however contemptible, whose pen I feared might one day be turned against me, that I have not silenced by the grossest flattery? Is there a man or woman of note in any kingdom that I have not crammed with dinners, and little attentions, and presents, in hopes of gaining them over to my side? And is there, unless the helpless, the fallen, and the idiot, appear against me, any one whom it was my interest to befriend that I have not sought for and won? What minion of fashion, what dandy in distress, what woman of intrigue, who had learned to deceive with ease, have I not assisted? Oh, say, what then are my sins, Hoiouskim? Even if self-denial be a virtue, though I have not practised it myself, have I not made you and others daily and hourly do so?' Hoiouskim bowed assent. Death now approached too near for further colloquy. The princess, pinching her attendants, that they might feel for what she suffered, fainted: yet with her dying breath again invoking the high priest: 'Hoiouskim,' she cried, 'obey my last command: send all my attendants after me, my eider down quilts, my coffee pots, my carriages, my confectioner: and tell the cook—' As she uttered that short but comprehensive monosyllable, she expired. Peace to her memory! I wish not to reproach her: a friend more false, a foe more timid yet insulting, a princess more fond of power, never before or since appeared in Europe. Hoiouskim wept beside her, yet, when he recovered (and your philosophers seldom die of sorrow) it is said he retired to his own country, and shrunk from every woman he afterwards beheld, for fear they should remind him of her he loved so well, and prove another Princess of Madagascar. The dead, or yellow poet was twice carried by mistake to the grave. It is further said, that all the reviewers, who had bartered their independence for the comforts and flattery of Barbary House, died in the same year as the princess;

cess, of an epidemic disorder ; but of this who can be secure ? Perhaps, alas ! one yet remains to punish the flippant tongue, that dared to assert they were no more." Vol. III. P. 298.

We now dismiss Glenarvon with a mixed feeling of abhorrence and pity ; of abhorrence for the triumphant confession of guilty passions and successful crime ; of pity for the weak and wayward nature of its strange and silly heroine.

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ART. VI. *The Antiquary. A Novel.* 3 vols. 12mo. 1l. 4s.  
Longman and Co. 1816.

WE turn with pleasure from a school, where no kindly plant is rooted, no good feeling flourishes, to the writings of one, who, notwithstanding all his offences against our stricter taste, is master of every noble, every soft affection of the heart, who in all the chequered scenes of life which he presents to our view, whether of joy or sorrow, of vice or folly, is still the friend of human kind. We are nauseated with the mawkishness of affected sensibility, we are disgusted with the barking of proud and sensual misanthropy. Ancient Cynicism was ludicrous, modern Cynicism is odious. The Diogenes of the present day has all the rags, without the art of the ancient philosopher. For ourselves we prefer the homely plaid of our north-country bard, to the black velvet coat, and the Dagger-wood tattlers of the noble Lord.

The Novel before us is the third of a series. WAVERLEY presented to us the manners and feelings of a generation now faded off from the face of the earth. The events of seventy years since can now scarcely find a witness among the living : they are within the province of history rather than of memory. GUY MANNERING gave us a description of the generation of our fathers, and of what passed in the world about the end of the American war. The ANTIQUARY is intended to portray the characteristic features of the present day. There is scarcely a nation in which so decided a change has taken place between the first and the last period, as in Scotland. The feelings, the prejudices, and passions of seventy years since, have long since vanished ; there is much nationality, however, still to be found, there is much still remaining to feed the fancy of the poet, and amuse the observation of a man who shall love to follow nature into her secret recesses. There is none so worthy of such a subject as the author of these three most interesting tales, whom from the strongest evidence both external and internal,

internal, we shall boldly pronounce to be Walter Scott. If an additional argument were wanting to confirm our belief upon this point, it would be that, which has been applied to prove the authenticity of the last book of Homer—that he must have written it because no one else could.

The story is sufficiently simple. To the two principal characters we are introduced in the very first chapter, who mount the coach together from Edinburgh to Queensferry. Mr. Oldbuck, the Antiquary, and Mr. Lovel, the hero of the tale. They here, for the first time, become acquainted with each other. The old gentleman is highly delighted with the company of the younger one, and they agree to take a chaise together to Fairport, near which town Mr. Oldbuck, the Laird of Monkbarrow, possesses a country-seat. To this Mr. Lovel is invited, though a complete stranger, nor can all the old gentleman's enquiries unravel the mystery attending his new acquaintance. As Mr. Oldbuck gives name to the tale, our readers will be desirous of entering a little into the character of the ANTIQUARY. We cannot give a better description of him than in the author's own words.

“Mr. Oldbuck next exhibited thumb-screws, which had given the Covenanters of former days the cramp in their joints, and a collar with the name of a fellow convicted of theft, whose services, as the inscription bore, had been adjudged to a neighbouring baron, in lieu of the modern Scottish punishment, which, as Oldbuck said, sends such culprits to enrich England by their labour, and themselves by their dexterity. Many and various were the other curiosities which he shewed; but it was chiefly upon his books that he prided himself, repeating, with a complacent air, as he led the way to the crowded and dusty shelves, the verses of old Chaucer—

‘For he would rather have at his bed-head,  
A twenty books, clothed in black or red,  
Of Aristotle, or his philosophy,  
Than robes rich, rebeck, or saltery.’

This pithy motto he delivered, shaking his head, and giving each guttural the true Anglo-Saxon enunciation, which is now forgotten in the southern parts of this realm.

“The collection was, indeed, a curious one, and might well be envied by an amateur. Yet it was not collected at the enormous prices of modern times, which are sufficient to have appalled the most determined as well as earliest bibliomaniac upon record, whom we take to have been none else than the renowned Don Quixote de la Mancha, as, among other slight indications of an infirm understanding, he is stated, by his voracious historian, Cid Hamet Benengeli, to have exchanged fields and farms for folios  
and

and quartos of chivalry. In this species of exploit, the good knight-errant has been imitated by lords, knights, and squires of our own day, though we have not yet heard of any that has mistaken an inn for a castle, or laid his lance in rest against a windmill. Mr. Oldbuck did not follow these collectors in such excess of expenditure; but, taking a pleasure in the personal labour of forming his library, saved his purse at the expence of his time and toil. He was no encourager of that ingenious race of peripatetic middlemen, who, trafficking between the obscure keeper of a stall and the eager amateur, make their profit at once of the ignorance of the former, and the dear-bought skill and taste of the latter. When such were mentioned in his hearing, he seldom failed to point out how necessary it was to arrest the object of your curiosity in its first transit, and to tell his favourite story of Snuffy Davy and Caxton's Game at Chess.—'Davy Wilson,' he said, 'commonly called Snuffy Davy, from his inveterate addiction to black rappee, was the very prince of scouts for searching blind alleys, cellars, and stalls, for rare volumes. He had the scent of a slow-hound, sir, and the snap of a bull-dog. He would detect you an old black-letter ballad among the leaves of a law-paper, and find an *editio princeps* under the mask of a school Corderius. Snuffy Davy bought the 'Game of Chess, 1474,' the first book ever printed in England, from a stall in Holland, for about two groschen, or twopence of our money. He sold it to Osborne for twenty pounds, and as many books as came to twenty pounds more. Osborne resold this inimitable windfall to Dr. Askew for sixty guineas. At Dr. Askew's sale,' continued the old gentleman, kindling as he spoke, 'this inestimable treasure blazed forth in its full value, and was purchased by royalty itself, for one hundred and seventy pounds! Could a copy now occur, Lord only knows,' he ejaculated, with a deep sigh and lifted-up hands, 'Lord only knows what would be its ransom; and yet it was originally secured, by skill and research, for the equivalent of twopence sterling. Happy, thrice happy, Snuffy Davy! and blessed were the times when thy industry could be so rewarded!

"'Even I, sir,' he went on, 'though far inferior in industry, and discernment, and presence of mind, to that great man, can shew you a few, a very few things, which I have collected, not by force of money, as any wealthy man might,—although, as my friend Lucian says, he might chance to throw away his coin only to illustrate his ignorance,—but gained in a manner that shews I know something of the matter. See this bundle of ballads, not one of them later than 1700, and some of them an hundred years older. I wheedled an old woman out of these, who loved them better than her psalm-book. Tobacco, sir, snuff, and the Complete Syren, were the equivalent! For that mutilated copy of the Complaynt of Scotland, I sat out the drinking of two dozen bottles of strong ale with the late learned proprietor, who, in gratitude, bequeathed it to me by his last will. These little Elzevirs

are the memoranda and trophies of many a walk by night and morning through the Cowgate, the Canongate, the Bow, Saint Mary's Wynd,—wherever, in fine, there were to be found brokers and trokers, those miscellaneous dealers in things rare and curious. How often have I stood haggling upon a halfpenny, lest, by a too ready acquiescence in the dealer's first price, he should be led to suspect the value I set upon the article!—how have I trembled, lest some passing stranger should chop in between me and the prize, and regarded each poor student of divinity that stopped to turn over the books at the stall, as a rival amateur, or prowling bookseller in disguise!—And then, Mr. Lovel, the sly satisfaction with which one pays the consideration and pockets the article, affecting a cold indifference while the hand is trembling with pleasure!—Then to dazzle the eyes of our wealthier and emulous rivals by shewing them such a treasure as this—(displaying a little black smoked book about the size of a primer)—to enjoy their surprise and envy, shrouding meanwhile under a veil of mysterious consciousness our own superior knowledge and dexterity—these, my young friend, these are the white moments of life, that repay the toil, and pains, and sedulous attention, which our profession, above all others, so peculiarly demands!" Vol. I. P. 55.

A ludicrous scene soon ensues, in which the Antiquary's discrimination is called into question by Ochiltree, an old beadsman, who in the latter part of the tale, takes a more conspicuous part. This old beggar declares, that he remembered the throwing up of a mound, for which Oldbuck had given an immense sum as a Roman *Prætorium*.

"Yes, my dear friend, from this stance it is probable,—nay, it is nearly certain, that Julius Agricola beheld what our Beaumont has so admirably described!—From this very *Prætorium*!"

"A voice from behind interrupted his extatic description—'*Prætorian here, Prætorian there, I mind the bigging o't.*'"

"Both at once turned round, Lovel with surprise, and Oldbuck with mingled surprize and indignation, at so uncivil an interruption. An auditor had stolen upon them, unseen and unheard, amid the energy of the Antiquary's enthusiastic declamation, and the attentive civility of Lovel. He had the exterior appearance of a mendicant.—A slouched hat of huge dimensions; a long white beard, which mingled with his grizzled hair; an aged, but strongly marked and expressive countenance, hardened, by climate and exposure, to a right brick-dust complexion; a long blue gown, with a pewter badge on the right arm; two or three wallets, or bags, slung across his shoulder, for holding the different kinds of meal, when he received his charity in kind from those who were but a degree richer than himself,—all these marked at once a beggar by profession, and one of that privileged class which

which are called in Scotland, the King's Bedes-men, or, vulgarly, Blue-gowns.

" 'What is that you say, Edie?' said Oldbuck, hoping, perhaps, that his ears had betrayed their duty; 'What were you speaking about?'

" 'About this bit bourock, your honour,' answered the undaunted Edie; 'I mind the bigging o't.'

" 'The devil you do! Why, you old fool, it was here before you were born, and will be after you are hanged, man!'

" 'Hanged or drowned, here or awa, dead or alive, I mind the bigging o't.'

" 'You—you—' said the Antiquary, stammering between confusion and anger, 'you strolling vagabond, what the devil do you know about it?'

" 'Why I ken this anent it, Monkbarns, and what profit have I for telling ye a lie—I just ken this about it, that about twenty years syne, I, and a whin hallenshakers like mysell, and the mason-lads that built the lang dyke that gaes down the loaning, and twa or three herds may-be, just set to wark, and built this bit thing here that ye ca' the—the—Prætorian, and a' just for a bield at auld Aiken Drum's bridal, and a bit blithe gae-down wi' had in't, some sair rainy weather Mair by token, Monkbarns; if ye howk up the bourock, as ye seem to have begun, ye'll find, if ye have not found it already, a stane that ane o' the mason-callants cut a ladle on to have a bourd at the bridegroom, and he put four letters on't, that's A. D. L. L.—Aiken Drum's Lang Ladle—for Aiken was ane o' the kale-suppers o' Fife.'

" 'This,' thought Lovel to himself, 'is a famous counterpart to the story of *Keip on this syde*.' He then ventured to steal a glance at our Antiquary, but quickly withdrew it in sheer compassion. For, gentle reader, if thou hast ever beheld the visage of a damsel of sixteen, whose romance of true love has been blown up by an untimely discovery, or of a child of ten years, whose castle of cards has been blown down by a malicious companion, I can safely aver to you, that Jonathan Oldbuck of Monkbarns looked neither more wise nor less disconcerted." Vol. I. P. 77.

Lovel is soon after invited by the Antiquary to a dinner, where he meets Sir Arthur Wardour, a Scotch baronet, of an ancient Jacobite family, with sufficient of his native prejudices still remaining, to despise Oldbuck, for an unfortunate cross in his family, tried with a German printer, at the time of the Reformation. This and other similar circumstances generally induce a quarrel between the two old gentlemen, and as on this day, they seldom meet in harmony, but they part in discord. These differences, however, are soon made up by the old Baronet's amiable daughter, Miss Isabella Wardour. The Baronet on this day retreats in anger, and returns to his own house late at evening, over the sands with his daughter, not aware of the



the impetuosity of the Spring tide, which happened on that evening to be coming in with all its vehemence. As this circumstance gives rise to one of the most natural and majestic scenes, which was ever painted by the hands of a poetical imagination, presenting at the same time such perfect truth and reality, that every rock and every breaker is before our eyes, we shall extract it, though somewhat at length, for the admiration of our readers, if at least their feelings will allow them time to admire.

“ As Sir Arthur and Miss Wardour paced along, enjoying the pleasant footing afforded by the cool moist hard sand, Miss Wardour could not help observing, that the last tide had risen considerably above the usual water-mark. Sir Arthur made the same observation, but without its occurring to either of them to be alarmed at the circumstance. The sun was now resting his huge disk upon the edge of the level ocean, and gilded the accumulation of towering clouds, through which he had travelled the livelong day, and which now assembled on all sides like misfortunes and disasters around a sinking empire and falling monarch. Still, however, his dying splendour gave a sombre magnificence to the massive congregation of vapours, forming out of their unsubstantial gloom the show of pyramids and towers, some touched with gold, some with purple, some with a hue of deep and dark red. The distant sea, stretched beneath this varied and gorgeous canopy, lay almost portentously still, reflecting back the dazzling and level beams of the descending luminary, and the splendid colouring of the clouds amidst which he was sitting. Nearer to the beach, the tide rippled onward in waves of sparkling silver, that imperceptibly, yet rapidly, gained upon the sand.

“ With a mind employed in admiration of the romantic scene, or perhaps upon some more agitating topic, Miss Wardour advanced in silence by her father's side, whose recently offended dignity did not stoop to open any conversation. Following the windings of the beach, they passed one projecting point or head-land of rock after another, and now found themselves under a huge and continued extent of the precipices by which that iron-bound coast is in most places defended. Long projecting reefs of rock, extending under water, and only evincing their existence by here and there a peak entirely bare, or by the breakers which foamed over those that were partially covered, rendered Knockwinnock bay dreaded by pilots and ship-masters. The crags which rose between the beach and the main land, to the height of two or three hundred feet, afforded in their crevices shelter for unnumbered sea-fowl, in situations seemingly secured by their dizzy height from the rapacity of man. Many of these wild tribes, with the instinct which sends them to seek the land before a storm arises, were now winging toward their nests with the shrill and dissonant clang which announces disquietude and fear. The disk of the sun became almost totally obscured ere he had altogether

gether sunk below the horizon, and an early and lurid shade of darkness blotted the serene twilight of a summer evening. The wind began next to arise, but its wild and moaning sound was heard for some time, and its effects became visible on the bosom of the sea, before the gale was felt at land. The mass of waters, now dark and threatening, began to lift itself in larger ridges, and sink in deeper furrows, forming waves that rose high in foam upon the breakers, or burst upon the beach with a sound resembling distant thunder.

"Appalled by this sudden change of weather, Miss Wardour drew close to her father, and held his arm fast. 'I wish,' at length she said, but almost in a whisper, as if ashamed to express her increasing apprehensions, 'I wish we had kept the road we intended, or waited at Monkbarns for the carriage.'

"Sir Arthur looked round, but did not see, or would not acknowledge, any signs of an immediate storm. They would reach, he said, Knockwinnock long before the tempest began. But the speed with which he walked, and with which Isabella could hardly keep pace, indicated a feeling that some exertion was necessary to accomplish his consolatory prediction.

"They were now near the centre of a deep but narrow bay, or recess, formed by two projecting capes of high and inaccessible rock, which shot out into the sea like the horns of a crescent; and neither durst communicate the apprehension which each began to entertain, that, from the unusually rapid advance of the tide, they might be deprived of the power of proceeding by doubling the promontory which lay before them, or of retreating by the road which brought them thither.

"As they thus pressed forward, longing doubtless to exchange the easy curving line, which the sinuosities of the bay compelled them to adopt, for a straiter and more expeditious path, though less conformable to the line of beauty, Sir Arthur observed a human figure on the beach advancing to meet them. 'Thank God,' he exclaimed, 'we shall get round Halket-head! that fellow must have passed it;' thus giving vent to the feeling of hope, though he had suppressed that of apprehension.

"'Thank God indeed!' echoed his daughter half audibly, and half internally, as expressing the gratitude which she really felt.

"The figure which advanced to meet them made many signs, which the haze of the atmosphere, now disturbed by wind and by a drizzling rain, prevented them from seeing or comprehending distinctly. Some time before they met, Sir Arthur could recognize the old blue-gowned beggar, Edie Ochiltree. It is said that even the brute creation lay aside their animosities and antipathies when pressed by an instant and common danger. The beach under Halket-head, rapidly diminishing in extent by the encroachments of a spring-tide and a north-west wind, was in like manner a neutral field, where even a justice of peace and a strolling mendicant might meet upon terms of mutual forbearance.

"'Turn back! turn back!' exclaimed the vagrant; 'why did ye not turn when I waded to you?'

"'We

" 'We thought,' replied Sir Arthur in great agitation, 'we thought we could get round Halket-head.'

" 'Halket-head! The tide will be running on Halket-head by this time like the Fall of Fyers! it was a' I could do to get round it twenty minutes since—it was coming in three feet a-breast. We will may-be get back by Bally-burgh Ness Point yet. The Lord help us, it's our only chance. We can but try.'

" 'My God, my child,' 'My father, my dear father!' exclaimed the parent and daughter, as, fear lending them strength and speed, they turned to retrace their steps, and endeavour to double the point, the projection of which formed the southern extremity of the bay.

" 'I heard ye were here, frae the bit callant ye sent to meet your carriage,' said the beggar, as he trudged stoutly on a step or two behind Miss Wardour, 'and I couldna bide to think o' the dainty young leddy's peril, that as aye been kind to ilka forlorn heart that cam near her. Sae I lookit at the lift o' the tide, till I settled it that if I could get down time aneugh to gie you warning, we wad do weel yet. But I doubt, I doubt I have been beguiled! for what mortal e'e ever saw sic a race as the tide is rinnin' e'en now? See, yonder's the Ratton's Skerry—he aye held his neb abune the water in my day—but he's aneath it now.'

" Sir Arthur cast a look in the direction in which the old man pointed. A huge rock, which in general, even in spring-tides, displayed a hulk like the keel of a large vessel, was not quite under water, and its place only indicated by the boiling and breaking of the eddying waves which encountered its sub-marine resistance.

" 'Mak haste, mak haste, my bonny leddy,' continued the old man, 'mak haste, and we may do yet! Take haud o' my arm—an auld and frail arm it's now, but it's been in as sair stress as this is yet. Take haud o' my arm, my winsome leddy! D'ye see yon wee black speck among the wallowing waves yonder? This morning it was as high as the mast o' a brigg—it's sma' aneugh now—but, while I see as muckle black about it as the crown o' my hat, I winna believe but we'll get round the Bally-burgh Ness for a' that's come and gane yet.'

" Isabel!a, in silence, accepted from the old man the assistance which Sir Arthur was less able to afford her. The waves had now encroached so much upon the beach, that the firm and smooth footing which they had hitherto had upon the sand must be exchanged for a rougher path close to the foot of the precipice, and in some places even raised upon its lower ledges. It would have been utterly impossible for Sir Arthur Wardour or his daughter to have found their way along these shelves without the guidance and encouragement of the beggar, who had been there before in high tides, though never, he acknowledged, 'in so awsome a night as this.'

" It was indeed a dreadful evening. The howling of the storm mingled with the shrieks of the sea-fowl, and sounded like the dirge of the three devoted beings, who, pent between two of the

most

most magnificent, yet most dreadful objects of nature—a raging tide and an insurmountable precipice—toiled along their painful and dangerous path, often lashed by the spray of some giant billow, which threw itself higher on the beach than those which had preceded it. Each minute did their enemy gain ground perceptibly upon them. Still, however, loth to relinquish the last hopes of life, they bent their eyes on the black rock pointed out by Ochiltree. It was yet distinctly visible among the breakers, and continued to be so, until they came to a turn in their precarious path, where an intervening projection of rock hid it from their sight. Deprived of the view of the beacon on which they had relied, here then they experienced the double agony of terror and suspense. They struggled forward, however; but, when they arrived at the point from which they ought to have seen the crag, it was no longer visible. The signal of safety was lost among a thousand white breakers, which, dashing upon the point of the promontory, rose in prodigious sheets of snowy foam as high as the mast of a first rate man of war, against the dark brow of the precipice.

“The countenance of the old man fell. Isabella gave a faint shriek, and ‘God have mercy upon us!’ which her guide solemnly uttered, was piteously echoed by Sir Arthur—‘My child! my child!—to die such a death!’—

“‘My father! my dear father!’ his daughter exclaimed, clinging to him, ‘and you, too, who have lost your own life in endeavouring to save our’s!’—

“‘That’s not worth the counting,’ said the old man. ‘I hae lived to be weary o’ life; and here or yonder—at the back o’ a dyke, in a wreath o’ snaw, or in the wame o’ a wave, what signifies how the auld gaburlunzie dies!’

“‘Good man,’ said Sir Arthur, ‘can you think of nothing?—of no help?—I’ll make you rich—I’ll give you a farm—I’ll’—

“‘Our riches will be soon equal,’ said the beggar, looking out upon the strife of waters—‘they are sae already; for I have no land, and you would give your fair bounds and barony for a square yard of rock that would be dry for twal hours.’

“While they exchanged these words, they paused upon the highest ledge of rock to which they could attain; for it seemed that any further attempt to move forward could only serve to anticipate their fate. Here then they were to await the sure though slow progress of the raging element, something in the situation of the martyrs of the early church, who, exposed by heathen tyrants to be slain by wild beasts, were compelled for a time to witness the impatience and rage by which the animals were agitated, while awaiting the signal for undoing their grates, and letting them loose upon the victims.

“Yet even this fearful pause gave Isabella time to collect the powers of a mind naturally strong and courageous, and which rallied itself at this terrible juncture. ‘Must we yield life,’ she said, ‘without a struggle? Is there no path, however dreadful, by which we could

could climb the crag, or at least attain some height above the tide, where we could remain till morning, or till help comes? They must be aware of our situation, and will raise the country to relieve us.'

"Sir Arthur, who heard, but scarcely comprehended, his daughter's question, turned, nevertheless, instinctively and eagerly to the old man, as if their lives were in his gift. Ochiltree paused. 'I was a bauld craigaman,' he said, 'ance in my life, and mony a kitty-wake's and lungie's nest hae I harried up amang thae very black rocks; but it's lang, lang syné, and nae mortal could speel them without a rope—and if I had ane, my ee-sight, and my foot-step, and my hand-grip, hae a' failed mony a day sin-syne—and then how could I save *you*?—But there was a path here ance, though may be if we could see it ye wad rather bide where we are—His name be praised!' he ejaculated suddenly, 'there's ane coming down the crag e'en now!'—Then, exalting his voice, he holla'd out to the daring adventurer such instructions as his former practice, and the remembrance of local circumstances, suddenly forced upon his mind:—'Ye're right—ye're right—that gate, that gate—fasten the rope weel round Crummie's-horn, that's the muckle black stane—cast twa plics round it—that's it—now, weize yoursel a wee easelward—a wee mair yet to that ither stane—we ca'd it the Cat's-lug—there used to be the root o' an aik-tree there—that will do!—canny now, lad—canny now—tak tent and tak time—Lord bless ye, tak time.—Vera weel!—Now ye maun get to Bossy's Apron—that's the muckle braid flat blue stane—and then I think, wi' your help and the tow thegither, we'll able to get up the young leddy and Sir Arthur.'

"The adventurer, following the directions of old Edie, flung him down the end of the rope, which he secured around Miss Wardour, wrapping her previously in his own blue gown, to preserve her as much as possible from injury. Then, availing himself of the rope, which was made fast at the other end, he began to ascend the face of the crag—a most precarious and dizzy undertaking, which, however, after one or two perilous escapes, placed him safe on the broad flat stone beside our friend Lovel. The joint strength was able to raise Isabella to the place of safety which they had attained. Lovel then descended in order to assist Sir Arthur, around whom he adjusted the rope: and again mounting to their place of refuge, with the assistance of old Ochiltree, and such aid as Sir Arthur himself could give, he raised him beyond the reach of the billows.

"The sense of reprieve from approaching and apparently inevitable death, had its usual effect. The father and daughter threw themselves into each other's arms, kissed and wept for joy, although their escape was connected with the prospect of passing a tempestuous night upon a precipitous ledge of rock, which scarce afforded footing for the four shivering beings, who now, like the sea-fowl around them, clung there in hopes of some shelter from the devouring

devouring element which raged beneath. The spray of the billows, which attained in fearful succession the foot of the precipice, overflowing the beach on which they so lately stood, flew as high as their place of temporary refuge; and the stunning sound with which they dashed against the rocks beneath, seemed as if they still demanded the fugitives in accents of thunder as their destined prey. It was a summer night doubtless; yet the probability was slender, that a frame so delicate as that of Miss Wardour should survive till morning the drenching of the spray; and the dashing of the rain, which now burst in full violence, accompanied with deep and heavy gusts of wind, added to the constrained and perilous circumstances of their situation.

“ ‘The lassie—the poor sweet lassie,’ said the old man, ‘many such a night have I weathered at home and abroad, but God guide us, how can she ever win through it!’

“ His apprehension was communicated in smothered accents to Lovel; for, with the sort of free-masonry by which bold and ready spirits correspond in moments of danger, and become almost instinctively known to each other, they had established a mutual confidence.—‘I’ll climb up the cliff again,’ said Lovel, ‘there’s day-light enough left to see my footing; I’ll climb up and call for more assistance.’

“ ‘Do so, do so, for heaven’s sake!’ said Sir Arthur eagerly.

“ ‘Are ye mad?’ said the mendicant; ‘Francie, o’ Fowlsheugh, and he was the best craigsman that ever speel’d heugh, (mair by token, he brake his neck upon the Dunbuy of Slaines,) wadna hae ventured upon the Halket-head craigs after sun-down—It’s God’s grace, and a great wonder besides, that ye are not in the middle o’ that roaring sea wi’ what ye hae done already—I didna think there was the man left alive would hae come down the craigs as ye did—I question an I could hae done it mysel, at this hour and in this weather, in the youngest and yaldest of my strength—But to venture up again—it’s a mere and it’s a clear tempting o’ Providence.’

“ ‘I have no fear’ answered Lovel; ‘I marked all the stations perfectly as I came down, and there is still light enough left to see them quite well—I am sure I can do it with perfect safety—Stay here, my good friend, by Sir Arthur and the young lady.’

“ ‘De’il be in my feet then,’ answered the bedesman sturdily; ‘if ye gang, I’ll gang too; for, between us twa, we’ll hae mair than wark enough to get to the tap o’ the heugh.’

“ ‘No, no—stay you here and attend to Miss Wardour—you see Sir Arthur is quite exhausted.’

“ ‘Stay yoursel then, an I’ll gae,’ said the old man; ‘let death spare the green corn and take the ripe.’

“ ‘Stay both of you, I charge you,’ said Isabella, faintly, ‘I am well, and can spend the night very well here—I feel quite refreshed;’ so saying her voice failed her—she sunk down, and would have fallen from the crag, had she not been supported by Lovel  
and

and Ochiltree, who placed her in a posture half sitting half reclining, beside her father, who, exhausted by fatigue of body and mind so extreme and unusual, had already sat down on the stone in a sort of stupor.

“ ‘ It is impossible to leave them,’ said Lovel—‘ What is to be done?—Hark! hark!—Did I not hear a halloo?’ ”

“ ‘ The skriegh of a Tamme Norie,’ answered Ochiltree, ‘ I ken the skirl weel.’ ”

“ ‘ No, by Heaven,’ replied Lovel, ‘ it was a human voice!’ ”

“ A distant hail was repeated, the sound plainly distinguishable among the various elemental noises, and the clang of the seamews by which they were surrounded. The mendicant and Lovel exerted their voices in a loud halloo, the former waving Miss Wardour’s handkerchief on the end of his staff to make them conspicuous from above. Though the shouts were repeated, it was some time before they were in exact response to their own, leaving the unfortunate sufferers uncertain whether, in the darkening twilight and increasing storm, they could render the persons who apparently were traversing the verge of the precipice to bring them assistance, sensible of the place in which they had found refuge. At length their halloo was regularly and distinctly answered, and their courage confirmed, by the assurance that they were within hearing, if not within reach, of friendly assistance.” Vol. I. P. 149.

The scene that immediately follows is rather of a more busy nature, and is admirably calculated to relieve the awful grandeur of that which has just been presented to our eyes.

“ The shout of human voices from above was soon augmented, and the gleam of torches mingled with those lights of evening which still remained amidst the darkness of the storm. Some attempt was made to hold communication between the assistants above, and the sufferers beneath, who were still clinging to their precarious place of safety; but the howling of the tempest limited their intercourse to cries, as inarticulate as those of the winged denizens of the crag, which shrieked in chorus, alarmed by the reiterated sound of human voices, where they had seldom been heard.

“ On the verge of the precipice an anxious group had now assembled. Oldbuck was the foremost and most earnest, pressing forward with unwonted desperation to the very brink of the crag, and extending his head (his hat and wig secured by a handkerchief under his chin) over the dizzy height, with an air of determination which made his more timorous assistants tremble.

“ ‘ Haud a care, haud a care, Monkbarns,’ cried Caxon, clinging to the skirts of his patron, and withholding him from danger as far as his strength permitted—‘ God’s sake haud a care!—Sir Arthur’s drowned already, and an ye fa’ ower the cleugh too, there will be but ae wig left in the parish, and that’s the minister’s.’ ”

“ ‘ Mind the peak there,’ cried Mucklebackit, an old fisherman  
and

and smuggler—'mind the peak—Steenie, Steenie Wilks, bring up the tackle—I'se warrant we'll sune heave them on board, Monk-barns, wad ye but stand out o' the gate.'

" 'I see them,' said Oldbuck, 'I see them low down on that flat stone—Hilli-hilloa, hilli-ho-a!'

" 'I see them mysel weel aneugh,' said Mucklebackit, 'they are sitting down yonder like hoodie-craws in a mist; but d'ye think you'll help them wi' skirling that gate like an auld skart before a flaw o' weather?—Steenie, lad, bring up the mast—Odd, I'se hae them up as we used to bouse up the kegs o' gin and brandy lang syne—Get up the pick-axe, make a step for the mast—Make the chair fast with the rattlin—haul taught and belay.'

"The fishers had brought with them the mast of a boat, and as half of the country fellows about had now appeared, either out of zeal or curiosity, it was soon sunk in the ground, and sufficiently secured. A yard, across the upright mast, and a rope stretched along it, and reeved through a block at each end, formed an extempore crane, which afforded the means of lowering an arm-chair, well secured and fastened, down to the flat shelf on which the sufferers had roosted. Their joy at hearing the preparations going on for their deliverance was considerably qualified, when they beheld the precarious vehicle, by means of which they were to be conveyed to upper air. It swung about a yard free of the spot which they occupied, obeying each impulse of the tempest, the empty air all around it, and depending upon the security of a rope, which, in the increasing darkness, had dwindled to an almost imperceptible thread. Besides the risk of committing a human being to the vacant atmosphere in such a slight means of conveyance, there was the fearful danger of the chair and its occupant being dashed, either by the wind or the vibrations of the cord, against the rugged face of the precipice. But to diminish the risk as much as possible, the experienced seamen had let down with the chair another line, which, being attached to it, and held by the persons beneath, might serve, by way of *gy*, as Mucklebackit expressed it, to render its ascent in some measure steady and regular. Still, to commit one's self in such a vehicle, through a howling tempest of wind and rain, with a beetling precipice above, and a raging abyss below, required that courage which despair alone can inspire. Yet wild as the sounds and sights of danger were, both above, beneath, and around, and doubtful and dangerous as the mode of escaping appeared to be, Lovel and the old mendicant agreed, after a moment's consultation; and after the former, by a sudden strong pull, had, at his own imminent risk, ascertained the security of the rope, that it would be best to secure Miss Wardour in the chair, and trust to the tenderness and care of those above for her being safely craned up to the top of the crag.

" 'Let my father go first,' exclaimed Isabella; 'for God's sake, my friends, place him first in safety.'

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“ ‘It cannot be, Miss Wardour,’ said Lovel; ‘your life must be first secured—the rope which bears your weight may’—

“ ‘I will not listen to a reason so selfish.’

“ ‘But ye maun listen to it, my bonny lassie,’ said Ochiltree, ‘for a’ our lives depend on it—besides, when ye get on the tap o’ the heugh yonder, ye can gie them a round guess o’ what’s gangin on in this Patmos o’ ours—and Sir Arthur’s far bye that, as I am thinking.’

“ ‘Struck with the truth of this reasoning, she exclaimed, ‘True, most true; I am ready and willing to undertake the first risk—What shall I say to our friends above?’

“ ‘Just to look that their tackle does not graze on the face o’ the craig, and to let the chair down, and draw it up hooley and fairly—we will halloo when we are ready.’

“ ‘With the sedulous attention of a parent to a child, Lovel bound Miss Wardour with his handkerchief, neckcloth, and the mendicant’s leathern belt, to the back and arms of the chair, ascertaining accurately the security of each knot, while Ochiltree kept Sir Arthur quiet. ‘What are ye doing wi’ my bairn?—What are ye doing?—She shall not be separated from me—Isabel, stay with me, I command you.’

“ ‘Lordsake, Sir Arthur, haud your tongue, and be thankful to God that there’s wiser folk than you to manage this job,’ cried the beggar, worn out by the unreasonable exclamations of the poor baronet.

“ ‘Farewell, my father,’ murmured Isabel—‘farewel my—my friends,’ and, shutting her eyes, as Edie’s experience recommended, she gave the signal to Lovel, and he to those who were above. She rose, while the chair in which she sate was kept steady by the line which Lovel managed beneath. With a beating heart he watched the flutter of her white dress, until the vehicle was on a level with the brink of the precipice.

“ ‘Canny now, lads, canny now!’ exclaimed old Mucklebackit, who acted as commodore; ‘swerve the yard a bit—Now—there she sits safe on dry land!’

“ ‘A loud shout announced the successful experiment to her fellow-sufferers beneath, who replied with a ready and cheerful halloo. Monkbarns, in his extacy of joy, stripped his great-coat to wrap up the young lady, and would have pulled off his coat and waistcoat for the same purpose, had he not been withheld by the cautious Caxon. ‘Haud a care o’ us, your honour will be killed wi’ the hoast—ye’ll no get out o’ your night-cowl this fortnight—and that will suit us unco ill.—Na, na,—there’s the chariot down bye, let twa o’ the folk carry the young lady there.’

“ ‘You re right,’ said the Antiquary, readjusting the sleeves and collar of his coat, ‘you are right, Caxon; this is a naughty night to swim in—Miss Wardour, let me convey you to the chariot.’

“ ‘Not for worlds, till I see my father safe.’

“ ‘In a few distinct words, evincing how much her resolution had surmounted

surmounted even the mortal fear of so agitating a hazard, she explained the nature of the situation beneath, and the wishes of Lovel and Ochiltree.

“ ‘ Right, right, that’s right too—I should like to see the son of Sir Gamelyn de Guardover on dry land myself—I have a notion he would sign the abjuration oath, and the Ragman-roll to boot, and acknowledge Queen Mary to be nothing better than she should be, to get along-side my bottle of old port, that he ran away and left scarce begun—But he’s safe now, and here he comes—(for the chair was again lowered, and Sir Arthur made fast in it, without much consciousness on his own part) here a comes—rouse away my boys—canny wi’ him—a pedigree of a hundred links is hanging on a tenpenny tow—the whole baronny of Knockwinnock depends on three plies of hemp—*respice finem, respice finem*—look to your end—look to a rope’s end.—Welcome, welcome, my good old friend, to firm land, though I cannot say to warm land or to dry land—a cord for ever against fifty fathom of water, though not in the sense of the base proverb—a fico for the phrase—better *sus. per finem*, than *sus. per coll.*’

“ While Oldbuck ran on in this way, Sir Arthur was safely wrapped in the close embraces of his daughter, who, assuming that authority which the circumstances demanded, ordered some of the assistants to convey him to the chariot, promising to follow in a few minutes. She lingered on the cliff, holding an old countryman’s arm, to witness probably the safety of those whose dangers she had shared.

“ ‘ What have we here?’ said Oldbuck, as the vehicle once more ascended, ‘ What patched and weather-beaten matter is this?’ then, as the torches illumined the rough face and grey hairs of old Ochiltree.—‘ What! is it thou?—come, old Mocker, I must needs be friends with thee—but who the devil makes up your party besides?’

“ ‘ Ane that’s weel worth ony twa o’ us, Monkbarns—it’s the young stranger lad they ca’ Lovel—and he’s behaved this blessed night, as if he had three lives to rely on, and was willing to waste them a’ rather than endanger ither folks—Ca’ hooly, sirs, as ye wad win an auld man’s blessing!—mind there’s naeboddy below now to haud the gy—Hae a care o’ the Cat’s lug-corner—bide weel aff Crummie’s-horn!’

“ ‘ Have a care, indeed,’ echoed Oldbuck; ‘ What! is it my *rara avis*—my black swan—my phoenix of companions in a post-chaise?—take care of him, Mucklebackit.’

“ ‘ As Meikle care as if he were a grey beard o’ brandy; and I canna take mair if his hair were like John Harlowe’s—Yo ho, my hearts, bowse away with him!’

“ Lovel did, in fact, run a much greater risk than any of his precursors. His weight was not sufficient to render his ascent steady amid such a storm of wind, and he swung like an agitated pendulum at the mortal risk of being dashed against the rocks.

But he was young, bold, and active, and with the assistance of the beggar's stout piked staff, which he had retained by advice of the proprietor, contrived to bear himself from the face of the precipice, and the yet more hazardous projecting cliffs which varied its surface. Tossed in empty space, like an idle and unsubstantial feather, with a motion that agitated the brain at once with fear and with dizziness, he retained his alertness of exertion and presence of mind; and it was not until he was safely grounded upon the summit of the cliff, that he felt temporary and giddy sickness. As he recovered from a sort of half swoon, he cast his eyes eagerly around. The object which they would most willingly have sought, was already in the act of vanishing. Her white garment was just discernible as she followed on the path which her father had taken. She had lingered till she saw the last of their company rescued from danger, and until she had been assured by the coarse voice of Mucklebackit, that 'the callant had come off wi' unbrizzed banes, and that he was but in a kind of dwam.' But Lovel was not aware that she had expressed in his fate even this degree of interest, which, though nothing more than was due to a stranger who had assisted her in such an hour of peril, he would have gladly purchased by braving even more imminent danger than he had that evening been exposed to. The beggar she had already commanded to come to Knockwinnock that night. He made an excuse,—'Then to-morrow let me see you.' " Vol. I. P. 170.

We do not envy the strength of that reader's head, who shall remain unmoved amidst such a description. It is perhaps the most perfect specimen we have of the power of words in holding up the mirror to natural appearances. The scene moves before our eyes, and in the fidelity of the resemblance we almost forget that it is but a portrait.

To return to the story. Our readers will naturally surmise that Lovel is enamoured of Isabella. His birth, parentage, and education, are still involved in mystery. He has plenty of money, but no one in Fairport knows whence he comes, or whither he goes. He is suddenly summoned away, but returns in a few days, in black, having lost, as he states it, the only friend he ever possessed. This circumstance gives rise to some reflections of the Antiquary; clothed in a melancholy sweetness of language, and conceived in a train of observations which give them a superiority over any thoughts on the same subject which we recollect to have seen.

" 'Indeed? well, young man, be comforted—to have lost a friend by death while your mutual regard was warm and unchilled, while the tear can drop unembittered by any painful recollection of coldness or distrust or treachery, is perhaps an escape from a more heavy dispensation. Look round you—how few do you see grow old in the affections of those with whom their early friendships were  
formed!'

formed!—our sources of common pleasure gradually dry up as we journey on through the vale of Bacha, and we hew out to ourselves other reservoirs from which the first companions of our pilgrimage are excluded—jealousies, rivalries, envy, intervene to separate others from our side, until none remain but those who are connected with us, rather by habit than predilection, or who, allied more in blood than in disposition, keep the old man company in his life, that they may not be forgotten at his death—

*Hæc data pœna diu viventibus—*

Ah! Mr. Lovel, if it be your lot to reach the chill, cloudy, and comfortless evening of life, you will remember the sorrows of your youth as the light shadowy clouds that intercepted for a moment the beams of the sun when it was rising.” Vol. II. P. 18.

The nephew of Oldbuck, Capt. Hector M‘Intyre, now arrives, and soon proceeds to question the pretensions of Lovel so closely as to give rise to a quarrel. Lovel refuses to give any account of himself and his family to the hot-headed Highland Captain, an insult follows, then a challenge, and they meet in a secluded spot to fight out their differences. The beggar Ochiltree suddenly advances upon them.

“ ‘What has this old fellow to do here?’ said M‘Intyre.

“ ‘I am an auld fellow,’ said Edie, ‘but I am also an auld soldier o’ your father’s, for I served wi’ him in the 42d.’

“ ‘Serve where you please, you have no title to intrude on us,’ said M‘Intyre, ‘or’—and he lifted his cane in terrorem, though without the idea of touching the old man. But Ochiltree’s courage was roused by the insult. ‘Haud down your switch, Captain M‘Intyre! I am an auld soldier as I said afore, and I’ll take muckle frae your father’s son, but no a touch o’ the wand while my pike, staff will haud thegither.’

“ ‘Well, well, I was wrong—I was wrong,’ said M‘Intyre, ‘here’s a crown for you—go your ways—what’s the matter now?’

“The old man drew himself up to the full advantage of his uncommon height, and, in despite of his dress, which indeed had more of the pilgrim than the ordinary beggar, looked, from height, manner, and emphasis of voice and gesture, rather like a grey palmer, or eremite preacher, the ghostly counsellor of the young men who were round him, than the object of their charity. His speech, indeed, was as homely as his habit, but as bold and unceremonious as his erect and dignified demeanour. ‘What are ye come here for, young men?’ he said, addressing himself to the surprised audience; ‘are ye come amongst the most lovely works of God to break his laws?—Have ye left the works of man, the houses and the cities that are but clay and dust, like those that built them; and are ye come here among the peaceful hills, and by the quiet waters, that will last whiles aught earthly shall endure, to destroy each other’s lives, that

will

will have but an unco short time, by the course of nature, to make up a lang account at the close o't? O sirs! hae ye brothers, sisters, fathers, that hae tended ye, and mothers that hae travailed for ye, friends that hae ca'd ye like a piece o' their ain heart? And is this the way ye tak to make them childless and brotherless and friendless?—Ohon! it's an ill fight whar he that wins has the warst o't. Think on t, bairns—I'm a puir man—but I'm an auld man too, and what my poverty takes awa' frae the weight o' my counsel, grey hairs and a truthfu' heart should add it twenty times—Gang hame, gang hame, like gude lads—the French will be ower to harry us ane o' thae days, and ye'll hae fighting aneugh, and may be auld Edie will hirple out himsel if he can get a feal-dike to lay his gun ower, and may live to tell you whilk o' ye does the best where there's a good cause afore ye." Vol. II. P. 130.

Notwithstanding this remonstrance, clothed in all the eloquence of Highland nature, the combatants persist in their purpose. They fire together, and Capt. M'Intyre falls, and is supposed to be mortally wounded, and Lovel flies with Ochiltree to a place of refuge amidst the ruins of an old abbey. Here a curious scene ensues between old Sir Arthur Wardour, and Dousterswivel, a German adventurer, who has brought the old gentleman to the most extreme distress, by flattering his love for mining. He now pretends to discover some old chests of plate which the monks had concealed by some astrological calculations and ceremonies. This gives Lovel, who overhears the conversation, a hint in what manner the distresses of the Baronet may be relieved; and by the assistance of Ochiltree he hides under the grave of an ancestor a quantity of ingots which the Baronet is led to discover, and to imagine them an ancient hoard.

We are now introduced to a fisherman's cottage where news is brought of the death and the burial, after the Roman Catholic manner of the Countess of Glenallan. This awakes the attention of the old grandmother, now in the extremity of life, and the fatuous indifference of age.

" 'But what can ail them to bury the auld carline (a rudas wife she was) by the night time? I dare say our gudemither will ken.'

" 'Here she exalted her voice, and exclaimed twice or thrice, 'Gudemither! gudemither!' but, lost in the apathy of age and deafness, the aged sybil she addressed, continued plying her spindle without understanding the appeal made to her.

" 'Speak to your grandmither, Jenny—odd, I wad rather hail the coble half a mile aff, and the nor-wast wind whistling again in my teeth.'

" 'Grannie,' said the little mermaid, in a voice to which the old woman was better accustomed, 'minnie wants to ken what for

for thae Glenallan folk aye bury by candle-light in the ruins of 'St. Ruth?'

"The old woman paused in the act of twirling the spindle, turned round to the rest of the party, lifted her withered, trembling, and clay-coloured hand, raised up her ashen-coloured and wrinkled face, which the quick motion of two light-blue eyes chiefly distinguished from the visage of a corpse, and, as if catching at any touch of association with the living world, answered, 'What gars the Glenallan family inter their dead by torch-light,' said the lassie?—'Is there a Glenallan dead e'en now?'

"'We might be a' dead and buried too,' said Maggie, 'for any thing ye wad ken about it;—and then, raising her voice to the stretch of her mother-in-law's comprehension, she added, 'It's the auld countess, gudemither.'

"'And is she ca'd hame then at last,' said the old woman, in a voice that seemed to be agitated with much more feeling than belonged to her extreme old age, and the general indifference and apathy of her manner—'is she then called to her last account after her lang race o' pride and power?—O God forgive her!'

"'But minnie was asking ye,' resumed the lesser querist, 'what for the Glenallan family aye bury their dead by torch-light?'

"'They hae aye dune sae,' said the grandmother, 'since the time the Great Earl fell in the sair battle o' the Harlaw, when they say the coronach was cried in ae day, from the mouth o' the Tay to the Buck of the Cabrath, that ye wad hae heard nae other sound but that of lamentation for the great folks that had fa'en fighting against Donald of the Isles.—But the Great Earl's mithér was living—they were a doughty and a dour race the women o' the house o' Glenallan—and she wad hae nae coronach crie'd for her son, but had him laid in the silence o' midnight in his place o' rest, without either drinking the dirgè, or crying the lament.—She said he had killed enow that day he died, for the widows and daughters o' the Highlanders he had slain to cry the coronach for them they had lost and for her son too, and sae she laid him in his grave wi' dry eyes, and without a groan or a wail.—And it was thought a proud word o' the family, and they aye stickit by it—and the mair in the latter times, because in the night time they had mair freedom to perform their popish ceremonies by darkness and in secrecy than in the day-light—at least that was the case in my time—they wad hae been disturbed in the day-time baith by the law and the commons of Fairport—they may hae mair freedom now—the world's changed—I whiles hardly ken whether I am standing or sitting, or dead or living.'

"And looking round the fire, as if in the state of unconscious uncertainty of which she complained, old Elspeth relapsed into her habitual and mechanical occupation of twirling the spindle.

"'Eh sirs!' said Jenny Rintherout, under her breath to her gossip,

gossip, 'it awsome to hear your gudemither break out in that gait—it's like the dead speaking to the living.'

" 'Ye're no that far wrang, lass; she minds naething o' what passes the day—but set her on auld tales, and she can speak like a prent buke. She kens mair about the Glenallan family than maist folk—the gudeman's father was their fisher mony a day. Ye maun ken the papists make a great point o' eating fish—it's nae bad part o' their religion that, whatever the rest is—I could aye sell the best o' fish at the best o' prices for the countess's ain table, grace be wi' her! especially on a Friday.—But see as our gudemither's hands and lips are ganging—now its working in her head like barm—she'll speak aneuch the night—whiles she'll no speak a word in a week, unless it be to the bit o' bairns.'

" 'Hegh, Mrs. Mucklebackit, she's an awsome wife! d'ye think she's a' thegither right?—Folk says she downa gang to the kirk, or speak to the minister, and that she was ance a papist, but since her gudeman's been dead naebody kens what she is—d'ye think yoursel that she's no uncanny?'

" 'Canny, ye silly tawpie! think ye ae auld wife's less canny than anither, unless it be Ailison Breck—I really couldna in conscience swear for her—I have kent the boxes she set filled wi' partans, when'—

" 'Whisht, whisht, Maggie, your gudemither's gaun to speak again.'

" 'Was na there some ane o' you said,' asked the old sybil, 'or did I dream, or was it revealed to me, that Joscelind, Lady Glenallan, is dead an' buried this night?'

" 'Yes, gudemither,' screamed the daughter-in-law, 'it's e'en sae.'

" 'And e'en sae let it be,' said old Elspeth; she's made mony a sair heart in her day—aye, e'en her ain son's—is he living yet?'

" 'Aye, he's living yet—but how lang he'll live—however, dinna ye mind his coming and asking after you in the spring, and leaving siller?'

" 'It may be sae, Maggie—I dinna mind it—but a handsome gentleman he was, and his father before him. Eh! if his father had lived, they might hae been happy folk!—But he was gane, and the lady carried it in-ower and out-ower wi' her son, and gart him trow the thing he never suld hae trowed, and do the thing he has repented a' his life, and will repent still, were his life as lang as this lang and wearisome ane o' mine.'

" 'O what was it, grannie?'—and 'What was it, gudemither?'—and 'What was it, Luckie Elspeth?' asked the children, the mother, and the visitor, in one breath.

" 'Never ask what it was, but pray to God that ye are na left to the pride and wilfu'ness o' your ain hearts. They may be as powerful in a cabin as in a castle—I can bear a sad witness to that.—O that weary and fearfu' night!—will it never gang out o' my auld head?—Eh! to see her lying on the floor wi' her lang  
hair

hair dreeping wi' the salt water!—Heaven will avenge on a' that had to do wi't." Vol. II. P. 283.

The old sybil appears revived by the event, she rises "like a mummy animated by some wandering spirit into a temporary resurrection;" she gives Ochiltree a ring to present to the Earl of Glenallan, requesting him to come instantly to the cottage. He offers it. The Earl receives it with trepidation and alarm, and promises immediately to attend the summons. In the mean time a visitation of the severest affliction is sent upon the cottage. Their eldest son, the pride and hope of the family, is drowned in a storm, the father having escaped. Our extracts have been large, but the scene before us is of so touching and so true a nature that we cannot resist the pleasure of extracting it. The author remarks that Wilkie could alone have painted it, to which we will add, that W. Scott alone could have described it.

"The body was laid in its coffin within the wooden bedstead which the young fisher had occupied while alive. At a little distance stood the father, whose rugged weather-beaten countenance, shaded by his grizzled hair, had faced many a stormy night and night-like day. He was apparently revolving his loss in his mind with that strong feeling of painful grief, peculiar to harsh and rough characters, which almost breaks forth into hatred against the world, and all that remains in it, after the beloved object is withdrawn. The old man had made the most desperate efforts to save his son, and had only been withheld by main force from renewing them at a moment, when, without the possibility of assisting the sufferer, he must himself have perished. All this apparently was boiling in his recollection. His glance was directed sidelong towards the coffin, as to an object on which he could not stedfastly look, and yet from which he could not withdraw his eyes. His answers to the necessary questions which were occasionally put to him, were brief, harsh, and almost fierce. His family had not yet dared to address to him a word, either of sympathy or consolation. His masculine wife, virago as she was, and absolute mistress of the family, as she justly boasted herself on all ordinary occasions, was, by this great loss, terrified into silence and submission, and compelled to hide from her husband's observation the bursts of her female sorrow. As he had rejected food ever since the disaster had happened, not daring herself to approach him, she had that morning, with affectionate artifice, employed the youngest and favourite child to present her husband with some nourishment. His first action was to push it from him with an angry violence, that frightened the child; his next, to snatch up the boy and devour him with kisses. 'Ye'll be a bra' fallow an ye be spared, Patie,—but ye'll never—never can be—what he was to me!—He has sailed the coble wi' me since he was ten years auld, and there



wasna the like o' him drew a net betwixt this and Buchan-ness—  
'They say folks maun submit—I shall try.'

"And he had been silent from that moment until compelled to answer the necessary questions we have already noticed. Such was the disconsolate state of the father.

"In another corner of the cottage, her face covered by her apron, which was flung over it, sat the mother, the nature of her grief sufficiently indicated, by the wringing of her hands, and the convulsive agitation of the bosom which the covering could not conceal. Two of her gossips, officiously whispering into her ear the common-place topic of resignation under irremediable misfortune, seemed as if they were endeavouring to stun the grief which they could not console.

"The sorrow of the children was mingled with wonder at the preparations they beheld around them, and at the unusual display of wheaten bread and wine, which the poorest peasant, or fisher, offers to the guests on these mournful occasions; and thus their grief for their brother's death was almost already lost in admiration of the splendour of his funeral.

"But the figure of the old grandmother was the most remarkable of the sorrowing group. Seated on her accustomed chair, with her usual air of apathy, and want of interest in what surrounded her, she seemed every now and then mechanically to resume the motion of twirling her spindle—then to look towards her bosom for the distaff, although both had been laid aside—She would then cast her eyes about as if surprised at missing the usual implements of her industry, and appear caught by the black colour of the gown in which they had dressed her, and embarrassed by the number of persons by whom she was surrounded—then, finally, she would raise her head with a ghastly look, and fix her eyes upon the bed which contained the coffin of her grandson, as if she had at once, and for the first time, acquired sense to comprehend her inexpressible calamity. These alternate feelings of embarrassment, wonder, and grief, seemed to succeed each other more than once upon her torpid features. But she spoke not a word, neither had she shed a tear; nor did one of the family understand, either from look or expression, to what extent she comprehended the uncommon bustle around her. So she sat among the funeral assembly like a connecting link between the surviving mourners and the dead corpse which they bewailed—a being in whom the light of existence was already obscured by the encroaching shadows of death." Vol. III. P. 32.

The Antiquary attends the funeral as Laird, and supports the head of the corpse to the grave. The scene that follows is more touching, than we should almost have conceived it within the power of language to describe.

"The last of them had darkened the entrance of the cottage, as she went out, and drawn the door softly behind her, when the father,

father, first ascertaining by a hasty glance that no stranger remained, started up, clasped his hands wildly above his head, uttered a cry of the despair which he had hitherto repressed, and, in all the impotent impatience of grief, half rushed half staggered forward to the bed on which the coffin had been deposited, threw himself down upon it, and smothering, as it were, his head among the bed-clothes, gave vent to the full passion of his sorrow. It was in vain that the wretched mother, terrified by the vehemence of her husband's affliction—affliction still more fearful as agitating a man of hardened manners and a robust frame—suppressed her own sobs and tears, and, pulling him by the skirts of his coat, implored him to rise and remember, that, though one was removed he had still a wife and children to comfort and support. The appeal came at too early a period of his anguish, and was totally unattended to; he continued to remain prostrate, indicating, by sobs so bitter and violent that they shook the bed and partition against which it rested, by clenched hands which grasped the bed-clothes, and by the vehement and convulsive motion of his legs, how deep and how terrible was the agony of a father's sorrow.

“ ‘O, what a day is this! what a day is this!’ said the poor mother, her womanish affliction already exhausted by sobs and tears, and now almost lost in terror for the state in which she beheld her husband; ‘O, what an hour is this! and naebody to help a poor lone woman—O, gude-mither, could ye but speak a word to him!—wad ye but bid him be comforted!’

“ To her astonishment, and even to the increase of her fear, her husband's mother heard and answered the appeal. She rose and walked across the floor without support, and without much apparent feebleness, and, standing by the bed on which her son had extended himself, she said, ‘Rise up, my son, and sorrow not for him that is beyond sin and sorrow and temptation—Sorrow is for those that remain in this vale of sorrow and darkness—I, wha dinna sorrow, and wha canna sorrow, for ony ane, hae maist need that ye should a’ sorrow for me.’

“ The voice of his mother, not heard for years as taking part in the active duties of life, or offering advice or consolation, produced its effect upon her son. He assumed a sitting posture on the side of the bed, and his appearance, attitude, and gestures, changed from those of angry despair to deep grief and dejection. The grandmother retired to her nook, the mother mechanically took in her hand her tattered Bible, and seemed to read, though her eyes were drowned with tears.

“ They were thus occupied when a loud knock was heard at the door.” Vol. III. P. 51.

After having dwelt on these scenes, now let our readers turn to the *Childe Harold*, to the *Lara*, to the *Parisina* of Lord Byron, and they will then discover how cold, how forced, how heartless,

less, is all that poetry on which they have hitherto dwelt, with perhaps so much staring admiration, as the production of a vast genius and profound observation. Real genius will follow nature into all her secret paths; real genius will present the living portrait of man, in all his varied forms, whether high or low, proud or humble; real genius delights to distinguish all the diversified features of the human mind, not to harp eternally on the same single chord, and that one, untrue to nature and hateful to harmony.

The whole of the description which now ensues is exquisitely drawn. The unwillingness of the parents to admit the Earl of Glenallan into their cottage, much more to quit it on the day of their son's burial, the reviving imperiousness of the old grandmother, the confession of her crimes are all in perfect nature. From her it appears, that the Earl, having fallen in love with a cousin of the family whom his mother hated, especially as if her son was to have an heir, her right in the baronies would cease. He marries her however in secret; but, by the stratagems of his mother, his elder brother, and this old woman, he is persuaded, that she was in reality the daughter of his father. The Earl on the discovery of this supposed horror, gives himself up to remorse and despair, and his wife in her agony precipitates herself into the sea. A child survived, the fruit of their marriage, who, as our readers will anticipate, is Lovel. We shall not relate the means by which he is preserved, as they are not beyond the ordinary invention of a novelist: all things are of course settled; Captain McIntyre survives and recovers; the Earl recognizes his son, who marries Isabella Wardour; the distresses of the old Baronet are relieved, and Dousterswivel is disgraced.

Of the characters we can speak in the highest terms. The Antiquary himself stands the most prominent. The mixture of elements in his composition is well pourtrayed. The knowledge he discovers is curious and instructive, and if his blunders cause amusement, his learning will afford instruction. The old Baronet, kind and petulant, doubting, yet afraid of his doubts, credulous, yet ashamed of his credulity, is pourtrayed with equal fidelity. The beggar Ochiltree, and the old woman are figures that stand prominent in the canvass. They are such alone as Scotland could produce, or a Scotchman describe. The knavery of Dousterswivel, which would appear to be almost overstrained, is, as the author informs us, founded on a fact of actual occurrence. The subordinate characters are drawn with that discrimination and variety, which is a true test of genius, and a distinguishing feature of our author. The incidents are numerous; many deeply affecting; many exquisitely ludicrous; but they are blended together

gether with so much art as to make a perfect and an harmonious whole.

Of the comparative merits of the three extraordinary productions of our author, it is difficult to give any satisfactory account. If the tales of past times delight our readers, if the manners and passions of a departed race, portrayed with equal fidelity and spirit, have a charm for their minds, *Waverley* will justly be their favourite: if the creatures of a wild and romantic imagination, though not without a real existence on Scottish ground, are congenial to their fancy, they will pay *Guy Roderick* its due share of their admiration: but if they love nature and the feelings of nature, as they now exist, even in their most secret recesses, and in their most varied forms, whether of high rank or low, whether of joy or sorrow, they will give the palm of preference to the *Antiquary*.

We only regret that our author declares himself not likely again to solicit the favour of the public. We are sorry for our own sakes, but we must console ourselves with reading again and again his admirable productions. We are happy for these, as we should be sorry to see a perfect series of historical and national portraits disgraced by an inferior appendage, or a worn out repetition.

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ART. VII. *A Review of Mr. Norris's Attack upon the British and Foreign Bible Society. Dedicated (by Permission) to the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of St. David's. By the Rev. Wm. Dealtry, B.D. F.R.S. &c. Hatchard.*

ART. VIII. *An Examination of Mr. Dealtry's Review of Norris on the British and Foreign Bible Society; with occasional Remarks on the Nature and Tendency of that Institution. By a Clergyman of the Diocese of London. 8vo. 3s. 6d. Rivingtons. 1816.*

WE have already entered at so great length into the merits of this question, considered with a reference to general views and principles, that it appears quite superfluous to employ any farther reasoning or to bring forward any additional facts, in order to justify the suspicions which we have not hesitated to advance, relative to the spirit which prevails, and above all, to the tendency of the measures which are pursued, in Bible Societies. We shall therefore confine ourselves, on the present occasion, to a comparison of the two pamphlets now before us, selecting, as we go along, such passages from each as seem to bear most directly upon the point at issue.

Of Dealtry's "Review," then, we cannot help remarking in the outset, that it carries on its face no small share of that affectation of candour and good humour, mixed at the same time with malicious hints and uncharitable imputations, which to a discerning eye clearly marks the experienced controversialist. There is a shew of moderation in one sentence, and suppressed indignation in the next. He bewails at one moment, the frailty of man, his prepossessions and his ignorance, and then, before he dips his pen again in the ink, he ascribes the opposition of his antagonists to the inspiration of the Devil. "He is satisfied," he says, "that a controversial spirit is a bad spirit; and that most of us who engage in this warfare, are occasionally betrayed into expressions for which we ought to be sorry;" and yet this apothegm is uttered almost immediately after he had attributed to the suggestions and impulses of the Archfiend, every attempt to canvass or thwart the proceedings of the Bible Society.

"Is it likely, that the Prince of this world should behold the probable subversion of his kingdom, (by means of the Society,) without an effort to save it? In the early period of the Church, he availed himself of falsehood and persecution. No calumny was spared which could impeach the character of the christian. We are not ignorant of his devices; a plentiful store of poisoned arrows remains still in his hands; but there are few, I trust, which may not easily be repelled by the shield of truth."

After all, we could almost venture to say, that Mr. Dealtry sees clearly into the real state of the question. Mr. Dealtry is a man of an acute and a luminous understanding, and is not likely himself to be deceived by all the trash and the cant of many with whom he is compelled to associate. He appears, indeed, to write upon the subject with a certain levity of manner, from which we should almost suspect that his friends no less than his enemies come in for their share of his ridicule. In fact, Mr. Dealtry writes on this subject, very like a man who is inclined to laugh at the whole affair.

"I conceive it to be no question," says he, "either of mine or of the Bible Society, whether Mr. Freshfield may be permitted to pray to God or not; whether the landholders of St. Pancras approve or disapprove of a new church in their parish; whether the Evangelical Diary be a wise or a foolish publication; whether the Editor (Mr. Norris) or Bishop Burnet be most sound in the interpretation of the twentieth Article; whether the lecturers in churches be essential to the welfare of their congregations, or are to be esteemed only as an excrescence; whether the Vestry at Hackney consist of eminent theologians, or be constituted after  
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the manner of other vestries; whether a Welsh word should be spelt with an additional *w*, or without one," &c.

Amusement, in short, appears to have been his chief object and solace in composition, when he could no longer withstand the earnest entreaties of his friends to put forth a pamphlet. Thus, we find him still disposed to make merry, even when he advances to meet the charges which, he says, have been made against his favourite Society; which he states in the following manner :

" 1st. It does *not* circulate the bible : it disseminates tracts. When this was no longer tenable, the enemy turned round, and proscribed the Society, because,

" 2d. It *does* circulate the bible, and disseminates *no* tracts. The fact of distributing the Scriptures was converted into a ground of accusation !

" 3d. It is a *Dissenting* Society !

" 4th. It is *not* a Dissenting Society ! Happy would it be for the Church of England, if such were the case ! We should no longer be exposed to the hazard of baneful communications !

" 5th. It disseminates the Scriptures with comments !

" 6th. It dares to send bibles into the world *without* comments ! to the marvellous increase of heresy, and the manifold danger of religion and the church !

" 7th. It contains within itself the seeds of dissolution : it is a bubble that must presently burst !

" 8th. It is a powerful confederation, and will subvert the establishments both of Church and State !

" 9th. Its machinations are *secret* !

" 10th. It is the most *noisy* and *clamorous* creature upon the face of the earth !

" 11th. It introduces every where a false and spurious *charity* !

" 12th. Wherever it goes it excites nothing but quarrels and debate !

" 13th. It is a *new* institution : history tells of nothing like it !

" 14th. It is an *old* institution, established by Pharisees and revived by Puritans !"

It has long been observed, that there is a method in certain kinds of madness ; and that kind of it which is assumed is perhaps the most methodical. Feeling himself unable to answer the charges which are actually urged by Mr. Norris on the best possible grounds, against the spirit and tendency of the Bible Society, Mr. D. endeavours to conceal his weakness by turning the question into a laugh. Whoever seriously accused the Bible Society of not circulating the bible ? or who among the opponents of that Society has ever converted the fact of distributing

he Scriptures into a ground of accusation? To this the author of the Examination replies,

"How shall I express my astonishment at the bold wickedness of this remark? The fact of distributing the Scriptures was converted into a ground of accusation! Never! The *mode* of its distributing them has often been objected to,—and the *fact* of its *not accompanying* them with the book of Common Prayer or any proper commentary;—but the fact of *distributing the Scriptures*—Never! This is the odious imputation which, as Dr. Marsh long ago observed, other advocates of the institution have endeavoured to fix on their opponents: but in vain! It has been again and again protested against, with sentiments of just indignation and abhorrence. And yet Mr. D., whilst he proceeds to repeat the base and malicious slander, with a degree of effrontery of which I recollect no previous example, professes that he is *repelling poisonous arrows by the shield of truth!*"

Mr. Dealtry's pamphlet is divided into two chapters; the first "on the leading principles of the 'Practical Exposition' and of the Bible Society;" the second "on the mistakes and misconceptions of the author of the Practical Exposition."

Of the leading principles ascribed to the work just mentioned, one in Mr. Dealtry's charitable judgment is, "that the Editor considers the reading of the Scriptures as of little or no service without the aid of a preacher;" and, in support of this charge, he makes a reference to eight or ten pages in Mr. Norris's Practical Exposition. We maintain, however, in opposition to Mr. Dealtry's conclusion, that Mr. Norris has no where stated such a sentiment. To this the author of the Examination replies,

"I have very diligently and minutely examined all those pages of Mr. Norris's book to which Mr. D. refers as his authority for this assertion. I find him insisting, indeed, with due force on the necessity and utility of a preaching ministry: but not one syllable is there throughout which can, with any semblance of propriety, be construed into a declaration that he considers the reading of the Scriptures, either as being of *no* service, or even as being of *little* service, without the aid of a preacher! The passages to which the note (Mr. D.'s reference) directs us, are too long to be here quoted. This consideration alone prevents me from strengthening my remonstrance, by producing them. But if those passages will not really bear me out in it, let any portion of them whatever be cited in confutation of my statement, and I must yield at once. To have quoted *one* plain and positive sentence, could it have been found, would have placed his charge beyond the possibility of contradiction. But it could not be found. The *next* expedient, then, which promised best to answer his purpose, was, to be  
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vague and general—to run the chance of having that charge acceded to in consequence of the multitude of his references. Few readers, perhaps, are at the pains of looking into these authorities at all, and fewer still of investigating them attentively. I repeat that Mr. D. has here attributed to the Editor a sentiment which the Editor has no where expressed.”

The next charge brought against Mr. Norris, under the denomination of “a general principle,” is “dislike of the free and general circulation of the word of God.” It is almost unnecessary to add, that this charge is as groundless and unwarrantable as the other. The Editor of the Practical Exposition has in no part of his book manifested either dislike or disapprobation of the freest and widest distribution of the sacred volume: he objects only to the want of discrimination and prudence in its circulation, and to the obvious tendency which such a profuse and thoughtless bestowal of it must have to degrade it in the estimation of the people. It must indeed be confessed, that it is not possible in all cases to escape imposition, or to prevent the abuse of benevolence, and all the instances of such abuse, with respect to bibles, which have hitherto been proved, would be entitled to comparatively little attention, were it not, as the author of the Examination observes,

“A notorious practice of the Bible Society to desire the public to estimate their merits by the sums of money they spend and by the number of bibles they distribute. Where there is such an evident propensity for boasting, and the sources which feed this vain-glory are in the occupation of the boasters, is there not some reason to apprehend that it may be supplied too abundantly? If the Cicero of one district rises at an anniversary meeting, and states that a thousand bibles have been given away in his neighbourhood, the Demosthenes of an adjoining district will cut but a sorry figure if he can only say that five hundred have been given away in his.”

Mr. Dealtry says, that instead of a pamphlet, he could have written a folio on Mr. Norris's mis-statements. We believe him; for whenever a man trusts to his imagination rather than to facts, and draws conclusions, in direct defiance of candour and fair reasoning, the limits to his undertaking will be dictated by the gratification of his party, and not by the extent of his subject.

The mistakes and misconceptions of the Editor of the Practical Exposition are estimated by Mr. Dealtry as being fifty in number. Now the first question that occurs relative to these mistakes and misconceptions is, upon what authority did Mr. Norris make his statements, and upon what authority are they contradicted by the present author. Generally speaking, then, the authority

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upon which the statements in the Practical Exposition are founded was public documents, of various descriptions, such as newspaper reports, and publications by Auxiliary Bible Societies. Sometimes indeed the Editor trusted to private communications from people who had been present at Bible Society meetings, and who had taken notes of the principal speeches; but, as we have said, in by far the greater number of instances, the sources of his information were public and avowed. With regard to Mr. Dealtry's authorities, on the other hand, they appear to us of the most suspicious nature. They are not only private and anonymous, but in several cases they are drawn from articles in the *Christian Observer*, of which it seems very probable that he himself, or one of his friends, is the author. All that Mr. D. is pleased to tell us, in relation to the sources of his knowledge on this question, is contained in the following sentence: "I knew where to apply for intelligence, and I have obtained it chiefly from beneficed clergymen, who were thoroughly acquainted with the circumstances which they relate." Now, without attributing to Mr. Dealtry or his friends any very unworthy motives, we may be allowed to remark that it was altogether impossible for him to have thrown a greater degree of suspicion upon the credibility of his Review, than by this open avowal of secrecy and private understanding. When a man has a particular object in hand, and "knows where to apply for intelligence," there is a prevailing chance that he will find only such intelligence as he wishes to receive.

Again, with regard to newspaper reports, we maintain that such articles, as to their spirit and general statements at least, are much more to be relied upon than the recollections of the speaker of an unpremeditated harangue. Every body must be aware that a person whose mind is on the stretch for the ideas of his next sentence is not the best judge either of what he is saying, or of the impression likely to be produced by his words; and if, at the end of several months, when he finds that his speech has been publicly animadverted upon, he should come forward and state doubts as to the use of certain expressions which have been attributed to him, offering to substitute a report of his own making, free from all the objectionable passages, what effect would his remonstrance have on the minds of impartial men! Besides, as Mr. Norris observes in one of his notes, it is well known to be the practice of the Bible Society auxiliaries to have short-hand writers in attendance at their meetings, and in some instances to have committees to prepare for the public papers a full account of the proceedings of the day. Taking up the matter, however, on its own merits, we are compelled to pronounce that statements resting on the authority

authority of public documents, possessed of the ordinary degree of accuracy belonging to such productions, are not to be invalidated or suppressed by the mere assertion of an author, avowedly acting the part of an apologist, and producing no stronger claim upon our belief than that he knew where to apply for intelligence.

In the advertisement prefixed to the second edition of his book, Mr. Norris remarks that of the mass of evidence which the volume contains, "three items" comprise the whole against the fidelity of which any exceptions have been taken. Mr. Dealtry we have already said, has marshalled up no fewer than fifty, and we certainly agree with him in thinking that, such as they are, they might have encreased *ad libitum*.

The first respects a Grace which voted a sum of money to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, from the University of Cambridge, soon after the establishment of an Auxiliary Bible Society in the town. Mr. Norris says that the Grace was voted by a majority of *ten to one*, whereas it appears that, being "grossly misinformed on this subject," and not having read the Christian Observer for January 1814, the majority was still greater than he has stated, there being only one dissentient voice. We give Mr. Dealtry joy on this triumph! What could induce Mr. Norris to say *ten to one*, when his vernacular tongue supplies so many forms of expression, which would have come much nearer to the idea of complete unanimity? A *hundred to one* sounds as well, is as good English, has as high authority and good practice to recommend it, and it might perhaps have reduced the number of "mistakes and misconceptions" from fifty to forty-nine. The author of the Examination, when reviewing this case, very appropriately exclaims "*parturiunt montes*;" and really at the head of half a hundred charges, gravely brought forward, and seriously urged, it is ridiculous enough to encounter the above. But we have more of the same kind: indeed there is not one of any importance in the whole list; they all respect trifles, the mere outside of the question, the merest slips of the pen or errors of the press. It is, perhaps, an abuse of time to transcribe, and still more to read such matters as them. Yet we shall venture so far upon our reader's good-nature as to lay before him two or three of Mr. Norris's mistakes, with their respective corrections and animadversions. "The Bible Society," it has been alleged, it seems, by Mr. N. "supersedes the regular clergy." Answer, by Mr. Dealtry, "I am a regular clergyman: a society is established in my parish, and it has not superseded *me*." "Wherever the Bible Society has been introduced," says the Practical Exposition, "it has set the flock in opposition to the pastor, and the minister at

variance with his brother." To this misconception an answer equally satisfactory is given. "In my parish the Society has excited no feelings of pain either in the time of my predecessor or myself." One would imagine that Mr. Dealtry had procured a patent for representing in himself and his parish the whole kingdom and Church of England. The next mistake charged upon the Editor of the Practical Exposition respects Mr. Steinkopff, who, it seems, was sent on a mission to Bonaparte, to promote the views of the Bible Society. Mr. Dealtry loses his temper completely upon reviewing this part of Mr. Norris's book. "The Editor," says he, "finds in a provincial paper a silly paragraph, which he converts into this most marvellous accusation?" to which Mr. D. adds a note, containing this query. "Is it exactly true that any newspaper ever made this assertion? I say it with much pain, but I have reason to believe that the statement is incorrect." To this we cannot give a better answer than in the words of the Examiner of Mr. Dealtry's Review.

"The Reviewer might have saved himself all the 'pain' of saying this, and all the *shame* of saying it unjustly, if he had looked (as Mr. Norris *expressly directs* him to do,) into the Cambridge Chronicle for Dec. 18, 1812. The paper is now before me; and from the conclusion of a conspicuous account of the proceedings at an anniversary meeting of the Cambridge Auxiliary Bible Society, I copy the ensuing sentences: 'At the same time no circumstance has transpired of so interesting a nature, at this moment, that we trust we need no apology for its insertion. The French Emperor, Bonaparte, from whom this nation were not prepared to expect patronage for its religious institutions, has thought proper to countenance the object of Mr. Steinkopff's mission. That gentleman landed at Harwich, on Sunday, the 6th instant, after an expedition to Sweden, Denmark, Germany, and France, for the purpose of furthering the views of the parent Society.'"

"How severely may Mr. Dealtry's question relative to Mr. Norris be here retorted upon himself! Did it never occur to his mind that previous to the advancing of so serious a charge, it might be proper to inquire into the fact! What satisfactory answer the *proposer* of this question may be able to return to it, I am much at a loss to imagine. The Editor may allege for *his* answer that the Cambridge Chronicle is professedly in the interests of the *friends* of the Bible Society, and that the paragraph here noticed has all the *appearance* of having been inserted with the concurrence of the party themselves."

So much for this mistake, and the boundless charity of the corrector!

We mention but one more of the fifty misconceptions, mistakes, or blunders, with which the Editor is charged, and it is

one of the 'three items,' against which an exception has been taken. In the Practical Exposition it is said that,

"At the Henley Meeting Mr. Cunningham insinuates that the *honour and interest* of the University of Oxford are at stake, unless an Auxiliary Bible Society be formed there; and that its refusal to sanction such a measure would be an act which he could hardly refrain from considering as a proof that its *sight was impaired or extinguished*."

Now, as Mr. Cunningham actually expostulated with Mr. Norris on this statement, which he represented as incorrect, it certainly would have been no more than honest in Mr. Dealtry to have given the reason for which Mr. N. refused, or deemed it inexpedient to retract it in his second edition. That reason is given at considerable length in a note, from which Mr. Dealtry has made a *partial* quotation, after doing which, he leaves the matter to the conjectures of his reader, who can scarcely fail to ascribe Mr. Norris's conduct to obstinacy, or to a motive still more objectionable. The merits of the case, however, when properly examined into, will exhibit the latter gentleman's character in a very different point of view. We give it in his own words:

"Mr. Cunningham has stated, in a letter to the Editor, that that passage extracted from his speech, in the Reading Mercury is 'not his,' and has complained that 'he should have been judged rather from the *unauthorized* report of a newspaper, than from the authorized report of the Henley Meeting, which has since been published.' In proof of the accuracy of this '*authorized* report,' he (Mr. C) proceeds to allege that it 'contains the only *parts* of his *wholly unprepared* speech, which he could persuade himself to print at the desire of the Meeting,' and this, though the reader perhaps will scarcely credit it, is the reason assigned by *himself*, and the *only* one he assigns, for the deference which he demands as due to the report published by *authority*. In his zeal to secure the retraction of any charge against the Bible Society contained in the Practical Exposition, he directs the Editor's attention to the *authorized* report of the Meeting at Hertford. The Editor has paid due attention to that Report, and, amongst other things, he finds '*extreme caution*' recommended by the Committee to the public, in their enquiries, whether the speeches actually delivered have not been '*GARBLED*.' In the present instance enquiry is superseded: for the garbling of Mr. Cunningham's speech in the *authorized* Henley Report stands recorded by his own hand. What degree of accuracy characterizes the Newspaper Report the Editor does not pretend to determine; but it is well known to be the practice of Bible Society Auxiliaries to have short hand writers in attendance at their Meetings, and in some instances to have Com-

mittees

mittees to prepare for the public paper a full account of the proceedings of the day ; and the lengthened detail of the speeches at Henley, contained in the Reading Mercury of Oct. 12, 1812, has all the characters of a document of this description. Whether therefore, from that '*wholly unprepared*' state in which Mr. Cunningham professes that he delivered his sentiments on that occasion, the alleged reflection upon the University of Oxford did or did not inadvertently slip from him, is a point to be settled between himself and the conductor of the paper in question, on whose authority it is adduced, and who, as far as appears, has not had such representations made to him as to induce him to retract it."

Mr. Dealtry, in his account of the above affair, carefully avoids mentioning that the *authorized* Report of the Henley Meeting, contained only such *parts* of Mr. Cunningham's speech as he had thought proper to publish, and that there were other parts which he could not persuade himself to print in that document ; and moreover that the whole was an extemporaneous effusion, "*wholly unprepared*," and, of course, less likely to be distinctly remembered upon a subsequent effort of reminiscence. So far, then, from there being ground for a charge against Mr. Norris, on this head, he has acted the part of an honest and consistent character. The exception taken against his statement he has thought it due to the party concerned to record in its proper place ; and we are certain that the hope which he cherishes will not be disappointed ; that the reader will go along with him in thinking that such exceptions as the above give no occasion either to withdraw or to alter the original passages.

We will not proceed farther in this unpleasant business. Well might Mr. Dealtry say that, "*a contropersial spirit is a bad spirit.*" It is uncharitable, and it is full of deceitfulness. It gradually carries a man from self-defence to the blackest calumny ; and the weaker he feels his cause, the more virulent and pertinacious he becomes. Mr. Dealtry knows all this ; but he has not been at all times watchful to avoid the danger.

To those who take an interest in this subject, we recommend the "*EXAMINATION OF MR. DEALTRY'S REVIEW.*" It follows the Reviewer point by point, and exposes, most completely, his repeated failures in argument, candour, and good nature.

ART. IX. *The Admonition of our Lord to his Disciples, "Take heed therefore how ye hear;" considered in Relation to the present State of the Church. In a Sermon, by a Clergyman of the Archdeaconry of Exeter. Rivingtons. 1816.*

WE consider it by no means an unimportant part of a duty, which we should be glad were not so peculiarly left to us, to examine with attention and respect the numerous single Sermons that daily proceed from the obscure, but most meritorious labourers in the great vineyard, scattered throughout the kingdom. To the fashionable and superficial critic this branch of literary commerce, if we may so say, appears of course very uninteresting, or very unimportant. For those who do not take the interest in this affair which we do, are but little aware of the mass of learning and sense, the flow of eloquence, and the pure spirit of piety that may be found in many of these too little read publications. All that they know of them is, that they are born and die, that they produce little fame and less profit to their authors, that they are discussed at no dinner-parties, and are found in no drawing-rooms. To us, upon whom our duty forces the acquisition of a more detailed knowledge, it has been a subject of regret, that they are so little read and so soon forgotten; if the author is rewarded with so small a portion of praise, we have at times thought that there was reason to fear that his work had produced but little good. We believe, however, that this regret was unfounded, we mistook the *proper* object of such writings. True it is, that in the great sea of public literature, these small and unostentatious adventurers make but little show, and produce in general but little effect; each however has his own small port from which he sails, and to which he returns, where the worth of his cargo is duly appreciated, and its beneficial powers effectually exercised, and where the skill and honesty of him, who provides so well for the sustenance and comfort of his little circle, receive their proper and most grateful reward. Besides, to abandon our metaphor, the real object of such writers is the fixing an impression, which might otherwise fade away in the minds of a peculiar audience; a sermon has perhaps, been heard with particular attention, and produced, for the moment, a more than ordinary effect; by printing it in a cheap form it gets into the hands of those who have a strong interest in it, and the impression is perpetuated by the frequency, and the pleasure with which it is then referred to. General fame on such occasions is, we will not say absolutely no object, or in any sense an illegitimate object with the author, but certainly it is secondary to the one

one we have stated. To use the words of the author's preface to the Sermon now before us ;

" If, by placing in a ready form before the perverted or the wavering mind a few unshaken and immoveable arguments, he should be happy enough in a single instance to reclaim the one, or confirm the other, he will think not merely this, but all the labours of his life abundantly overpaid. If he should wholly fail in these objects, he will not be disheartened, but rejoice in that consolation, which good motives never fail to administer to the disappointment, even of the most fondly-cherished projects."

It is idle to console a man, actuated by such motives, and pursuing such objects, for the privations of literary fame, he seeks and gains a much higher reward.

Still we consider ourselves perfectly consistent in the attention we pay them ; first, because from their number, and the variety of places from which they issue, they help materially to form a correct estimate of the general state of literature and intellect among the clergy ; and secondly, because it is our duty to bestow applause, however unsolicited, wherever we think it due, and to help to give circulation to whatever we think likely to be useful.

The Sermon before us stands in both these predicaments ; it is a plain, practical, unaffected, and vigorous discourse on a very important subject. Without assuming to conclude the disputed questions of which it treats, it gives us a very satisfactory summary of the main arguments, and clearest texts on each. These are the four great points of the operations of the Holy Spirit, Predestination, Regeneration, and Salvation by faith alone. From these, by no unnatural transition, the author enters into the too common practice of attendance by professed Churchmen on evening conventicles, the danger of which he combats with considerable energy, and concludes with a very impressive exhortation to a due reverence for, and an entire obedience to the Liturgy and ordinances of the Established Church.

We have designated the Sermon as plain and unaffected ; the following is by no means a partially chosen specimen of the style in which it is written : we select it, because the refutation of that ten times refuted, yet ever-springing calumny of the church's ascribing absolute *merit* to works, cannot, wherever it is found, be too often pressed upon the attention of the world. The author has been citing from the words of our Lord as to the *necessity* of works.

" In these passages, and such as these, good works proceeding from faith are certainly declared to be the condition of everlasting happiness, but not the cause ; for, God forbid, that we should derogate from the value of the Redeemer's sacrifice. We ascribe no  
*merit*

*merit* whatever to good works; after all that we can do, we are still unprofitable servants; the merits of Christ's atoning blood are the only *cause* of our being made capable of salvation: but to deny that the fruits of a living faith, exemplified in holy living are a necessary *condition* of our salvation, without which that salvation will not take place, were to shut our eyes against the full blaze of gospel truth, and to contradict the positive assertions not only, as we have seen, of our Lord himself, but of his chosen Apostles also: for St. Peter says 'The Father without respect of persons judgeth *according to every man's work.*' St. John's words are 'The books were opened, and the dead were judged out of the things written in the books *according to their works.*' St. James declares 'That a man is justified by works, and not by faith only.' And St. Paul gives to Titus, whom he had ordained a preacher of the Gospel, this solemn direction (which, let it be observed, immediately follows the assertion 'that we are justified by grace') 'This is a faithful saying, and these things I will that thou affirm constantly, that they which have believed in God, might be careful to maintain *good works*; these things are good, and profitable unto man.' The doctrine of Calvin then, and the doctrine of the Gospel concerning faith and works are at variance; the former declares that a mere speculative faith, unproductive in its nature, is available to salvation; the latter that as 'without faith we cannot please God,' so 'without holiness no man shall see the Lord.'" P. 31.

From arguments and reasoning of this tendency the author very naturally passed to some reflections on those evening meetings, at which members of the Church are in most danger of listening to the doctrines against which they are directed. The habit of attending them is very common with the lower orders of tradesmen in country towns, of a sober and religious character. It is founded on a specious fallacy, and propped by arguments, which it requires temper and skill to detect and confute. The author has been very successful, and we particularly recommend this part of his Sermon to the attention of our readers.

His conclusion is at once manly and impressive, full of the conscious dignity of the high ground on which our Church stands, and full also of that anxious affection for those who hear him, which will make every true minister of the Gospel mix the humblest tones of persuasion with the voice of argument and authority.

"Here I should conclude, for I have already detained you too long; but before we part, suffer me to address a few words to those, who believing that road to heaven to be the best, which the Church points out, content themselves without seeking any other, and continue steadfastly in it. You, my brethren, will do well to remember, that you are in the number of those to whom many and important advantages have been vouchsafed, and therefore of you will a corresponding



responding exertion be required in the great task of working out your salvation; you belong to a Church, the ministers of which being the successors of the apostles, have the promise of Christ's assistance in the discharge of their duty—"Lo, I am with you alway even unto the end of the world." You have a liturgy, in which it would be difficult for prejudice itself to find a fault; you have the word, that word by which we must all hereafter stand or fall, constantly and faithfully preached; you have the Sacraments ordained by Christ himself, rightly and duly administered. These advantages you enjoy, thanks be to God, without interruption or impediment, and by your steady adherence, you shew yourselves to be sensible of their value. Take heed then, that you shew your sense of them also, in the most acceptable way to the Giver of them, in an holy and religious life; that 'having in an honest, and good heart heard the word, you keep it, and bring forth fruit with patience.' If your ministers receive their commission from Christ, receive the Gospel preached by them not as the word of man, but, as it is in truth, the word of God. If the public liturgy be drawn from and built on that sacred word, which was "written for our learning," then let your conviction of this truth be shewn by a devout attention to that part of our service by offering up your prayers, and thanksgivings, not only with your lips, but with humble, and unfeigned hearts. If the doctrines you are called upon to believe, and the precepts you are required to obey, be such as have Scripture for their authority, let your faith in the one, and your obedience in the other be firm, manly, and persevering. Lastly, if the sacraments of Christ are administered in obedience to Christ's positive commands, see that your children participate in the one, and yourselves in the other, in a holy and godly manner. Thus evincing your sense of the blessings you enjoy, and your gratitude for them, the time will come, when having been faithful members of Christ's Church militant here on earth, you shall through the merits of our Lord and Saviour, be made joyful members of his Church triumphant in heaven."

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ART. X. *The Voluspa, or Speech of the Prophetess, with other Poems.* By the Rev. J. Prowett. 12mo. pp. 110. Payne and Foss. 1816.

THE first and principal poem in this collection is the *Voluspa*, or *Speech of the Prophetess*, extracted from the remains of the Runic Mythology, as preserved by Olaus Wormius, Bartholinus, &c. The speech appears to predict the restoration of all things, under a Being superior, according to the Scandinavian Mythology, to Odin himself. Lok, the principle of evil, who  
bad

had long been fighting against the gods, will be finally vanquished, and sent back to his native hell.

“ On the never dying groan,  
On the hopeless, hollow moan,  
Lok with bitter joy shall feed;  
Yet himself snall inward breed,  
Fiercer torments in his breast,  
By corroding pangs possess’d:  
For the varied forms of ill,  
Which the world’s wide circuit fill,  
To his bosom shall return;  
There with ceaseless fury burn.  
Then a new-born earth and skies,  
From the dark profound shall rise;  
Never more the foaming main  
Shall assert his stormy reign;  
And the yawning gulphs disclose,  
Where the warriors bones repose;  
Who in perils ever tost,  
Midst the shock of waves were lost.  
Then nor evening’s murky veil,  
Shall the deeds of guilt conceal;  
Nor o’er Nature’s works display’d  
Cast an universal shade;  
Nor within her ghostly hour,  
Safe beneath her sheltering power,  
Dæmons hollow-ey’d appear,  
To the starting sons of Fear.  
But a city, heavenly bright,  
Seat of empyreal light;  
Domes of crystal, towers of gold,  
Shall the raptur’d eye behold;  
Glittering streams of silver sheen,  
Groves for ever vernal green;  
Many a meadow’s flowery bed,  
Many a mountain’s cloud-topp’d head,  
Where the favor’d few remain,  
Free from anguish, care, or pain;  
Whom in peril’s trying hour,  
After death th’ Eternal Power  
From the scenes of suffering bore:  
Landed on yon tranquil shore,  
O’er the sorrows of the past,  
Many a thought they back shall cast;  
Blest with joy’s unsullied beams:  
Which in short-lived, fading gleams,  
From the fount of rapture flow,  
To the darken’d world below.” P. 7.

Mr.

Mr. Prowett appears to possess a poetical imagination, and a considerable power of expression. There are parts, however, where he is seduced too much into the flowery. This is a fault, however, which his better judgment will doubtless correct. That he can write in a strong and fervid style of didactic verse, the following passage will clearly shew.

“ Short is thy sight, vain mortal ! and confin’d  
Thy view, to penetrate th’ eternal mind :  
Say, canst thou tell how by commanding thought,  
Thy powers corporeal, are to action wrought ?  
How on each nerve the subtle spirit plays,  
And forms to various deeds a thousand ways ?  
Is not there then a witness in my breast ?  
What greater proof, than ignorance confess,  
That not one part within thy narrow sphere,  
In all its forms thou knowest, distinct and clear !  
When Death’s pale finger summons thee away,  
And lingering nature would, but dares not stay ;  
What once was joy, thy better sense shall know,  
A seeming bliss at best, a real woe ;  
More lorn and cheerless than the days to come,  
And night eternal overhangs the tomb.  
Unless fair piety’s unsullied ray  
Has shed its lustre o’er thy setting day,  
What shapes of horror, griesly, dark and drear,  
Within the bosom of that night appear !  
When fancy from her treacherous sleep awakes,  
And sees the pale ghost plung’d in fiery lakes ;  
Or doom’d to roam the depths of worlds unknown,  
For ever banish’d from the Saviour’s throne ;  
When new-born conscience all her stings prepares ;  
Seek then th’ Almighty Judge, with fruitless prayers !  
How wilt thou face Him in that awful hour,  
When beams the full effulgence of his power ?  
Which now beneath a night of clouds conceal’d  
In that dread moment shall be full reveal’d !” P. 73.

The Address to Music is spirited and good, and with it we shall conclude our account of the work.

“ ODE TO MUSIC.

“ Music, nurse of chaste desire !  
Now thy heavenly charm inspire !  
Waft me fur from earthly cares,  
Vulgar joys, and vulgar fears ;  
And in sweet, delusive dream,  
O’er the gulph of Lethe’s stream,

Bear

Bear me on with magic hand,  
 To Elysium's flowery land !  
 Thou, when Sorrow's piercing tooth  
 Mars the tender bud of youth ;  
 When dark storms and tempests rise,  
 Mid pure suns and cloudless skies ;  
 Thou can'st pour the healing balm,  
 Thou can'st every struggle calm.  
 Chas'd by thee, drear shadows fly  
 From the mind's envelop'd sky ;  
 Till through twilight dim confest,  
 Glean the mansions of the blest ;  
 And o'er the darken'd hemisphere,  
 A sun that ne'er shall fade, more bright, more pure appear." P. 76.

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